NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY

WADE

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NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY

BY

G. W. WADE, D.D.

WITH A CONTRIBUTION BY
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impartially in connection with matters of controversy such amount of evidence as may enable readers to draw their own inferences. It is, of course, impossible for anyone to deal with an historical subject without certain presuppositions which are the outcome of previous reading and experience, and many factors have doubtless contributed to form my own; but the one which I feel has been most influential is my earlier study of the Old Testament.

The present work is comprehensive in scope; but in order to bring it within the compass of a single volume, severe compression has been necessary, and this has rendered a superficial treatment of various important matters unavoidable. Apart, however, from the defects due to this cause as well as to my own limitations of capacity and learning, it is hoped that not much of what is essential to the scheme of the book has been sacrificed to brevity, and that lucidity has not been seriously impaired by concentration and compactness. Everywhere use has been made of information furnished by other writers; and many of the foot-notes indicate the authorities to whom I am most indebted, though not the extent of my indebtedness. But whilst I have borrowed freely wherever I could in this way profitably supplement my own resources (verifying to the best of my ability what has been thus derived), yet I have maintained independence both in the plan and execution of the work; and the book is not only more substantial but more original than its predecessor.

I wish, in conclusion, to acknowledge most gratefully the assistance I have received from my wife, who has not only aided me in preparing the MS. for the Press, but also has given me the advantage of her counsel; from Principal Joyce, who has read most of the proof sheets and furnished me with several illuminating suggestions; and from Miss Adela E. Joyce, who has prepared all the maps. I owe the greater part of the opening chapter to my brother, whose further collaboration was prevented by consequences resulting from the Great War. Justice to these generous helpers requires me to add that for everything in the book to which exception may be taken the responsibility is solely mine.

G. W. W.

Sit mihi remissio omnium neglegentiarum et ignorantiarum.

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*** Of the above, Number 2 is reproduced from the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, by the kind permission of Messrs. A. and C. Black. In the preparation of Numbers 3, 5, 7 and 8 use has been made of the maps and plans in Sanday's *Sacred Sites of the Gospels* (Clarendon Press, 1903). Number 6 is based on the map in Lake's *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (Rivingtons, 1911). For the assistance thus obtained I wish to express my grateful acknowledgments.

PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

ERRATUM.—The name *Ainun*, placed in the map south of *Salim*, should have been placed at the same distance *north* of it.

NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY

PART I

I

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE

A FRENCH critic has said that in any attempt to explain a great personality or a great movement regard must be paid to race, period, and place. If this be so, as assuredly it is, topography is as necessary a preliminary to the study of Christianity as ethnography or contemporary history. The scenes associated with it have not only formed the stage upon which the drama of its rise and early progress has been enacted, but have materially helped to mould its development. Accordingly, before describing the circumstances and conditions of which some knowledge is essential for understanding the contents of the New Testament, it is expedient to furnish a brief account of the land that was the sphere of our Lord's ministry and of the earliest labours of His Apostles.

The Hebrew race had a decided proclivity towards a religious interpretation of the universe; and this was promoted and enhanced by the character of its physical surroundings. PALESTINE is very insignificant in size, measuring only 160 miles by 80 miles, and covering not more than about 10,000 square miles; but its features are so exceptional that it could scarcely have failed to produce a peculiar people. Bounded on the north by mountains, on the east and south by deserts, and on the west by an almost harbourless coast-line, it has few points of attachment to the outer world. Its chief characteristics are its isolated situation, its prevailingly high altitude, and its variety of surface. Its isolation in early times was almost complete, the only circumstance that brought it into connection with neighbouring countries being the fact that along the level shore that borders the Mediterranean ran part of the high road between the basins of the Euphrates and the Nile. Except when the great military powers of antiquity quarrelled amongst themselves for the possession of this thoroughfare, they left Palestine severely alone; and its isolation was only decisively destroyed when, in consequence of the victories of Alexander the Great, the tide of Greek civilization inundated the East, and when later it became incorporated in the comprehensive dominions of the Roman empire. Between the Syrian desert and the

sea the land is virtually a southward prolongation of the two mountain ranges that bound it on the north, *Lebanon* and *Hermon*. The parallel ridges that constitute this southern extension attain a general elevation of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, and are severed from one another by a deep depression, threaded by the river *Jordan*. The two, though both are high, are very dissimilar in conformation; for whereas the western in its course from north to south is interrupted at one point by an extensive plain called *Esdraelon*, and is then cut by a number of torrent valleys, the southern extremity ending in a parched plateau called the *Negeb* or "South," which sinks into the desert of Sinai, the eastern, on the other hand, consists of a tableland, almost unbroken save for three rivers. The surface of the country, viewed from west to east, is equally diversified, for part of the coastal plain is flanked on the east by a line of low hills called the *Shephelah* (or "Lowland"); then comes a central range of higher hills; next to these is the gorge of the Jordan, which for almost all its length is below sea-level; and finally, between this and the Syrian desert is the elevated tableland mentioned above.

As might be expected from this diversity of surface, the productiveness of the soil varies greatly. Although both wheat and barley are grown, it is only in the level strip along the coast that cereals are largely cultivated. Numerous kinds of fruit are produced on the hill-sides, notably grapes, olives and figs. The depth of the Jordan valley renders its air very hot; and where the valley, which is from three to fourteen miles wide, expands to its greatest breadth, the soil is very fertile, and the heat makes the vegetation extremely luxuriant. But the principal occupation of the people of Palestine has always been in general the rearing of sheep and cattle rather than the cultivation of the soil. The *Negeb* (or South), just mentioned, and the high ground lying to the east of the Jordan are especially adapted for pasturage; and the incidents inseparable from a shepherd's life have ever been an unfailing source of popular similes and metaphors. In one district the inhabitants derived their subsistence from the water as well as from the land. For though the Hebrews scarcely came in contact with the Mediterranean Sea, yet they were not without fisheries, since the Jordan, before discharging itself into the large lake, of unexampled saltness, called the DEAD SEA, forms in its course two other lakes, the SEA OF MEROM (Lake Huleh) and the SEA OF GENNESARET (*Galilee* or *Tiberias*); and the latter of these abounded in fish.

The principal political divisions of Palestine in New Testament times were (beginning at the northern extremity) GALILEE, SAMARIA, JUDÆA (all on the west of the Jordan), and PERÆA (on the eastern side). Of these, the most important in connection with New Testament history are the first three, which it is desirable to describe in some detail.

All of the Jordan north of the Galilean lake, and one-third of its length to the south of that, was (it is said) reckoned to GALILEE,[1] so that the boundaries of the latter reached from the foot of Lebanon to the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon; and comprised the former territories of

[1] Hastings, *D.B.*, ii. p. 99. It was originally a small district near Phœnicia (1 Kg. ix. 11).

the tribes of Asher, Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali. Though virtually confined to the west of the Jordan and the lake, the province in strictness "ran right round the lake, and included most of the level coastland on the east."[1] It is the most productive and attractive part of Palestine, for though its northern division is mountainous, yet since its southern half embraces Esdraelon, it takes in a great proportion of flat or gently undulating ground. The mists which condense on the summits of Lebanon furnish the country with copious springs, so that its knolls are well timbered; and cornfields, vineyards, and olive groves (cf. *Dt.* xxxiii. 24–28) abound. And as the fruitfulness of the soil was supplemented by the store of fish obtained from the lake, and the climate is genial, conditions of life were very favourable, and the population was dense. The prospects, where the ground rises, are exceedingly varied and impressive. In the south the verdant level of Esdraelon extends to the base of the Samaritan hills; on the west stretch the tranquil waters of the Mediterranean; on the east is the oval lake; whilst in the north the highlands, not sombre like those of Judæa, but exhilarating in their aspect, are backed by the massed heights of Lebanon, and the graceful cone of Hermon.

Galilee had formerly been known as *Galilee* (*i.e.* "circle") *of the nations* (*Is.* ix. 1, cf. 1 *Macc.* v. 15), and for long after the conquest of Canaan by Joshua it had had a large Gentile population which the Israelites had been unable to exterminate. After the deportation of the Ten Tribes in 722, the non-Israelite element must have been greatly increased, and the Jews who had settled there were in 164 B.C. all brought back to Judæa (p. 32). But 60 years later submission to the Mosaic Law was enforced upon its inhabitants (p. 37), who eventually became quite loyal to the Jewish connection. Nevertheless, the Galileans remained in many respects different from the people of Judæa. Through their situation they were separated by a considerable distance from Jerusalem and were brought into close contact with non-Jewish nationalities. Not only was Phœnicia near their borders, but through their territory there passed the roads connecting Damascus and the East with the Mediterranean seaboard, Egypt, and the south. The main route from the former crossed the Jordan half-way between the lakes of Merom and Gennesaret, and then sent off branches to Acco, to the maritime plain (across Carmel), to Samaria and Jerusalem, and to the Jordan valley and Jericho. Consequently the Galileans were much more open to new impressions, and much less under the influence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, than was the population of the Jewish capital.

Of the towns of Galilee the richest in sacred associations is NAZARETH (*Ναζαρέθ*, *Ναζαρέτ*, *Νάζαρα*), the modern *El Nazirah*. In position it lies midway between the Mediterranean and the lake, being almost due west of the southern extremity of the latter. It is built on the slopes of a basin among the heights on the north of Esdraelon, and little can be seen from the town itself but the rim of the encircling hills, though from the summit of these some of the splendid views previously alluded to (see above) are obtained. In our Lord's time it was insignificant, and it

[1] G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, p. 458.

was regarded with contempt even in its own neighbourhood (*Joh.* i. 46). Overhanging the town is an abrupt limestone cliff (30 or 40 feet high); and at some distance from it there is a precipice descending 80 to 300 feet (cf. *Lk.* iv. 29). Only two places in the vicinity of Nazareth receive mention in the Gospels; one is CANA OF GALILEE,[1] the other is NAIN. A good deal of uncertainty exists with respect to the site of the former. It stood on higher ground than Capernaum (cf. *Joh.* ii. 12); and has been identified with two places, the modern *Kefr Kenna*, 3½ miles north-east of Nazareth, and *Khirbet Kānā* or *Kānā Jelîl*, a more distant village 7 or 8 miles north north-east of Nazareth. As the name of the second corresponds closely to the ancient title (Jelîl is the Hebrew *Galîl*, "circle," p. 3), and the surroundings of the locality are reedy (the Hebrew *Kānāh* means "a reed"), probability seems to be in its favour. The site of NAIN, on the contrary, is undisputed. It is the modern *Nain* on the northern slope of "Little Hermon"—the ancient "hill of Moreh"—a desolate-looking height rising abruptly at the eastern end of Esdraelon.

The three towns, or villages, just named are the only spots among the hills of Galilee which, so far as is recorded, were frequented or visited by our Lord, Whose ministry was chiefly discharged amid the cities situated by the marge of the lake. This lies in a deep hollow, 689 feet below sea-level, and is 12 miles long by 8 across. The descent from the western uplands to the southern half of the lake is extremely steep; but along the northern half the hills on the west retire, leaving a plain of some 10 square miles in extent, now called *El Ghuweir*. Elsewhere around the edge of the water there runs a narrow level belt of green sward, fringed by a strand of pebbles. In this sheltered hollow a semi-tropical climate prevails, and the vegetation which clothes the foot of the hills is peculiarly rich. Of the towns on or near the shore the most interesting for New Testament history is CAPERNAUM, the scene of numerous incidents. Its situation, however, is left by the New Testament writers in great obscurity, and the only indications of either its position or its size are the facts that it was close to the lake, contained, or was near, a customs house (*Mk.* ii. 1, 14), and was a Roman military post (*Mt.* viii. 5=*Lk.* vii. 2). To be a convenient site for the collection of tolls, it must have stood on a road traversed by merchants. Two localities have been identified with it. One is *Khan Minyeh*, within the plain of El Ghuweir, described by Josephus (*B.J.* iii. 10, 8) as of wonderful fertility and beauty. Here are remains of buildings (though not extensive), and not very far away are springs, one being of great volume. The other locality is *Tel Hum*, which lies nearer the mouth of the Upper Jordan, 2½ miles away. Here there occur heaps of shattered masonry stretching for more than a mile along the shore, and a ruined synagogue. The situation of the first-mentioned place is considered by many observers to answer best to the allusions in the New Testament and in Josephus, the latter applying the appellation *Capernaum* to a copious fountain. Others, however, deem the second, as nearest the border between the territories of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip (p. 51),

[1] So designated to distinguish it from Kana (Kanah) in the former territory of Asher (*Josh.* xix. 28).

the most suitable for the collection of tolls ; and it is in favour of it that its name appears to reproduce closely in its final syllable the termination of the original Aramaic *Caphar-nahum*, whilst the greater extent of the ruins here points to its being the site of an important town, such as Capernaum must have been. CHORAZIN has been plausibly identified with a ruin called *Kerâzeh*, in a valley 2½ miles north of Tel Hum. South of Capernaum was MAGDALA, which is with much likelihood identified with *El Mejdel*; the place had some reputation in antiquity for the manufacture of woollen cloth and for dyeing. At the point where the lake, as it stretches southward, begins to narrow, was situated TIBERIAS, the most important city in Galilee, and the capital of the tetrarchy. It was built by Herod Antipas on the site of the ancient *Rakkath* (*Josh.* xix. 35) ; and was more Gentile in character than most of the Galilean towns. It was little frequented by the Jews, since Antipas was reported to have disturbed the tombs of the dead in laying the foundations of his new buildings, and so to have polluted the latter. At the extremity of the lake was *Taricheæ* (so called from the dried fish (*ταρίχη*) prepared there) ; but though it was a town of some note, it is not named in the New Testament.

Next to Galilee, in a southerly direction, lay the region of SAMARIA. The northern limit was *Engannim* (*Jenin*) on the edge of Esdraelon, whilst the southern border extended westward, down the present *Wâdy Ishar*, to the Shephelah, and eastward, down the lower end of the *Wâdy Farah*, to the Jordan. The district, which roughly corresponded to the territory of the tribes Manasseh and Ephraim was less than 25 miles across from north to south, with an undulating surface and very fertile soil. The chief city, SAMARIA, the capital of the old Ephraimite kingdom, was destroyed by the Jewish leader, John Hyrcanus (p. 37), rebuilt by Pompey, and embellished by Herod the Great, who called it *Sebaste*, in honour of Augustus (*Σεβαστός*). Another important locality was SHECHEM (the modern *Nâblûs*), between Mounts Ebal (north) and Gerizim (south). Near this, to the east, was SYCHAR (*El Askar*). There is a copious spring at Askar, and near it, a short way on the road to Jerusalem, is JACOB'S WELL. A little distance east of Sychar is *Shalem* or *Salim*, which has been identified with the SALIM, near which was ÆNON, where (according to the Fourth Evangelist, iii. 23) John baptized. Salim is a village near the Wâdy Farah, visible from Mount Gerizim, whilst some ruins called *Ainun* are situated about seven miles to the north. But, as these are on the top of a hill without any water, whereas at the Ænon of *Joh.* iii. 23 the writer states that there was much water, there are difficulties in the way of identification.[1]

From the border of Samaria there stretches towards the Sinaitic desert the land of JUDÆA, the least attractive and least fertile portion of western Palestine. It is a bare and waterless plateau, a large part of it being between 2,000 and 3,000 feet above sea-level, parched and barren. The eastern side overlooking the Dead Sea was known as *Jeshimon* ("Desolation"), a solitary waste of ridged and furrowed rock, which is cut at intervals

[1] A *Wady Suleim* occurs near Anâta, the ancient Anathoth, not far from Jerusalem.

by deep gullies. This ends abruptly in cliffs which descend precipitously some 1,200 feet to the margin of the water. The western flank is less declivitous, the plateau breaking up into a number of more or less detached hills, separated by deep and tortuous ravines, with here and there a wider valley. From the base of these hills there rise farther westward the series of lower heights constituting the Shephelah or Lowland (p. 2).

The exposed situation and stony soil of the centre of Judæa afford but little scope for agriculture; and the principal employment of its inhabitants is the pasturage of sheep. The Shephelah, on the contrary, where streams abound, admits of profitable cultivation; and cereals and fruits are easily produced there.

Of the Judæan cities the most important and interesting is JERUSALEM; and of the situation and aspect of this in New Testament times a separate account is given below (p. 9). As there explained, the Jewish capital is flanked on the east by the gorge of the KIDRON; whilst on the farther side of this there extends a range of heights, one of the eminences of which is the MOUNT OF OLIVES. On the south-eastern slope of this stood BETHANY (the modern *El Azariyeh*). This is now a small and decaying village, which gets its present name from its association with Lazarus (*Joh.* xi. 1). Of the hamlet of BETHPHAGE that once lay near it no trace survives; but it seems to have been situated somewhere between Bethany and Jerusalem. EPHRAIM (*Joh.* xi. 54) is the modern *et Taiyebeh*, some 14 miles north north-east of the latter. The site of EMMAUS, described as three score furlongs distant from the capital (*Lk.* xxiv. 13), is uncertain. The name appears to be reproduced in the modern *Amwâs*, 20 miles away in a west north-west direction, near Aijalon; but this does not agree with the distance mentioned. A more probable identification is *Mozah* (*Beit Mizzah*), about 55 furlongs from Jerusalem. Near this is the village of *Koloniyeh*, an obvious corruption of the Latin *Colonia*, which must have derived its name from a settlement of veterans established there by Titus (Josephus, *B.J.* vii. 6, 6), and which is said to have been called Emmaus at the time when it was given to the soldiers. Others suggest *El Kubeibeh*, 63 stadia from the capital, towards Lydda. ARIMATHEA is probably *er-Ram*, a village 5 miles due north of Jerusalem; though some identify it with Ramathaim (1 *Sam.* i. 1), the modern *Beit Rima*, 2 miles north of Timnathah, in the district once known as Mount Ephraim. Five miles south of the city is BETHLEHEM, situated along the main ridge of the Judæan plateau and built on a narrow platform projecting from the watershed. Vineyards are still luxuriant there, and olive groves and fig trees are numerous. Some 17 miles south south-west is *Hebron*, a city which, prominent in the Old Testament, is not named in the New Testament.

On the northern frontier of Western Palestine there lay along the Mediterranean coast the territory of PHŒNICIA, including the important towns of SIDON, SAREPTA (formerly *Zarephath*) and TYRE; whilst south of the latter, near the promontory of Carmel was the port of PTOLEMAIS (the ancient *Acco* and the modern Acre). South of Carmel and situated either on the sea or within the maritime plain were a number of places

that were seldom or never Jewish possessions. The most important was CÆSAREA, previously known as *Straton's Tower*, and converted by Herod the Great into a splendid harbour. When Judæa was reduced to a Roman province, Cæsarea became its administrative capital. Other towns that may be mentioned in order from north to south are JOPPA, *Apollonia*, AZOTUS (anciently *Ashdod*), *Ascalon*, *Anthedon*, and GAZA. The last was originally 3 miles from the sea, but being destroyed in 96 B.C. (p. 38), it was rebuilt later on a site closer to the shore. N.E. and S.E. from Joppa were ANTIPATRIS and LYDDA, within the Plain; whilst in the Shephelah were *Modin* and *Gazara* (the *Gezer* of the Old Testament). Along the southern border of Judæa there stretched the country of IDUMÆA (the ancient Edom), which is of interest as being the home of the family of Herod.

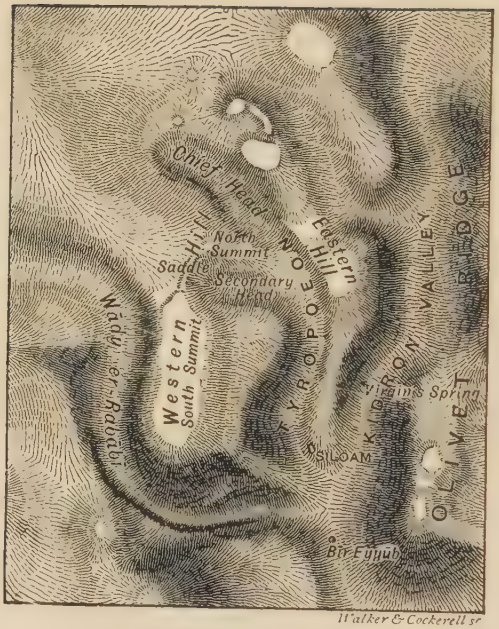
In the description of the region east of the Jordan the order observed will be, as before, from north to south. Beyond the sources of the river, and outside Palestine proper, were two small states of which the capitals were CHALCIS and ABILA. The first was situated in the gorge between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; it is not mentioned in the New Testament, but requires notice here as being the kingdom of Herod, brother of Agrippa I and of Herodias, and grandson of Herod the Great. The second of the two places just named stood on the north slope of Hermon, and its territory appears to have included both Hermon and Anti-Lebanon. South-east of Abila was DAMASCUS, a place of much antiquity and of great size, and having even now a population of 150,000. In the second quarter of the first century A.D. it was in the possession of an Arabian called Aretas, who governed it by an ethnarch. South of Damascus stretched a district which St. Luke (iii. 1) calls "the Ituræan and Trachonite country." TRACHONITIS comprised the rugged plateau called *Trachon* (now known as *El Leja*) together with the region lying between it and the ranges of Hermon and Anti-Lebanon. But as Anti-Lebanon was the home of the ITURÆANS, a race of archers, whose influence extended over part of the level ground at the foot of the range between it and the *Leja*, the Evangelist seems to have used for one and the same country a designation compounded from names respectively appropriate only to the extremities of it. On the southern slopes of Hermon was CÆSAREA PHILIPPI (the earlier *Panias*). Between Trachonitis and the Jordan lay *Gaulanitis* (which got its appellation from the city of Golan (*Josh.* xx. 8) in the ancient Bashan); and within this, near the spot where the Jordan enters the Lake of Galilee, was BETHSAIDA JULIAS (p. 51), which is generally identified with a ruin called *El Tell*. Half-way down the eastern shore of the lake is a locality called *Khersa*, which seems to be the site of the GERASA of *Mk.* v. 1. Some of the towns on or near the lake, having a Hellenistic population, constituted a confederation of Ten, and were known collectively as the DECAPOLIS. They originally comprised *Scythopolis*, *Pella*, *Gadara*, *Hippos*, *Dium*, *Gerasa*, *Philadelphia*, *Raphana*, *Kanatha* and DAMASCUS. These, with the exception of Damascus (which in position was far removed from the rest, and has been noticed above), and Scythopolis, which was in the Jordan valley west of the river, were all situated east of the river or the

lake, though not clustered together. Pella was in the river valley; Gadara on higher ground above it; Hippos on the lake shore; Dium and Gerasa (the latter distinct from the Gerasa of *Mk.* v. 1) were in ancient Gilead; Philadelphia was in what was once the territory of the Ammonites; whilst Raphana and Kanatha were in the region known as the Hauran, south of El Leja.

The country on the farther side of the Jordan, south of the Lake of Galilee, is drained by three rivers, the *Yarmuk*, flowing into the Jordan near the southern end of the lake, the *Arnon*, discharging itself into the Dead Sea, half-way between its two extremities, and the *Jabbok*, midway between the other two rivers; and the name PERÆA probably applied to all the district from the Yarmuk to the Arnon, though Josephus (*B.J.* iii. 3, 3) describes it as extending from Pella to Machærus (p. 9). It thus coincided with the former territories of the tribes Manasseh, Gad and Reuben. It is an undulating tableland of high elevation, not unfertile (since many of its watercourses are perennial), but mainly given over to pasture, and chequered in places with extensive tracts of woodland. In connection with New Testament history it is the least interesting of the divisions of Palestine, for though it was probably traversed by our Lord on His journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, no localities within it are named in association with that occasion. One place, however, is mentioned in *Joh.* i. 28 as having been a scene of the preaching of John the Baptist. This is BETHANY BEYOND JORDAN, which has been identified with some ruins called *Betâne* (probably the *Betonim* of *Josh.* xiii. 26). It is situated on high ground, a little south of the Jabbok, near the modern *Es Salt*. In *Joh.* i. 28, however, the Syriac versions (cur. and sin.) replace Bethany by BETHABARAH, which has been taken to be the same as a ford on the Jordan called Abâra near Scythopolis (the modern Beisan[1]). But such a name, meaning "house of passing-over," must have been applicable to more fords than one,[2] and may have denoted a spot near Jericho, where the Jordan could be crossed (*Josh.* ii. 7). It is difficult to feel great confidence in the details of the early part of the Johannine narrative (see p. 223); and *Mk.* i. 5 suggests that the principal scene of the Baptist's preaching was west of the Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Judæa, although it is, of course, possible that he did not confine himself to any single region.

It remains to say something about the singular ravine which is the most striking peculiarity of Palestine, and which severs it into two halves. The depression within which the Jordan flows extends the entire length of the country from north to south. Commencing as a mere mountain defile between Lebanon and Hermon, it deepens and widens as it stretches southward, and eventually expands into a broad valley, in some places 14 miles across and at its lowest point nearly 1,300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. This valley is traversed by the river, the sources of which are the mountain torrents springing from the sides of Hermon. These unite near the ancient city of *Dan* into a single stream, which plunges

[1] See Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospel*, p. 23.
[2] G. A. Smith, *H.G.H.L.*, p. 496 note.



THE SITE OF JERUSALEM.

down the great gorge just described, and finally, finding no exit, floods the floor of the valley at its southern end, and forms the salt expanse of the Dead Sea. In the course of its journey, it falls some 2,500 feet. The secondary bed which its ceaseless flow has cut in the bottom of the main valley is 100 feet deep, and here and there almost a mile wide; but it is so overgrown by a tangled thicket of canes and willows that the present river winds its way through the jungle in almost complete obscurity. Of the cities situated in the valley those which were of most importance in New Testament times were *Scythopolis*, *Pella* (p. 7) and JERICHO. The first on the west of the river was the ancient *Bethshan*, and became known as Scythopolis in the third century B.C.; it was situated near a road leading up from a ford (*Bethabara*, p. 8) through the valley of Jezreel into the plain of Esdraelon. *Pella* was on the eastern edge of the valley, about half-way between the Yarmuk and the Jabbok, and stood at the base of the eastern tableland. It was thither that the Christians retired from Jerusalem before the final phase of its siege. Jericho owed its importance to its command of the southern fords of the Jordan and to the exceptional fertility of its immediate surroundings. It stood on the right bank, at the foot of the Judæan hills (whence it was reached by the Wâdy Kelt, in the sides of which there are numerous caves, the resort of robbers, cf. *Lk.* x. 30), and was 6 miles from the fords and about 10 from the river's mouth. The fruitfulness of the neighbourhood, which was famous for its groves of balsam and palm trees, was augmented by irrigation works constructed by Herod the Great; and both he and his son Archelaus rebuilt and enlarged the city. On the heights above the eastern shore of the Dead Sea was the fortified palace of *Machærus*, which Herod the Great built on a platform overlooking the picturesque ravine of the Calirrhoe, which opens upon the lake about 12 miles from its northern end. Probably at the shallow southern end of the Dead Sea once stood the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, though some authorities maintain that they were situated at the northern extremity of the lake.[1]

The City of Jerusalem

The origin and meaning of the name *Jerusalem* are both uncertain. In Hebrew it has the vowels of a dual—*Yerushalaim*, which may have reference to the two hills on which the place stands, or to the Upper and Lower cities of which during its later history it consisted. But it is transliterated in the LXX as *Ἱερουσαλήμ*, and the last vowel of the shortened form *Shalem* (*Ps.* lxxvi. 2) is in Hebrew also *e*; so *Yerushalem* may be regarded as the primitive vocalization of the name amongst the Israelites. But the earliest known appellation of the city is *Urusalim*, which occurs in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, dating from the fourteenth century B.C. This is a Babylonian form of the name; but whether it was from this that the Hebrew form was adapted, or whether the latter is the original Canaanite name which the Babylonians modified is uncertain. If the

[1] See Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 170, 171.

name is Babylonian its meaning is probably "city of Salim" (Salim being a god known in Phœnicia, Assyria, and North Arabia). But if the Hebrew form of the word is the earliest, the signification is more doubtful; of various conjectures perhaps "Shalem founds" is best.[1]

Several other names at different periods were applied to the city. In *Jud.* xix. 10, 1 *Ch.* xi. 4, it is called *Jebus*; but this is probably only derived by inference from the fact that its inhabitants in the time of David were called *Jebusites*. A more frequent appellation is *Zion* (from a Hebrew root meaning "to be dry"), which appears to have designated originally only the lower extremity of the eastern of the two hills alluded to above. By the Roman Emperor Hadrian the native name for the city was replaced by *Ælia Capitolina* (p. 59).

In the New Testament the name "Jerusalem" appears both as *Ἱερουσαλήμ* (as in the LXX) and *Ἱεροσόλυμα* (the latter being usually a neuter plural).

The site of Jerusalem consists of twin promontories projecting southwards from the main plateau of Judæa and separated from the surrounding hills on the east and west by two deep ravines (which finally unite), and from one another by a shallow valley. The depth of the ravines rendered the city in early times almost impregnable on three sides: only on the north where the summits of the hills connect with the plateau could it be attacked with much prospect of success.

The eastern of the two promontories is flanked on the one side by the gorge of the Kidron, now called the *Wady Sitti Mariam* (beyond which rises the Mount of Olives, 2,693 feet above sea-level), and on the other side by the shallow valley mentioned above, which, formerly known as the *Tyropœon* (or valley of the cheesemakers), is now called *El Wâd*. The top of the eastern hill is not uniformly level, but is broken by four distinct summits, the highest of which is 2,524 feet above the sea, but only little more than 200 above the bed of the Kidron. The western hill has on its east side the valley of El Wâd, and on its western side the second of the two ravines alluded to, formerly called the *valley of the Son of Hinnom*, but now the *Wady er Rababi*. This hill is higher by one or two hundred feet than the eastern hill, and reaches to more than 2,600 feet above the sea, but is much flatter. It descends very abruptly at its southern extremity, which is 400 feet above the point where the valleys of El Wâd and Er Rabâbi meet.

During the later period of the Hebrew monarchy, and through the whole of the post-exilic age, Jerusalem extended over both the eastern and the western hills; but it is not certain when the occupation of the second of these began. Solomon's Temple (the site of which was retained for the two succeeding Temples, pp. 14, 47) was erected on the eastern hill; but it has been held by some that the Jebusite fortress of Zion, which was captured in the previous reign of David, was on the western hill, which is superior in height to the other. Probably, however, the earliest Jerusalem was on the southern extremity of the eastern eminence alone,

[1] See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. p. 258. The verb *yārāh* is used of laying a corner stone in *Job* xxxviii. 6.

for this, unlike the western ridge, has an accessible water supply (at Gihon in the Kidron gorge); and the relatively low elevation of this part of the hill in comparison with the site of the Temple accounts for the statement that when Solomon caused the Ark to be removed from Zion to the Temple it was "brought up" to the latter (1 *Kg.* viii. 4). Zion was probably the citadel (*ἡ ἄκρα*) during the Greek period (cf. 1 *Macc.* i. 33); and Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 5, 4), who describes it as built in the lower city (*ἡ κάτω πόλις*), must have been mistaken in stating that it overlooked the Temple, though its garrison would be in a position to interfere with the approaches to the latter.[1]

The side of the city most open to attack was the north (p. 10), and here three walls were successively built. The earliest ran west from the centre of the western wall of the Temple area; whilst the second, outside this, continued the northern wall of the same area,[2] and so brought the whole of the latter within the line of the fortification. Both these walls existed in the time of our Lord. Outside the second there gradually came into being a suburb called *Bezetha*; and this was eventually comprised within the city through the erection beyond it of a third wall by Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 37–44).

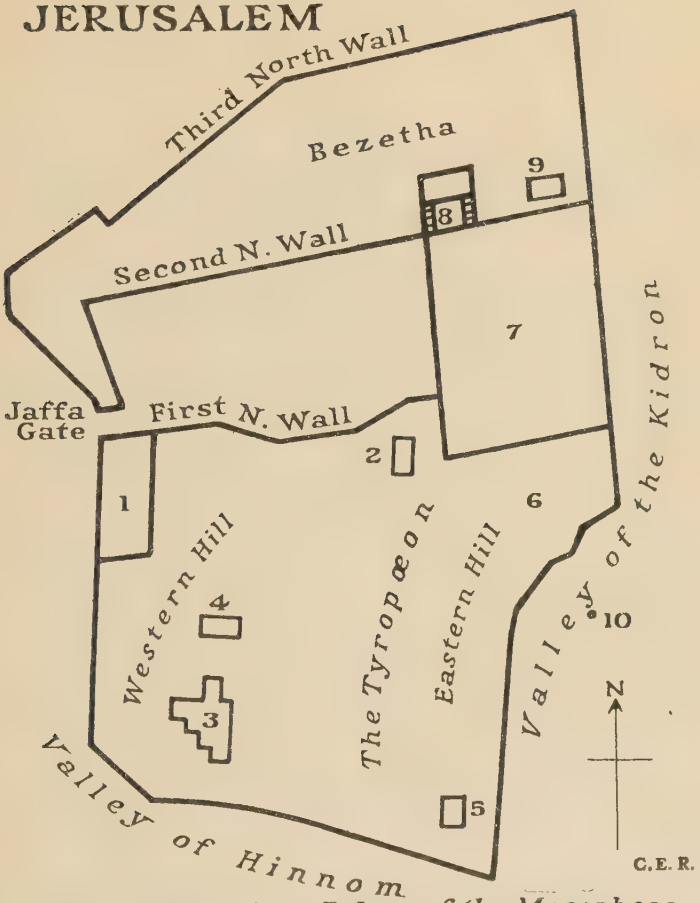
The mural boundaries of Jerusalem during our Lord's lifetime formed an irregular trapezium. Among the buildings and other localities which were enclosed by the fortifications, it will suffice to enumerate those which are of interest in connection with the New Testament. (1) On the WESTERN hill was the *Prætorium*, once the palace of Herod the Great, and afterwards the residence of the Roman procurator, whenever he transferred his quarters from Cæsarea to Jerusalem (p. 54). Near this was the gate (now called the Jaffa gate) through which our Lord probably passed when led forth to be crucified outside the walls (most likely somewhere on the ground afterwards covered by the suburb Bezetha). (2) Eastward of, and opposite to, the palace of Herod stood the *palace of the Maccabean princes*, which has been thought to be the residence occupied by Herod Antipas when he visited Jerusalem (*Lk.* xxiii. 7). (3) At the southern extremity of this hill is the so-called *cenaculum*, which, from the fourth century A.D., has been believed to mark the site of the house where the Last Supper was held; and near it is (4) the reputed residence of Caiaphas. (5) South of the EASTERN hill, at its foot, is the *pool of Siloam*, fed by a conduit from Gihon (the modern *Virgin's Spring*) in the Kidron ravine. (6) Higher up the eastern hill probably stood *Zion*, the citadel. (7) North of this, at a still higher elevation, was the area of the *Temple*, at the north-west corner of which was (8) the castle of *Antonia* (*Acts* xxi. 34), reached from the Temple courts by a flight of steps (*Acts* xxi. 35). In the suburb Bezetha was (9) the *pool of Bethesda*,[3] if this can plausibly be identified with the present *Birket Israil*. When Bezetha was incorporated in the city itself, the new wall then built may have comprised within its compass the sites of Golgotha and of the tomb wherein our Lord's

[1] G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. p. 447, 8.
[2] Smith, *op. cit.*, i. 208.
[3] In *Joh.* v. 2 the uncials A C have Βηθεσδά, ℵL Βηθζαθα,

Body was laid after His crucifixion. The garden of *Gethsemane* was situated at the base of the Mount of Olives, and reached by crossing the Kidron (*Mk.* xiv. 26, *Joh.* xviii. 1).

When our Lord visited Jerusalem shortly before His arrest and death, His voluntary movements were probably confined to the eastern hill, on which the Temple stood. Perhaps not till after His arrest at Gethsemane was He taken to the western hill, where there were (according to tradition) the house of the High Priest, and the Prætorium of the Roman governor; though the Last Supper is likewise associated with the same locality.

PLAN OF JERUSALEM



1 *Palace of Herod* 2 *Palace of the Maccabees*
3 *Cenaculum* 4 *House of Caiaphas*
5 *Pool of Siloam* 6 *Zion*
7 *The Temple area* 8 *Castle of Antonia, with stairs*
9 *Pool of Bethesda* 10 *Virgin's Fountain.*

*** *To illustrate the fortifications and the sites of the chief buildings in Jerusalem in the time of Christ.*

II

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE JEWS FROM THE EXILE TO THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

THE circumstance that the Old Testament is written in Hebrew, whereas the New Testament is written in Greek, although all of the one and most of the other proceed from men of the same race, is significant of the great difference in the conditions under which they were produced. During the period within which the writings of the Old Testament had their origin the Hebrew nation was an unimportant factor in the principal movements of the ancient world, and occupied a backwater in the stream of human history. Submerged successively beneath each of the great empires which in turn dominated the East—Assyria, Babylonia and Persia—it remained largely unaffected by its contact with them, and it was itself too insignificant and isolated to be an intellectual and spiritual force among them. But it was otherwise when the Macedonians advanced eastwards and broke the strength of Persia at Issus (333) and Arbela [1] (331). By the conquests of Alexander and the establishment, after his death, of Macedonian dynasties in Syria and Egypt, the Hebrew race was swept into the main current of human progress. Thenceforward, whilst not itself uninfluenced by Western ideas, it reacted still more powerfully upon its surroundings. The Hebrew language and the related Aramaic began to be replaced for literary purposes by Greek. Knowledge of Greek enabled Jewish thinkers to become acquainted with the products of Hellenic culture; and this modified in some degree their outlook upon the problems of existence. But the use of Greek had the far greater result of making known to non-Jewish peoples Jewish religious writings; and through them religious beliefs, which otherwise might not have circulated beyond the limits of the Jewish community, eventually penetrated throughout the Western world.

i. *The Persian Period*

List of Persian kings from the End of the Jewish Exile to the Fall of the Persian Empire.

	B.C.
Cyrus (*capture of Babylon*)	538
Cambyses	529

[1] Also called Gaugamela.

	B.C.
Pseudo-Smerdis	522
Darius I (Hystaspis)	521
Xerxes I	485
Artaxerxes I (Longimanus)	464
Xerxes II	424
Sogdianus	424
Darius II (Nothus)	423
Artaxerxes II (Mnemon)	405
Artaxerxes III (Ochus)	358
Arses	337
Darius III (Codomannus)	335
Overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander	330

With the conquest of Judah by the Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar the last of the Hebrew kingdoms came to an end in 587 B.C., and was not revived for more than 400 years (p. 36). The supremacy of Babylon was short (587–538); but its displacement by that of Persia made no alteration in the dependent condition of the Hebrew people, who remained subjects of the Persian empire for two centuries (538–330). Nevertheless an event of the greatest moment in their history occurred when Cyrus the Elamite, after taking Babylon, determined in 537 to concede to such of the Jews as desired it, restoration to their own soil, for it was to the interest of his empire to have on the western border of his territory where it touched Egypt a population conciliated in this way, whom gratitude was likely to render loyal. How many of the Jews who were settled in Babylonia took advantage of this grace is very uncertain; but though a number of the exiles continued to remain in the land of their captivity, a certain proportion [1] under a descendant of the house of David called Zerubbabel, who had been appointed by the Persian authorities governor (or *Tir-shatha*), returned to Palestine, and there enjoyed, though tributary, some measure of self-government. The territory which they occupied was much smaller than that embraced within the earlier kingdom of Judah; and some conception of the restricted area within which they dwelt may be derived from the fact that, though it extended eastwards to the Jordan and included Jericho, yet westwards it did not reach beyond the Shephelah (p. 2), for it did not comprise Gezer; and neither Ramah, 5 miles north of Jerusalem, nor Hebron, some 22 miles south of the same city, was within its boundaries (the former belonging to the Persian province of Samaria, and the latter being in the possession of the Edomites). Hence the region cannot have measured much more than 20 miles from north to south, or more than 30 from east to west.

The first collective work undertaken by the Jews on their return to their own country was the erection of the Second Temple. The foundation was laid in the reign of Cyrus in 536; but in consequence of impediments (p. 15), the building was not completed till the reign of Darius I in 516. It is probable that its ground-plan was the same as that of Solomon's previous structure, which consisted of a porch, a central hall and an inner

[1] The number is represented in *Ez.* ii. 64 f. as nearly 50,000, but the items constituting this figure only amount to about 30,000.

sanctuary. Unfortunately no complete description of the second Temple survives, and even its dimensions are imperfectly stated, for its length is not mentioned at all, and its height and breadth are both given as 60 cubits (*Ez.* vi. 3). The contents of the new building differed in some respects from that of the old, the ten lampstands made by Solomon being replaced by one, and the Most Holy Place having nothing except a stone marking the site where the Ark (now destroyed) had once been. In front of the whole there were two courts (1 *Macc.* iv. 38, 48, cf. 3 *Is.* lxii. 9), and not one only.

It was 72 years after the completion of the Temple that the city was successfully surrounded by a wall. In David's time Jerusalem seems to have been confined to the eastern hill (p. 10), but by the date of the Exile it had extended to the western also ; and when in 444 Nehemiah decided to fortify it, the walls he constructed embraced both hills.

With the restoration of a section of the Jewish people to their own soil there came into existence the distinction between those who inhabited Judæa and those who constituted the " Dispersion." In a measure, indeed, there had been a " dispersion " ever since a large proportion of the kingdom of Israel had been carried into captivity by the Assyrians in 722 ; and the number of persons of Hebrew race who were settled outside the limits of Palestine was considerably enlarged by those Jews who, after being deported to Babylonia, remained there, instead of returning to their former country with Zerubbabel. Subsequent events caused a still further diffusion, and in course of time the extent and importance of the Dispersion not only in Asia but also in Africa and Europe became very great, eventually exercising much influence upon the history both of Judaism and of Christianity (see p. 77).

To the north of the Jewish community in Judæa there dwelt the Samaritans, who were themselves, in part, of Hebrew stock and, in part, the descendants of the settlers whom various Assyrian sovereigns had successively established in Samaria, after the downfall of the Northern Kingdom in 722 (2 *Kg.* xvii. 24, *Ez.* iv. 2, 10). These, because they came from Cuthah (near Babylon) among other places, were called Cuthites by the Jews. With the immigrants the residue of the native population amalgamated, and in the mixed community that resulted Hebrew influence preponderated. For though at first the religion that prevailed was syncretistic, combining the worship of Jehovah with that of various heathen deities (2 *Kg.* xvii. 33, 41), yet ultimately the Samaritans became monotheists, rendering devotion to Jehovah exclusively. In the time of Zerubbabel (536), they desired to co-operate with the returned Jews in building the second Temple (*Ez.* iv. 1–2) ; but their proposal being rejected by reason of the Jews' desire not to contaminate themselves with a community whose origin they regarded as tainted, the Samaritans in revenge impeded the completion of the Temple by making misrepresentations to the Persian authorities (*Ez.* iv. 4, 5, 24). About 433 the cleavage thus occasioned was widened by Nehemiah, who tried to prevent intermarriage between the two communities ; and a member of the high priest's house, who had wedded a daughter of Sanballat, one of the leaders of the Samaritans

(*Neh.* iv. 2), was expelled by him (presumably because he would not repudiate his wife [1]). The social division thus created was followed by a permanent religious separation. The Samaritans were loyal to the leading principles of Judaism. They acknowledged the law of Moses, practising circumcision, and observing the Sabbath and the prescribed annual festivals; they looked for a Messiah [2] (on the strength of the prediction in *Dt.* xviii. 15, 18, cf. *Joh.* iv. 25); and they even adopted the regulation which allowed only a single centre of sacrificial worship. But instead of the Temple at Jerusalem they had as their sanctuary a temple erected about 430 B.C. on Mount Gerizim (p. 5), the hill wherefrom the blessings of the Law had been pronounced (according to *Dt.* xi. 29, *Josh.* viii. 33, 34); and, whilst accepting the Pentateuch, they rejected all the other writings which the Jews ultimately deemed canonical. It was probably the high priest's relative expelled by Nehemiah (as mentioned above), and called by Josephus Manasseh, who gave the Samaritans their Bible. When, forced to leave Jerusalem he would naturally take refuge with his father-in-law; and he doubtless carried with him a copy of the Pentateuch which had now been completed (p. 17); and this would give him a special qualification for ministering as priest in the new temple reared on Gerizim. It is not perhaps unlikely that the final purification of the Samaritan worship from heathen admixture was the result of the introduction among the Samaritans of the Law-book brought by Manasseh. In any case, the Samaritans eventually became free from paganism, so that the Jews did not universally deny that they might belong to the congregation of Israel, or invariably treat them as on the same level as heathens.[3]

The body of exiles who returned with Ezra in 458 brought with them a code of laws much more elaborate in character than any that had existed previously. There had been several codes in pre-exilic times. Two are embodied in the constituent document of the Pentateuch which is commonly known as the Prophetic narrative, and dates from the ninth, or at latest, the eighth century, whilst another occurs in the book of *Deuteronomy*, dating from the seventh century. But in the course of the Exile, and in the century that followed it (when, in the absence of any independent political life, the interest of the people was concentrated upon their religion), a more extensive code was drawn up, and conveyed to Jerusalem by Ezra and his companions. This code, probably combined with the previously existing documents into the Pentateuch, in practically its present shape, was solemnly promulgated in 444 (*Neh.* viii. ix). The laws of this code, with some accompanying history conveniently designated the Priestly narrative, were, as contrasted with those of earlier origin, marked by several distinctive features, the most important being the

[1] The right of a man to divorce his wife was recognized in the Deuteronomic legislation (see *Dt.* xxiv. 1 f.); and alliances with Canaanites were forbidden by the same code (vii. 1–3).

[2] Called the *Tahebh*, "the restorer," i.e. of true religion and Divine favour, from *tubh* (Hebrew *shūbh*): see *Expositor*, March, 1895.

[3] See Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, I. 400–403.

institution of circumcision as a religious ordinance,[1] an enlarged calendar of festivals, the establishment of an annual fast (the day of Atonement), a number of very minute enactments respecting the ritual of holy days and sacrifices, and the restriction of the priesthood, hitherto shared by all Levites, to the descendants of Aaron.

The expansion of the earlier legislation by this last body of laws, and the consolidation of all the codes, together with the historical narratives associated with them, into a single *corpus*—the Pentateuch—gave to the Hebrew religion a complexion which was in some measure new. As the authorship of the whole of the five books was ascribed to Moses, all their contents were believed to come down from a venerable antiquity: and the enactments comprised in them, whether of an ethical or a ceremonial nature, were held to have been communicated to the great legislator by God Himself. The nation's duties in every direction were now felt to be precisely defined, and assumed a statutory character; all commandments were regarded as of equal obligation; and a sense of proportion was no longer preserved in the estimate of their relative value. In consequence, piety was not so much faith in the Divine goodness and spontaneous devotion to the Divine service as fear of the Divine severity and a meticulous anxiety to fulfil the letter of the Divine injunctions. This legalistic conception of religion did not, of course, destroy in fine characters true spirituality, but it inevitably tended in the case of the multitude to render purity of motive of less account than external conduct, and to place ritual on the same level as morality.

The introduction, among the post-exilic community, of the legislation contained in the Priestly code had two important institutional results. One of them was the elevation, into a position of great power and prestige, of the High Priest, a title for the chief of the sacerdotal order now adopted for the first time (p. 92). The other was the acquisition of much influence among both the priesthood and the laity by a body of juristic experts, whom the task, first of multiplying copies of the Law and then of expounding it, had brought into existence, and who were variously called Scribes (*Sōphĕrim*, γραμματεῖς), Lawyers (νομικοί), and Teachers of the Law (νομοδιδάσκαλοι).

The importance of the Priesthood serving the Second Temple, in the centuries following the age of Ezra and Nehemiah, was due to two factors. One was the protracted political subordination of the Jewish community to foreign rulers, which, in consequence of the removal of most secular matters from its control, left its ecclesiastical officials paramount among their countrymen. The other was the inference drawn from past calamities, which were traced to disloyalty to God and His laws; so that the people sought to safeguard themselves against further chastisement by showing greater concern for the regulations of their religion, and increased respect for the priests, who were the persons expressly responsible for enforcing them. The chief member of the priesthood, the High Priest,

[1] This is enjoined in *Gen.* xvii. 9 f., a passage which comes from the Priestly document.

held his office (which was hereditary) for life; and it was only through superior force that in subsequent times secular rulers made and unmade High Priests at their pleasure (pp. 30–1). The High Priest was not only invested with the prerogatives belonging to his sacred office, but, inasmuch as in ancient societies there was not the same hard and fast line drawn between secular and religious functions as prevails now, he enjoyed political as well as ecclesiastical authority. Nor did the influence of the priesthood rest only upon popular sentiment. The enactments of the Law, in the form in which it appeared after the time of Ezra, ensured for the priests great wealth. In the legislation contained in the latest of the four codes of Law comprised in the Pentateuch, the dues assigned to them were far more extensive than those prescribed in the earlier codes.[1] The possession of material resources on such an ample scale reinforced the ascendancy which they had as the hereditary intermediaries between the people and the Deity, and contributed to render them predominant in the commonwealth. Within the Jewish community they were no longer overshadowed by a native sovereign who could evoke the veneration due to the Anointed of Jehovah; nor was their influence disputed, as in earlier times, by prophets claiming to be directly inspired by God; so that to their power there was little or no counterpoise.

The emergence into importance of the class of Scribes was due to the great reverence now felt for the Law, and the intricacy of its directions, which required authoritative interpretation. At an earlier period acquaintance with the rules of the Law, and the solution of such difficulties as presented themselves in the application of them to practical life were expected of the priests (cf. *Mal.* ii. 7). But eventually there arose a body of men who, without being priests, devoted themselves to the study of the Law, and became its official exponents. The need of exposition and explanation was all the greater because the Pentateuch was not a work produced at one time, but was a combination of documents composed at different times and reflecting conditions of life and phases of thought prevailing in successive periods; and the more the Law became valued, the more influential and respected became the professed students and interpreters of it. It was from them that the people in general sought instruction about the contents and meaning of the Law, and about the way to observe it in practice. Their decisions constituted a system of oral tradition, and the respect paid to the rules which they laid down was such that it was eventually declared to be more culpable to teach contrary to the precepts of the Scribes than to teach contrary to the written Law itself.[2]

[1] For the emoluments of the Priesthood see Schürer, *Hist. Jewish People*, II. i. 230 f., Bevan, *Jerusalem under High Priests*, pp. 9–11, and cf. below p. 93.

[2] Schürer, *History of Jewish People*, II. i. p. 334, ii. p. 12.

LIST OF HIGH PRIESTS

FROM THE RETURN TO THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

Jeshua (*contemporary with* Cyrus, 538–529 B.C.)
Joiakim
Eliashib (*c. with* Artaxerxes I, 464–424)
Joiada
Johanan or Jonathan
Jaddua (*c. with* Alexander the Great, 336–323)
Onias I
Simon I (the Just)
Eleazar (*c. with* Ptolemy II, 285–246)
Manasseh
Onias II (*c. with* Ptolemy III, 246–221)
Simon II
Onias III (*c. with* Antiochus IV, 175–164)
Jesus or Jason (*c. with* Antiochus IV, 175–164)
Onias IV or Menelaus (*c. with* Antiochus IV, 175–164)
Jakim or Alcimus (*c. with* Demetrius I, 162–150)
[Judas] [1]
Jonathan (153)
Simon (142)
John Hyrcanus (135–105)
Aristobulus I (105)
Alexander Jannæus (104–83)
Hyrcanus II (69)
Aristobulus II (69–63)
Hyrcanus II (*iterum*)
Antigonus (40–37)
Ananel (*c. with* Herod the Great, 37–4)
Aristobulus III (35)
Ananel (*iterum*) (34)
Jesus, son of Phabes
Simon, son of Boethos (24)
Matthias (5–4)
Joseph
Joazar
Eleazar, son of Boethos (*c. with* Archelaus, 4 B.C.–A.D. 6)
Jesus, son of Sië
Joazar (*iterum*)
Annas (or Ananus, 6–15),[2] (*c. with* Quirinius, 6)
Ishmael, son of Phabi (*c. with* Valerius Gratus)
Eleazar,[3] son of Annas.
Simon, son of Camithos (17–18)
Joseph Caiaphas [4] (18–36)
Jonathan,[5] son of Annas (*c. with* Vitellius, 35–39)
Theophilus, son of Annas (37 f.)
Simon Cantheras (*c. with* Agrippa I, 41–44)
Matthias, son of Annas
Elionaios, son of Cantheras
Joseph (*c. with* Herod of Chalcis, 44–48)
Ananias,[6] son of Nedebaios
Ishmael, son of Phabi (*c. with* Agrippa II, 50–100)
Joseph Cabi (61–62)
Ananus, son of Annas (62)
Jesus, son of Damnaios (62–63)
Jesus, son of Gamaliel (63–65)
Matthias, son of Theophilos (65)
Phannias (67–68)

Religion in the Persian Period

The experiences of the Exile and the conditions which prevailed in Judæa for a long time after the Return made a deep impression upon those of the Jewish people who had been restored to their own land. They had come to entertain a profound sense both of Jehovah's power and of His purity, so that they were for the most part not only estranged from all tendency to idolatry,[8] but were intensely concerned to avoid everything that might infringe the Divine prerogatives, or offend the Divine holiness. Their convictions about God's transcendent elevation above the world, and His separateness from every form of evil, influenced

[1] Josephus represents Judas as high priest in *Ant.* xii. 11. 2, but omits his name from the list of high priests in xx. 10.
[2] The Annas of *Lk.* iii. 2.
[3] Conjectured to be the Alexander of *Acts* iv. 6.
[4] The Caiaphas of *Lk.* iii. 2, *Mt.* xxvi. 57.
[5] The Ἰωνάθας of *Acts* iv. 6, D.
[6] The Ananias of *Acts* xxiii. 2.
[7] This survey includes features marking the prior Babylonian period.
[8] The idolatrous practices denounced in 3 *Is.* lvii. (*Trito-Isaiah*) probably prevailed amongst the population left behind in Palestine.

not only their forms of worship, but also their theological speculations; and in respect of both practices and beliefs they differed in a marked degree from their forefathers of the pre-exilic period.

(1) It was the sense of God's sanctity and of the necessity of avoiding in the approach to Him every kind of defilement that dictated the elaborate ceremonial regulations of the Priestly code to which allusion has been made (p. 17). To avoid any profanation of the Divine majesty by the careless use of the Divine name of JAHVEH, the very mention of it was avoided by the employment, in speech, of various substitutes such as *My Lord* (Adōnai) or *the Name*, or *the Blessed* or *the Heavens*; whilst when the consonantal letters of the Hebrew Scriptures were supplied with vowels the consonants of JAHVEH received the vowels of *Adōnai*, producing the form JEHOVAH.[1] But inasmuch as it is far easier to be careful about external religious observances than to maintain a high standard of morals, there not infrequently co-existed with great scrupulousness in regard to the formal side of religion much inhumanity and even corruption[2]; whilst at the same time the burden occasioned by the attempt to keep a number of minute rules of conduct inevitably induced a resort to various subterfuges whereby the rules were kept in the letter, though violated in the spirit. The importance which even the prophets of the post-exilic period attached to ceremonial duties contrasts rather strikingly with the attitude of those of an earlier time. The pre-exilic prophets had protested against the idea that rites and ceremonies could be in the sight of God of equal value with the practice of the social virtues; and had contended that sacrifices and formal homage, if unaccompanied by obedience to His ethical requirements, only angered Him,[3] whereas some at least of their successors placed ritual and moral ordinances upon the same plane (cf. 3 *Is.* lvi. 2, lviii. 13–14, *Mal.* i. 6 f., iii. 7 f.).

(2) The enhanced conception which the Jews of the post-exilic age had acquired of God's greatness issued in a heightened consciousness of the peculiar relation in which they believed their race to stand to Him. They felt that between themselves and Gentile nations there was a deep cleavage rendering intimate intercourse with them unlawful. Intermarriage with neighbouring peoples like the Moabites, Ammonites, Egyptians, was forbidden by Ezra; and even the alliances already contracted were dissolved (*Ez.* x., *Neh.* xiii. 23 f.). In defence of such measures a plea may, no doubt, be founded on the consideration that otherwise a small and feeble community, deprived of national independence, ran great risk of being absorbed by the heathen populations around it, and of losing its distinctive religious faith. Even in the earliest code of laws prescribed in the Pentateuch, prohibitions occur against unions with the Canaanites (*Ex.* xxxiv. 12–16). Nevertheless, the exclusiveness of the post-exilic Jews was in some measure a new departure. It did not prevail in the times of the early monarchy, for King David was descended from a marriage

[1] The circumstance that the first vowel in these words is respectively *a* and *e* depends upon a particular rule of Hebrew vocalization.

[2] Cf. 3 *Is.* lviii., *Mal.* iii. 5

[3] See *Is.* i. 10–17, *Hos.* vi. 6, *Am.* v. 21–24, *Mic.* vi. 6–8, *Jer.* vii. 4–7, 21–23.

between a Hebrew man and a Moabite woman; he himself had among his wives a princess of Geshur, a small Aramean state; and his son Solomon wedded the daughter of the King of Egypt, as well as women of various other nationalities. History shows, indeed, that the influence of such unions upon the purity of the Hebrew religion was often injurious.[1] Yet whatever excuse there may have been for the policy adopted by Ezra and his successors in the circumstances of the Jewish people, it could not fail to have prejudicial results through fostering in the Jews themselves spiritual pride and inhumanity, and earning for them the aversion of other peoples.

(3) The deeper conviction of the Divine majesty and purity which marked religion after the exile, and the tendency to regard the Deity as elevated above all immediate contact with the earth and with mankind, led to a great development of Angelology. About the origin of the belief in angels something will be said later (p. 110): here it is only needful to note the large space which they filled in theological speculation during the period now considered. The idea that God was surrounded by a host of ministering spirits, who were the agents alike of His beneficent purposes and of His retributive judgments was prevalent in Israel from very early times. But in proportion as He came to be viewed as farther and farther removed from the world and from direct converse with men, greater was the importance that was naturally attached to the subordinate spiritual beings who spanned the chasm separating Him from humanity, and the more increasingly were they regarded as the normal intermediaries for the communication of His will and the accomplishment of His ends.

(4) The development of a belief in God's transcendent perfection soon rendered it impossible any longer to consider Him (as He had previously been considered) the source of the mischievous thoughts that so often find entrance into human minds. Accordingly, to explain the facts of human experience there arose the idea that the temptations which beset men came from a Spirit of evil. Before, and even during, the exile Hebrew writers did not hesitate to regard Jehovah Himself as the cause of evil as well as of good (*Am.* iii. 6, 2 *Is.* xl. 7, *Lam.* iii. 38); and not alone of the external ills that happen to men, but also of the wrongful impulses which assail men from within (*Ex.* vii. 3, 1 *Sam.* ii. 25, 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1). Jehovah might indeed give scope to a subordinate spirit to tempt individuals to wrong (1 *Kg.* xxii. 21), with a view to testing or punishing them; but such a spirit was still considered to be one of His servants and attendants in the courts of heaven; and though he might be styled *the Satan* (*Job* i. 12), the word was a descriptive title ("the adversary" of men) and was not a proper name. But in the course of the post-exilic age the term *Satan* became at last a personal designation; and to the spirit so named were ascribed the pernicious suggestions that took shape in men's hearts as well as the physical sufferings that tormented their bodies. Hence when in the interests of late religious conceptions some of the historical books of the Old Testament were re-written by the author of *Chronicles* (possibly

[1] See 1 *Kg.* xi. 5–8, xvi. 31.

at the very end of the Persian, though more probably in the succeeding Greek period) the earlier representation that David was tempted by Jehovah to number Israel (2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1) was changed, and the temptation was attributed to Satan (1 *Ch.* xxi. 1). Like Jehovah, Satan, as the paramount spirit of evil, was also thought to have at his disposal the services of inferior agents for carrying out his malignant designs.

It has been suspected that the growth of a belief in a predominant Spirit of evil opposed to God, and in the activity of angels both good and bad owed something to Persian influence during the period in which the Jews were subject to Persian rule. Zoroastrianism recognized the existence of two rival Spiritual Powers, one, Ahuramazdah (Ormuzd), being the source of all good, and the other, Angra Mainhu (Ahriman), being the source of all evil. Each of these had subordinate spirits under his control, Ahuramazdah being attended by seven Archangels [1] and a host of inferior angels, and Angra Mainhu being served by a multitude of demons. Amongst the good spirits were the *fravâshis* or spiritual counterparts of the pious, which, dwelling in heaven, aided men upon earth; and there seem to have been *fravâshis* of nations likewise. There also prevailed a belief in a renewal of the world under a miraculous Being called *Saoshyant*, "Benefactor." These beliefs have obvious analogies with the Jewish belief in God and in Satan, in good and bad angels, in the guardian spirits of nations and individuals (*Dan.* x. 13, 20), in the expectation of a renovated universe (such as appears in 3 *Is.* lxv. 17, lxvi. 22), and of a Supernatural Deliverer, to whom reference will be made later. But whilst the religion of Persia can scarcely have failed to leave some impression upon Jewish thought, yet in view of the existence of elements in early Jewish religion from which many features in the beliefs of later times most resembling the Persian could have developed, it seems probable that the influence of the Persian religion upon Jewish ideas was stimulating rather than definitely creative.

(5) After the Return from the Exile the prophetic expectations about the Future underwent a marked change, which will be best understood by contrasting them with those which prevailed in the preceding age. Since in the early days of Israel's history Jehovah was regarded as a national God, who took part with His people in their conflicts with their enemies, it was natural that His *Day* (*i.e.* the occasion when He would manifest His superiority over Israel's foes and their gods) should at first have been anticipated as a moment of unqualified triumph for Israel and of decisive overthrow for its oppressors. By the prophets of the eighth century, however, who believed that Jehovah was primarily a God of righteousness, and who recognized how flagrant were their countrymen's sins against Him, the *Day of Jehovah* was expected to be an occasion of chastisement, though not of final destruction, for Israel itself. All moral and social evils (for which no multiplication of sacrifices and material offerings could procure condonation) would be eradicated through a searching judgment executed by some hostile power; and this, when its purpose was accom-

[1] Cf. *Tob.* xii. 15, *Enoch* xc. 21, *Rev.* viii. 2.

plished, would be followed by a period of permanent peace and felicity for the purified remnant. The agency which, in the prophets' conceptions, was to bring about the judgment was generally some foreign power within the political horizon, while the era of happiness which was the prospective sequel was to reproduce in a heightened degree the glories of the past. Sometimes the future was depicted as a theocracy, administered by God Himself, without mention of any human intermediary. Most commonly the hoped-for felicity was expected to be realized under the rule of a succession of just and beneficent kings of David's dynasty (*Am.* ix. 11, *Is.* xxxii. 1, *Jer.* xxiii. 5), in fulfilment of the covenant which was believed to subsist between Jehovah and David, in whose family God's fatherly relations with the nation were concentrated (2 *Sam.* vii. 14, *Ps.* lxxxix. 26, 27). But in some few prophecies there was foretold the advent of a pre-eminent descendant of David's house who would be exceptionally endowed with qualities of wisdom, piety, and power, and who would be the agent and representative of God (*Is.* ix. 1–7, xi. 1–9, *Mic.* v. 2 f.). Although the term *Messiah* ("Anointed") is not actually used of this ideal sovereign in the prophecies referred to, it came to be employed as a distinctive appellation for him; and in consequence, the era of happiness destined to end all sin and sorrow is generally styled, even when a personal Messiah does not figure in the descriptions of it, the Messianic age, though a more appropriate term might be the Golden Age.[1]

But whilst the expectation of the emergence from among the Hebrew people of a Messiah persisted long after the eighth and seventh centuries, yet in the course of time a different conception of the way in which the relief from foreign oppression was to come also grew up. The expansion of successive heathen empires by the absorption of the one immediately preceding had enlarged for the Jews their view of the external world and of the strength of the forces that held them in thrall, and caused them to despair of the vindication which they desired, save through some extraordinary intervention of God. Accordingly, the prophets of this period largely detached their minds from the processes and actualities of earth, and looked for God to destroy from heaven their collective enemies supernaturally. The occasion and manner of this great world-judgment were imaginatively conceived, with much variation in detail; and the overthrow of the human foes of God and of Israel is sometimes represented as accompanied by the punishment of hostile spiritual powers which were in alliance with them. These are among the features that distinguish what has been termed *Apocalyptic* prophecy, as it made its appearance during the Persian period, beginning with *Ezekiel* (xxxviii.–xxxix.) in the sixth century, and including *Joel* (*circ.* 400) and *Is.* xxiv.–xxvii. (fourth century). But whilst the Apocalyptic prophets of the Old Testament believed that the heathen generally would be the objects of a consuming judgment, yet for the most part they contemplated that there would remain survivors who would recognize the supremacy of Israel's God and the prerogatives of Jehovah's people. Thus their hopes about the future embraced in a sense

[1] Cf. Lake, *Landmarks of Early Christianity*, p. 19.

the extension of a knowledge of Jehovah amongst mankind as well as the predominance of the Jews over the rest of the nations.

(6) The most illuminating thought, however, respecting the diffusion throughout the world of a knowledge of the true God was expressed by a prophet living towards the end of the Exile, who declared that *the calamities endured by Israel* were destined by Jehovah to be instrumental in acquainting the heathen peoples with Himself and with their own sins against Him. In 2 *Is.* lii. 13–liii. 12, under the figure of Jehovah's Servant, collective Israel seems to be portrayed, first as sustaining with patience the utmost humiliation and outrage, and next as undergoing national extinction; but subsequently as being revived from this condition and as creating by such revival a conviction in the heathen peoples witnessing it that its sufferings were undeserved, and were designed by God *to expiate the heathens' own offences.* The personification involved in such a portrayal rendered possible the application of the description to an individual Person; and it proved to be the passage in the Old Testament which was deemed by the Christian Church to prefigure more accurately than any other the character and work of our Lord.

(7) Prior to the seventh century God's dealings with His people are usually represented as confined to the collective nation; the rights and responsibilities of the individual are lost sight of; and his fate is merged in that of the majority of his countrymen. But in the seventh century a feeling that individuals ought to be credited with their own merits, and held accountable for none but their own sins, began to arise; and in both *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* God is represented as declaring that the destiny of each person should be determined by his own righteousness or wickedness, independently of the conduct of others.[1] In the unqualified way in which this principle is stated by these prophets, the solidarity between the individual and the community imposed by the facts of this life and the constitution of human society, is ignored; for the consequences of individual offences, as a matter of experience, often fall upon others besides the actual offenders. But the appreciation, at this period, of the claims and responsibilities of individuals as distinct from the nation or the race to which they belonged was a notable contribution to theological thought, and led to important deductions at a later time.

ii. *The Greek Period* [2]

The dissolution of the Persian empire through the invasion of Asia by the Macedonian Alexander seems to have been welcomed by its Jewish subjects: so great a political upheaval offered at least the chance of a change for the better in their dependent condition. And although the Persian kings had not been, on the whole, harsh rulers, nevertheless one of them, Artaxerxes Ochus (358–337), had been severe in his treatment of them, for he had deported to Hyrcania a number of Jews who had been

[1] *Jer.* xxxi. 29–30, *Ezek.* xviii. 1 f.

[2] On the history of this period see Schürer, *Hist. Jewish People*, I. i. p. 186 f.

involved in a rebellion organized in Phœnicia and Egypt against the Persian domination; and consequently it was not unnatural that the Jewish people should view with satisfaction the catastrophe which Alexander brought upon those who had been their over-lords for two centuries.[1] The event, however, had for them evil results as well as good, though it cannot be doubted that for the world at large the beneficent consequences greatly preponderated.

The territory occupied by the Jews during the early part of the Greek period did not differ greatly in extent from that which was in their hands under the Persians. On the north it reached just beyond Bethel and Bethhoron; westwards the border ran along the Shephelah, Emmaus and Timnath being included in Judæa, but Gaza being Philistine; on the south the frontier did not reach to Hebron (which belonged to Edom), but Bethzur, 4 miles north of Hebron, was on the Jewish side of the border-line; whilst towards the east Tekoa was a Jewish possession, but places like Jericho, and the Jordan valley, and Engedi by the western littoral of the Dead Sea, were probably Idumæan. Thus the area of the region which the Jews owned about the beginning of the third century seems to have been somewhat enlarged towards the north, but diminished on the east.

Alexander's invasion of the Persian dominions was the first occasion when the Jews, in common with many other Asiatic peoples, came into contact with Hellenism and all that the term connotes. Greek colonies, indeed, had long existed on the seaboard of the Mediterranean and the Euxine; but not before this had Greek influence penetrated into the interior of Asia Minor, or reached as far south as Palestine. Among the characteristics of the Hellenic spirit were (*a*) individual liberty, so far as it was compatible with the restrictions inseparable from participation in the social and political life of a state; (*b*) a large measure of emancipation from the tyranny of tradition and custom, and the free exercise of a spirit of scientific and critical inquiry; (*c*) the systematic development, by training, not only of the mind but of the body also; (*d*) a love of the beautiful in literature and art. Hellenic influence, indeed, was not at its highest and best as manifested by the Macedonians. But even so, with its freedom, its intellectual interests, and its architecture and statuary, it was bound to exercise a considerable attraction upon the populations of Asia, or at least upon certain circles amongst them. And through the agency of the Macedonians it at last produced an effect upon the civilized world (as it then was) on a scale which in the hands of the true Greeks themselves, divided as they were into a number of small city-states devoid of any unity, it had never attained.

Alexander did not leave the Hellenization of Asia Minor to chance enterprise, but pursued a systematic policy. After defeating the Persian king Darius Codomannus at Issus, at the foot of Mount Amanus, in 333 B.C., he had Syria and Palestine at his mercy; and as he advanced southwards towards Egypt, his intention of permanently holding and organizing the country was shown by his issuing money coined at Acco, Damascus,

[1] Probably *Is.* xxiv.–xxvii. reflects Jewish feelings at this crisis.

and other places, by establishing Greek colonies in several existing cities, and by founding and equipping with Greek institutions a number of new cities. To celebrate his success at Issus he reared at the head of the *Sinus Issicus* (gulf of Alexandretta) a city which (like one of still greater importance built in Egypt) he called after his own name Alexandria; and amongst towns in Palestine which he founded or colonized were Pella (named after his birthplace), and Samaria, where in 331 he planted a number of Macedonian settlers. He is even represented as having visited Jerusalem, though the story in the form in which it is given by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8) is discredited by its anachronisms; and he certainly seems to have shown much favour to the Jews, many of whom were established by him in the Egyptian Alexandria. Judæa was placed by him in the satrapy of Cœle Syria, the centre of government being at Samaria.

But the penetration into Asia of Greek culture involved the introduction of Greek religion. Many of the most characteristic institutions of Greece, such as the theatre, were inseparably connected with religion; and the arts were widely employed in its service. This fact was not, indeed, a serious obstacle to the adoption of Hellenic civilization by most of the Asiatic communities, for these possessed considerable assimilative power in connection with foreign cults, and the Greek deities were often blended with the native divinities, though they seldom altogether replaced them. Where, however, Hellenic customs, associated with the worship of the Hellenic gods, were introduced among a people like the Jews, whose religious principles at the time were of a most exclusive nature, and to whom the representation of the Divine under material forms was abhorrent, there, as might be expected, very fierce resistance was encountered.

PALESTINE UNDER EGYPTIAN RULE

Synchronism of Egyptian and Syrian Kings

Kings of Egypt.	B.C.	*Kings of Syria.*
	306	Antigonus
Ptolemy I Lagi (Soter) . . .	305	
	301	Seleucus I (Nicator)
Ptolemy II (Philadelphus). . .	285	
	281	Antiochus I (Soter)
	261	Antiochus II (Theos)
Ptolemy III (Euergetes) . . .	246	Seleucus II (Callinicus)
	226	Seleucus III
	224	Antiochus III (the Great)
Ptolemy IV (Philopator) . . .	221	
Ptolemy V (Epiphanes) . . .	205	
Transfer of Palestine from Egyptian to Syrian rule	198	
	187	Seleucus IV (Philopator)
Ptolemy VI or VII [1] (Philometor) .	182	
	175	Antiochus IV (Epiphanes)
	164	Antiochus V (Eupator)
	162	Demetrius I
	150	Alexander Balas

[1] There is reason to think that two other kings reigned for a few months between Ptolemy Epiphanes and P. Philometor and between the latter and P. Physcon respectively.

Kings of Egypt.	B.C.	*Kings of Syria.*
Ptolemy VII or IX [1] (Euergetes II or Physcon)	146	
	145	Demetrius II Antiochus VI (Theos) Trypho
	138	Antiochus VII (Sidetes)
	128	*Death of Antiochus VII*
Death of Ptolemy VII (IX) . .	116 ?	

Alexander died in 323 B.C., less than 10 years after his final victory over the Persians at Arbela; and his empire then fell to pieces in the course of a struggle between his principal generals. Out of the struggle four emerged successfully, Antigonus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Cassander. Of these Antigonus secured the greatest extent of territory, stretching from the Mediterranean to the Indus; Ptolemy had Egypt; Lysimachus Thrace [2]; and Cassander, Macedonia. Antigonus eventually lost Babylonia and Persia, which were seized by Seleucus, another of Alexander's officers. Each of the five had assumed the title of king by 305, though the term had in strictness no territorial reference: they were *Macedonian* kings ruling in different countries which formed part of the Macedonian empire. In 302 an alliance was made against Antigonus by the rest; and in 301 he was defeated and killed in a battle at Issus in Phrygia by the joint forces of Lysimachus and Seleucus. Between these two his remaining dominions in Asia Minor were divided, Syria falling to Seleucus.

During the lifetime of Antigonus the occupation of Palestine had been disputed between him and Ptolemy, since the command of the trade route along the Mediterranean (p. 1) and the possession of the ports of Tyre and Sidon brought great commercial advantages, whilst the forests of Lebanon were of particular value to Ptolemy inasmuch as Egypt had little timber.[3] After the death of Antigonus the country changed hands several times; but by Seleucus Nicator, who succeeded to the throne of Syria, it was left to Ptolemy. As regards the conduct of the latter towards the Jews the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 1) produce a rather conflicting impression, but the fact that Alexandria came to have a very large Jewish population seems to imply that the treatment which they received from the Egyptian kings was in general favourable; and this is confirmed by the fact that whereas Seleucus founded in his dominions a number of great cities, which he could scarcely do without impairing the rights of the earlier possessors of the soil, Ptolemy founded, or re-founded, only one, viz. Ptolemais, the ancient Akko.[4]

Ptolemy I (known as Soter) was succeeded in 285 by his son Ptolemy II (Philadelphus). If he was not actually the first to institute the famous Library of Alexandria, he certainly did much to develop it, appointing, as chief librarian, Zenodotus, the Homeric critic, who was tutor to his

[1] There is reason to think that two other kings reigned for a few months between Ptolemy Epiphanes and P. Philometor and between the latter and P. Physcon respectively.

[2] Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 1) describes Lysimachus as governing the Hellespont.

[3] Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, pp. 24–5.

[4] Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 89, 90.

son. It was probably in the reign of Philadelphus that a beginning was made in the rendering of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 2) represents that the Egyptian King, desirous to add to his library a translation of the Jewish Scriptures, sought the favour of the Jews by ransoming a vast number of Jewish captives and by sending a quantity of valuable presents to Jerusalem, and obtained from the high priest Eleazar a copy of the Law, and the service of 72 elders (six for each tribe) to translate it. The narrative of Josephus, obviously embroidered as it is,[1] was still further exaggerated in later times, when each of the 72 translators was related to have put the whole of the Old Testament into Greek, with such accuracy that their translations agreed perfectly together. It seems, on the whole, probable that the translation was really made to meet the needs of the Jews settled in Alexandria; that the several parts of the Old Testament were rendered into Greek at separate times (the merits of the rendering varying greatly in different parts); and that the Pentateuch was the first group of books to be translated (as Josephus represents). With the diffusion of Greek through the East generally, and the disappearance of a knowledge of Hebrew amongst the Jews (with the exception of those who, like the Scribes, were professed students of the Scriptures), the Septuagint version (as the Greek translation came to be styled) replaced the Hebrew text as the Bible of the common people. It was from it that the writers of the New Testament usually quoted, and the Old Latin Version was eventually made from it. In addition to the LXX, a number of other Jewish religious writings, composed in Greek, and comprised in the Apocrypha, were eventually produced at Alexandria.

Both Ptolemy II and his son Ptolemy III (Euergetes) were strong enough to retain during their lives secure hold upon Palestine. The boundary between their Palestinian territory and the dominions of the Syrian kings was the river Eleutherus (the modern *Nahr el Kebir*), a small stream flowing from Mount Lebanon into the sea between Byblus and Aradus. This was so dangerously near to Antioch, the Syrian capital, as to make the recovery of Palestine (a country which geographically belongs to Asia and not to Africa) a constant aim of the later Seleucid kings. Antiochus III (224–187), the contemporary of Ptolemy IV (Philopator) and of his son Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), was the first to invade it, unsuccessfully in 221, but with more success subsequently, when Egypt was reduced to a state of weakness through internal disputes during the minority of Ptolemy V. In 199 he was in occupation of Palestine, but his forces were driven out almost immediately by Ptolemy's general Scopas who placed an Egyptian garrison in Jerusalem. Next year, however, Antiochus gained a victory near the site of the later Panias, close to the sources of the Jordan, which proved decisive. It gave him possession of Samaria, Judæa, and the district on the east of the Jordan; and from 198 for nearly a hundred years the Jews were included within the dominions of the Syrian kings. As they were relieved of the garrison in Jerusalem the change of rule was for a time grateful to them, especially as Antiochus

[1] The translation is described as accomplished in seventy-two days (*Ant.* xii. 2, 13).

exempted from taxation anything intended for the Temple service, and granted to the population of the capital many favours.

PALESTINE UNDER SYRIAN RULE

SYNCHRONISM OF JEWISH LEADERS AND SYRIAN KINGS

Jewish Leaders.	B.C.	*Kings of Syria.*
	187	Seleucus IV (Philopator)
	175	Antiochus IV (Epiphanes)
Judas Maccabæus	165	
	164	Antiochus V (Eupator).
	162	Demetrius I (Soter)
Jonathan	161	
	150	Alexander Balas
	145	Demetrius II Antiochus VI (Epiphanes, Dionysus or Theos) Trypho
Simon	142	
	138	Antiochus VII (Sidetes or Soter)
John Hyrcanus	135	
Judæa independent	128	*Death of Antiochus VII*

The reign of Antiochus III is important for Jewish history not only because in it Judæa ceased to be an Egyptian, and became a Syrian, province, but also because it witnessed the first entry of the Romans upon the field of Asiatic politics, in which they were free to engage in consequence of the overthrow of Hannibal and the Carthaginians at Zama in 202 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon at Cynoscephalæ in 197 B.C. The ambition of Antiochus led him to interfere in Greece, where the Ætolians, who had a grievance against Rome, applied for his aid; and the consequent contest with the Romans had momentous results not only for himself but also, in the sequel, for the Jews. For after Antiochus had been defeated at Thermopylæ (191 B.C.) and driven from Europe, the Romans followed up their success by crossing the Hellespont, and after vanquishing him again at Magnesia (190 B.C.), deprived him of all his territory west of Mount Taurus, giving it to Eumenes, King of Pergamum. They also exacted a heavy indemnity and compelled him to furnish hostages for the payment of it, among the hostages being his own son Antiochus. This success over so powerful a ruler caused the Romans to be looked upon as likely to be the protectors of such Asiatic peoples as were hard pressed by the superior forces of their neighbours; and in the reign of Antiochus IV the Jews were among those who turned to them for help.

Antiochus III was killed in Elam (Elymais) in 187, and was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV. Seleucus enabled his brother Antiochus to return from Rome by sending thither his own son Demetrius instead. His reign was necessarily an unambitious one, since he was chiefly occupied in the work of extracting money from the country in order to pay the indemnity due to Rome. He was eventually murdered by a minister named Heliodorus; and as Demetrius, his heir, was at the time in Rome, the crown was seized (175) by his brother Antiochus IV (Epiphanes).

During the century and a half separating Alexander's death from the

accession of Epiphanes, the penetration of Palestine by Hellenic influences had been continuously proceeding. Its progress was attested by the names of many of the towns within it; for Anthedon, Apollonia, Straton's Tower, Ptolemais, Hippus, Scythopolis, Pella, Dium, Philadelphia, Antipatris and Panias are all Greek appellations, applied either to new towns founded by Greeks, or to existing Semitic cities containing large Greek colonies. Coins were in circulation bearing not only Greek inscriptions but the figures and emblems of Greek deities. Greek worship prevailed either by the side of, or in combination with, native cults; and Greek athletic festivals were established in various places. It was in the districts surrounding Judæa, and especially in the towns on the coast, that Hellenism was most influential; but even within the ancient territory of Israel there were localities where Greeks were settled. The small Jewish community thus had near them numerous centres of Greek culture, with which they came in contact through trade and other channels, and this environment could not have failed in the long run to affect them, so that the introduction of Hellenism among them might have been peaceful, had it not been for the violent action of Epiphanes.

This Syrian king was a man of vehement impulses and extravagant conduct, and, if opposed in his desires, tyrannical and cruel. Having determined to spread Greek culture through his realm with a view to unifying the diverse races contained in it and so rendering it more defensible against the Romans (who had interfered with him in a successful war against Egypt), he had no scruple in trampling upon the feelings of those of his subjects who, like the Jews, felt their religion to be outraged by some of the most distinctive institutions of Greek life. Yet in the innovations which he wished to introduce he was not without sympathizers among the Jews themselves; nor in attempting to apply compulsion did he act without provocation. Many members of the priestly families, whom the possession of civil power as well as of ecclesiastical dignity (p. 18) had rendered worldly, were disposed to welcome the policy of their Greek rulers, a symptom of this inclination among them towards Greek ways being the adoption of Greek names. The High Priest, indeed, Onias III, was opposed to the novel usages; but his brother Jason induced Antiochus to remove Onias from office in favour of himself, and to allow the erection of a gymnasium in Jerusalem (1 *Macc.* i. 14). In consequence, Jewish youths began to exercise themselves like Greeks, and to wear the characteristic dress of the latter, the *chlamys* and the *petasos*.[1] There were numbers, however, who shared the views of Onias, and to whom such athletic training was abhorrent, partly perhaps from sheer conservatism, but largely, no doubt, because Greek public games were generally conducted in honour of some deity,[2] and because there were various debasing elements in Greek life and manners. Those who took up an attitude of opposition to the spread of Hellenism were known as *Hasidim* or *Asidæans*

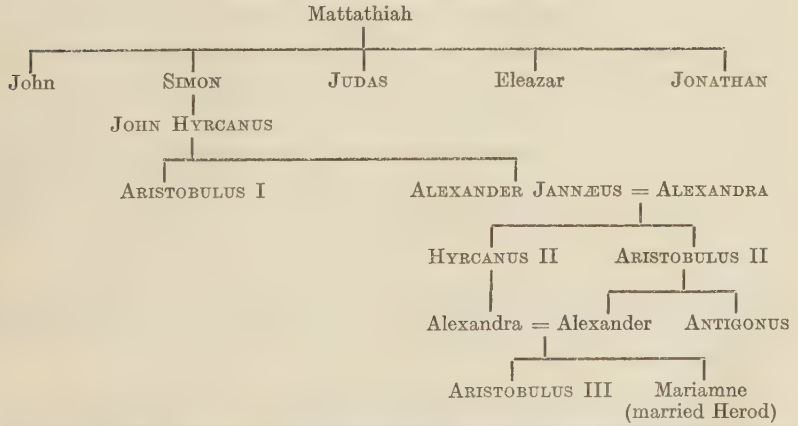
[1] The *chlamys* was a short mantle of oblong shape, pinned either at the throat so that it hung down the back, or on the right shoulder so that it covered the left arm. The *petasos* was a broad-brimmed cap of felt.

[2] Certain games at Tyre, celebrated every fifth year, were held in honour of Heracles (2 *Macc.* iv. 18–21).

(the Hebrew term being equivalent to "pious" or "godly"). Their feelings were still further exasperated by the fact that the Syrian king replaced the high priest Joshua or Jason by a more favoured rival called Menelaus (who was not even a Levite but a Benjamite), and drove Jason into exile. Menelaus added to the odium entertained for him by procuring the death of the deposed Onias III, who had taken refuge at Daphne, near Antioch (2 *Macc.* iv. 34–35). The strained relations between the king and the bulk of the Jews reached breaking-point in the course of the war between Syria and Egypt (now under Ptolemy VI, Philometor). A false report in 170 B.C. of Antiochus' death caused Jason to return to Jerusalem with an armed force and to slaughter the adherents of Menelaus (who represented the party loyal to the king). This not unnaturally appeared to Antiochus to be a revolt against his authority at a critical time, so that he hastened back from Egypt to Jerusalem, and wreaked his vengeance upon it by a massacre of the citizens and by plundering the Temple; whilst two years later a garrison was placed in the citadel.[1] Finally he resolved to abolish the rites of the Jewish religion altogether. The daily sacrifices (p. 93) were prohibited, an altar to Zeus Olympius was erected on the altar of burnt-offering, and swine were sacrificed upon it; copies of the Law, wherever found, were destroyed; and the possession of such, together with the practice of circumcision and other Jewish religious observances, was made punishable with death (Dec. 168 B.C.). On the monthly anniversary of the king's birthday, the Jews were compelled to partake of the idolatrous sacrifices then offered in every locality, and were also constrained to keep the festival of Dionysus (1 *Macc.* i. 41 f., 2 *Macc.* vi. 1 f., vii. 1 f., *Dan.* xi. 31).

THE HASMONÆANS

GENEALOGY OF THE HASMONÆANS



*** *Those whose names are printed in capitals occupied positions of authority, either as leaders of the Jewish armies, as High Priests, or as sovereigns.*

[1] Cf. 1 *Macc.* i. 20–28, 33. For the site of the citadel see p. 11.

By such of the people as were faithful to their religious principles, the tyrannical injunctions of the Syrian kings were defied; and the same spirit of loyalty to the Law caused many to die unresistingly when attacked on the Sabbath rather than break the Law by standing on their defence (1 *Macc.* ii. 29–38, 2 *Macc.* vi. 11). Leaders in the organization of resistance were forthcoming from the town of Modin (probably represented by the modern *el Medijeh*) near Lydda, where a priest named Mattathiah (who drew his lineage from a certain Hashmon, whence his descendants came to be called Hasmonæans) set on foot a revolt (167 B.C.) by killing both an apostate Jew and the king's commissioner; and his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar and Jonathan, formed a rallying point round which insurgents could gather. Though each of the five brethren is said to have had a distinguishing epithet (1 *Macc.* ii. 2–5), yet the title applied to Judas, who was styled *Maccabæus*, "the Hammerer," was extended to all, and they were known collectively as the *Maccabees*. They did not themselves belong to the Asidean or pietist party (p. 30); but in taking up arms against the Syrian tyrant they had its support. They proceeded to destroy the heathen altars in their neighbourhood and to restore, even by force, the observance of the Law (1 *Macc.* ii. 45–48). After the death of Mattathiah in 167 Judas, whom his father had regarded as best qualified to act as military leader, took command of the irregular bands that collected for national defence. When the Syrian forces which Antiochus (who was himself engaged in war with the Parthians) sent to suppress the revolt moved against him, he defeated them in a series of engagements at Bethhoron, Emmaus, and Bethsura (Bethzur).[1] These successes enabled him to take possession of Jerusalem (with the exception of the citadel, p. 31). In Dec. 165 the Temple was re-consecrated, a new altar was raised, and the sacrifices prescribed by the Law were renewed. The day (the 25th of *Chislev*, equivalent to Nov.–Dec.) on which the altar was dedicated was afterwards observed as an annual festival (the *Encænia* (*Joh.* x. 22) or *Lights* (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 77)). The struggle, however, continued some time longer; and in the course of it the Maccabees, Judas and Simon, brought from Gilead and Galilee a number of their countrymen who were being persecuted by the heathen population around them. They did not restrict themselves, however, to protecting the members of their own faith, but made incursions into Edom and Philistia, destroying Hebron, and overthrowing Ashdod; and by these last achievements they gave early indications of the desire for secular power which characterized them at a later time.

Antiochus IV, who had made an expedition into Elam in order to obtain money by plundering some rich temples there, but met with little success, died in 164[2] in Persia, and was succeeded by his son Antiochus V, a

[1] 1 *Macc.* iii. 10–iv. 35, 2 *Macc.* viii.

[2] If the death of Antiochus occurred about the middle of 164, the three and a half years elapsing since Dec. 168 (p. 31) when the Temple at Jerusalem was desecrated, correspond to "the time, times and half a time" of *Dan.* vii. 25 (cf. Driver, *Dan.* p. 93). For varying accounts of Antiochus' death see 1 *Macc.* vi. 1 f., 2 *Macc.* i. 12 f., ix. 1 f.

minor. One of the Syrian generals, Lysias, who had appointed himself guardian of the young king, undertook to relieve the garrison besieged in the citadel of Jerusalem, and with a powerful army met and defeated Judas at Bethzacariah, a locality south-west of Bethlehem, Eleazar the brother of Judas being killed in the engagement. Jerusalem was then beleaguered; but the appearance of a claimant to the Syrian throne in the person of Philip (whom Antiochus IV had named as guardian to his son) induced Lysias to come to an arrangement with the Jews. It was agreed that the Jewish religious institutions should be restored, and that the Jews should be allowed freedom to observe the injunctions of their Law unmolested. This compact (in 163 B.C.) ended the war for religious liberty, and none of the subsequent Syrian sovereigns interfered with the practice of the Jewish faith. The fortifications of Jerusalem, however, were dismantled by the orders of Antiochus in spite of a pledge which he had given to the contrary.

With this result attained there ensued in course of time a readjustment of parties among the Jews. Henceforward no overt disloyalty to the written Mosaic Law was manifested by any. But it was inevitable that some degree of estrangement should arise between military leaders like the Hasmonæans and the section of the priests, who, previously known as the Asideans (p. 30), came at a later period to be styled the *Pharisees* (see p. 102). These, whose interest was centred in the practice of their religion, ceased, as soon as religious liberty was secured, to feel much concern for the political ends that began to appeal to the Hasmonæans. The latter, encouraged by the success which they had gained over the Syrian forces, aspired to fling off Syrian control altogether, and to vindicate their country's independence; whilst with these patriotic aims there could hardly fail to be mingled some elements of human ambition. Consequently (as will be seen), though they were originally the military champions of the more rigid section of their countrymen against the laxer party, within which the High Priests in general were included, yet as they became more involved in political schemes, attained to greater power and rank, and grew more worldly in character, they were gradually alienated from their former associates, and came to share the views and feelings of their original opponents, who were eventually represented by the sect of the *Sadducees* (p. 100).

The attempt which the Hasmonæans now made to add political independence to the religious freedom already secured was aided by the increasing weakness of Syria in consequence of the disputes for the succession following upon the death of Antiochus IV. Not only were the material resources of the Syrians divided and dissipated, but both the individual capacity of the Hasmonæans and the forces which they had at their disposal rendered them valuable allies to any party that could obtain their support, so that rival claimants to the crown sought to outbid each other in the concessions which they granted in order to gain their friendship. The Hasmonæans showed no lack of readiness to turn to account the quarrels of their rulers; and they were so adroit in taking advantage of the situation that first the High Priesthood, and then independent

political authority with the title of King, fell to their house. Nevertheless their power was due to the divisions among their opponents more than to any other cause; so that it has been justly observed that its growth was the work of the Gentile kings themselves.[1] Another factor which in some degree contributed to their success (at least indirectly) was the Roman state; and the early phases of Rome's interest in Jewish affairs deserve notice in view of the decisive part which she came afterwards to play in Jewish history. Knowledge of her victory in the contest with the most powerful of the Seleucids (p. 29), and her later interference with Antiochus Epiphanes when he was bringing to a successful close a war with Egypt (p. 30) led the Hasmonæans to seek her help in their own struggles; and more than one embassy was sent to the west (1 *Macc.* viii. 17 ff., xii. 1 ff.). These embassies, however, did not procure for the Jews, when fighting for their liberties, more than diplomatic support. Rome was glad enough to see a buffer state arise between Syria and Egypt,[2] but she was not prepared to help its development with military aid, and when the liberties were actually won, the Romans' active intervention took a form inimical to Jewish independence.

The pretender Philip, who appeared as a rival to Antiochus V (p. 33) was speedily overthrown by Lysias; but Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV, and so cousin of Antiochus, who succeeded in escaping from Rome (p. 29), now returned to Syria; and as he detached the soldiers of Antiochus from their allegiance, he was able to put to death both the King and his guardian. The place of the High Priest Menelaus (who had been executed by Antiochus) was filled, by the direction of Demetrius, with Alcimus, a man of Aaronic descent but of Hellenist sympathies, whose Hebrew name was Jakim or Eliakim, and whom, in virtue of his lineage, the Asideans were content to accept and trust (1 *Macc.* vii. 13). But the appointment of Alcimus, as the nominee of the Syrian king, the Maccabees, who saw that the only hope of permanent peace for the country lay in independence of Syria, would not tolerate; and war broke out in consequence. Judas defeated at Adasa, near Bethlehem (161), the Syrian general Nicanor, who fell in the battle; and he then tried once more to strengthen his position by negotiation with Rome. The Romans, who were quite ready to weaken the Syrian monarchy, concluded a treaty of alliance with the Jews, and threatened Demetrius with their intervention if he gave further ground for complaint (1 *Macc.* viii. 31–32); but in spite of this they took no action. Even if they had done so, it would have been too late, for Demetrius almost immediately avenged the death of Nicanor by sending against Judæa a large force under Bacchides, who, in 161, overthrew and killed the Jewish leader at Elasa (an unidentified locality).

Judas was succeeded (161) by his brother Jonathan (161–143), who at first exercised authority from Michmash (1 *Macc.* ix. 73). In spite of the loss occasioned by the death of Judas, the Maccabean party offered sufficient resistance to Bacchides to induce the latter to make peace. A decisive improvement in the position of Jonathan was caused by the

[1] Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, II, p. 216.
[2] Cf. Morrison, *The Jews under the Romans*, p. 11.

appearance of a rival to Demetrius called Alexander Balas,[1] who was favoured by Rome and who, by allowing Jonathan to occupy Jerusalem and afterwards appointing him (152) High Priest (Alcimus having died several years previously), obtained his aid against Demetrius, in spite of the latter's attempt to seduce Jonathan by the offer of remitted tribute and enlarged territory. The side to which Jonathan had committed himself proved successful, for in 150 Alexander Balas defeated Demetrius, who lost his life in the battle. The conqueror, however, was confronted in 147 by a competitor in Demetrius II,[2] the son of Demetrius I, who entered Cilicia from Crete. The new-comer, who was styled Nicator, obtained the help of Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, and forced Alexander Balas to take refuge in Arabia, where he was assassinated, so that Demetrius II became king in 145. Jonathan was able to extort from the new sovereign the territorial concessions offered by the latter's father; and the three Samaritan districts of Lydda, Ramah, and Ephraim were added to Judæa. But in spite of this favour, on the rise of a new claimant to the Syrian crown, Antiochus VI (son of Alexander Balas), who was put forward by a minister named Diodotus or Trypho, Jonathan, whose policy was dictated by his worldly ambition, deserted Demetrius, and took part in the war against him, enlarging his own power whilst ostensibly supporting the authority of Antiochus VI. He, too, like his brother, entered into relations with Rome, and renewed the understanding previously initiated by Judas (1 *Macc.* xii. 1 ff.). His increasing strength excited the fears of Trypho, who contemplated seizing the throne of Syria for himself (1 *Macc.* xii. 39); and being treacherously induced to place himself in the latter's hands at Ptolemais, he was murdered (143) at Bascama, an unknown locality east of the Jordan.

Jonathan, who (as has been seen) was the first of the Maccabees to attain to a recognized position of power through the acquisition of the High Priesthood, was succeeded in that office by his brother Simon (143–135), who received it not by the appointment of a Syrian king but by the sanction of his fellow-countrymen.[3] The assassination of Antiochus by Trypho, who assumed the crown, caused Simon to reverse the policy of Jonathan and to side with Demetrius II, receiving, as the price of his support, exemption for the Jews from all tribute to Syria (1 *Macc.* xiii. 36 f.). This was tantamount to independence, so that documents were now dated by the years of Simon's High Priesthood, the first synchronizing with 143 B.C. His authority as Prince and High Priest was finally confirmed at an assembly held in 141 B.C., and declared hereditary "until there should arise a faithful prophet" who should direct otherwise (1 *Macc.* xiv. 41). Simon consolidated his power by obtaining possession of Gazara and of the citadel of Jerusalem (142 B.C.)[4]; and he also annexed Joppa,

[1] He rested his pretensions to the throne upon his claim to be son of Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 2, 1), and is called Alexander Epiphanes in 1 *Macc.* x. 1. Balas was his proper name, and Strabo calls him Balas Alexander.

[2] The Demetrius of 1 *Macc.* x. 67, 2 *Macc.* i. 7.

[3] Probably *Ps.* cx. has the occasion in view.

[4] Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 6, 7) represents that Simon razed the citadel as well as the hill on which it stood; but the statement is difficult to understand.

which was valuable for its harbour. Simon sent an embassy to Rome in order to cement the friendly relations previously existing between the Romans and the Jews. An interesting fact recorded by the Roman historian Valerius Maximus is that the envoys of Simon (1 *Macc.* xiv. 24) attempted to spread among the Romans a knowledge of their national God Jehovah Sebaoth (whom the historian confounds with Jupiter Sabazius), and were sent home in consequence. Nevertheless the authority of Simon was recognized by the Romans in a senatorial decree which was sent to Ptolemy VII of Egypt (1 *Macc.* xv. 16 ff.). Simon continued to be involved in the dispute concerning the succession to the Syrian throne; and when Demetrius II was taken prisoner by the Parthians, his brother Antiochus VII, known as Sidetes (138–128), in order to ensure the continued support of Simon, confirmed the concessions previously granted by Demetrius, together with the privilege of coining money. An eventual breach between them caused a war, in which Demetrius' forces were defeated. But though Simon was successful against the Syrians, he, together with two of his sons, fell a victim to his own son-in-law Ptolemy, who assassinated him at a stronghold called Dok [1] near Jericho in 135. Ptolemy, however, was disappointed in his hopes of filling his place, for John, Simon's surviving son, whom he also tried to kill, took refuge in Jerusalem and at once occupied his father's position.

John (135–105), who assumed the additional name of Hyrcanus, was the first of the Hasmonæans to break decisively with the sect of the Pharisees (whose name first occurs in this reign), and to attach himself to the opposing body of the Sadducees. The cause of the Pharisees' opposition to him was his ambition and increasing absorption in worldly policy; and they also resented his retention of the High Priesthood, for which his birth was held to disqualify him (since it was alleged that his mother had been a captive (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, 5)). In consequence of their antagonism he abolished certain religious regulations which they had imposed upon the people; but the growing hostility between the pietists and the worldly Hasmonæans did not become extreme until later. Hyrcanus was involved in war with his Syrian overlords at the outset of his reign; and Antiochus Sidetes, an abler sovereign than most of his predecessors, was strong enough to wrest from him Joppa, Gazara, and other cities (places for which Simon, his father, had refused to pay tribute), and to besiege Jerusalem, demanding 500 talents as the price for withdrawing his forces from the capital. Hyrcanus, however, appealed to Rome; and the Romans, for the first time, intervened effectively in Jewish affairs by directing Antiochus to abate his claim, and especially insisting upon the restoration of Joppa. This pressure caused him to grant Hyrcanus more moderate terms, which were accepted; and the siege of the capital was raised. Antiochus, however, fell in battle against the Parthians in 128; and then the weakness of Syria under his brother Demetrius III and his successors enabled Hyrcanus to recover from the subjection to which Antiochus had reduced him. From 128 for nearly sixty years the Jewish commonwealth was independent.

[1] Probably the Dagon of Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8, 1.

JUDÆA INDEPENDENT

Judæa.	B.C.	*Syria.*
John Hyrcanus (see p. 31)		
	128	Demetrius III
	125	Alexander Zabinas [1]
	122	Antiochus VIII (Grypus) [2]
	113	Antiochus IX (Cyricenus) [3]
	111	Antiochus VIII (*iterum*)
Judæa under a monarchy		
Aristobulus I	105	
Alexander Jannæus	104	
	95	The sons of Antiochus VIII [4] / The son of Antiochus IX [5]
	83	Tigranes (King of Armenia)
Salome Alexandra	78	
Hyrcanus II / Aristobulus II	69	Antiochus XIII
	65	*Syria made a Roman province*
Aristobulus dethroned	63	
Antigonus	40	
Antigonus executed / *End of Jewish independence*	37	

The prolongation in Syria of internal strife coincided with the rise, in the farther east, of the power of Parthia ; and these two circumstances left Hyrcanus free to pursue a career of conquest, in which he employed mercenary troops. He first invaded the district east of the Jordan and took Medeba ; then he attacked the Samaritans, captured Shechem, and destroyed the temple on Mount Gerizim (p. 16) ; next he subjugated the Idumæans, who were compelled to practise circumcision and to receive the Jewish Law ; and finally, again assailing the Samaritans, he took Samaria in spite of the intervention of Antiochus IX and razed it to the ground.[6] Of these events the subjugation of the Idumæans and the enforcement upon them of the requirements of the Law had in the sequel important consequences for the Jews.

In 105 Hyrcanus, after ruling for thirty years, was succeeded in the High Priesthood by his son Judas, who, in addition to his Hebrew name, took the Greek name of Aristobulus. Though he died after reigning only a single year (105-104), his short period of office was noteworthy for his assumption of the title of king. The contrast in inclinations and sympathies which the Hasmonæans of this period offered to Judas Maccabæus and his brothers is marked by the fact that Aristobulus was called a "lover of the Greeks" (*φιλέλλην*).[7] He undertook a war against the Ituræans and incorporated with his own domains some territory which they had occupied. This seems to have been a portion of Galilee ; and its population, hitherto more Gentile than Jewish, was compelled to submit to the Jewish Law.

Aristobulus I was succeeded by his brother Jonathan (104-78), who

[1] An Egyptian pretender supported by Ptolemy VII (Physcon).
[2] Son of Demetrius III. [3] Brother of Antiochus Grypus.
[4] Seleucus, Antiochus, Philip, Demetrius. [5] Antiochus Eusebes.
[6] For its rebuilding see p. 47. [7] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, 3.

took the Greek name of Alexander, adding to it his Hebrew name in the Greek form of Jannæus. He was an ambitious and warlike ruler, and the secular character of his policy excited the bitter resentment of the Pharisees, whose influence was widespread among the Jewish people. An insult which he received when discharging on one occasion the High Priest's office led him to massacre 6,000 of his fellow-countrymen; and on another occasion when, after an unsuccessful campaign against the Nabatæans, a rebellion broke out against him, he crucified after its suppression 800 Jewish prisoners. He extended the boundaries of his kingdom by including within it the coast towns from the frontier of Egypt to Mount Carmel,[1] and the country east of the Jordan from the Dead Sea to the Lake of Galilee. He also confirmed Jewish supremacy over Edom, appointing as governor of the country a certain Antipater, probably a native Idumæan,[2] whose father or grandfather, like others of the same people, had been forcibly converted to Judaism by John Hyrcanus (p. 37). By these enlargements his dominions approximated in area to those of the early Hebrew sovereigns David and Solomon. At his death in 78 he committed his authority to his widow Salome (78–69), who, after the fashion of the times, had assumed the Greek name of Alexandra. Reversing the internal policy of her husband, she made friends with the Pharisees and restored the ordinances abolished by John Hyrcanus (p. 36). She appointed her elder son Simon (also called Hyrcanus) High Priest, and destined the sovereignty for him also; but after her death in 69 the succession was disputed by her younger son Aristobulus, who forced his brother to resign both the High Priesthood and the throne. He was not, however, allowed to reign (as Aristobulus II 69–63) in undisturbed tranquillity, for the cause of the dethroned Hyrcanus was supported (from interested motives) by Antipater, son of the Idumæan Antipater mentioned above. The struggle that ensued, which it is unnecessary to follow here, ended with the suppression of Jewish independence in 63, through the interference of the Romans, which brought the Greek period to a close.

Religion in the Greek Period

It has been pointed out that the two centuries (538–331 B.C.), during which the Hebrew people were subject to the rule of Persia, witnessed the beginning of Apocalyptic prophecy (p. 23); and as this underwent further development during the period here reviewed, the distinction between it and the prophecy of earlier times requires some additional explanation. (1) The tone of the Apocalyptic prophets was not in the main denunciatory, like that of earlier prophets; but consolatory, and aimed at fostering faith in God and at encouraging their countrymen with the hope of speedy relief from the evils that afflicted them. (2) Whilst, however, the deliverance of Israel from its troubles seemed overdue, the prospect of its being brought about by God through ordinary human means appeared to be

[1] Schürer, *Hist. Jewish People*, etc., I. i. p. 306.

[2] Represented by Nicolaus of Damascus as descended from a Babylonian Jew (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1, 3).

altogether outside the range of political eventualities. The absorption of the greater part of western Asia by a single colossal empire like the Persian (and the position was not much improved when this was succeeded by the Greek) caused the prophets of this age to look for judgment upon their oppressors and redemption for themselves to be accomplished supernaturally by the direct intervention of the Almighty. The manner of such intervention was in general conceived vaguely; but the most original and significant conception was the substitution of a heavenly Deliverer for a national Messiah. A superhuman Being, pre-existent with God, was expected to descend from heaven to earth; and He being appointed by God to judge the world, would destroy sinners and save the righteous. (3) Whereas in earlier periods of Jewish history the claims of justice were considered satisfied if the recompense which men deserved was realized in the fortunes of their families, their country, or their posterity, this solution had now come to be viewed as inadequate, and it was no longer felt to be consistent with justice that men for their good or evil conduct should be rewarded or punished by God in the aggregate, reason demanding that each person should be held accountable for his own actions alone. Hence there grew up the expectation that all who had died without receiving their deserts here would severally meet with their due recompense hereafter. The possibility of this development was ensured by the prevalence amongst the Jews, from primitive times onwards, of a belief in the continuance of the dead, in a shadowy state of existence, within *Sheol*, an abode under the earth, where all the departed, whether bad or good, were gathered without distinction. This belief that the human spirit persisted in Sheol enabled the opinion to gain ground that, if the fortunes of individuals during their lifetime had not corresponded to their merits, the balance would be redressed after death. In consequence of this conviction, there emerged the anticipation either of a bodily resurrection (regarded variously as extending to all men, or as confined to the righteous only), or else of an immortality of the spirit for the pious and of annihilation for the impious. When the good and the bad were equally believed to experience resurrection, the scenes of their final destiny (endless felicity, or equally unending wretchedness, according to their deservings) was for the most part sensuously imagined; the bliss of the former was represented as enjoyed on a renovated and transformed earth, whilst the misery of the latter was the suffering of ever-gnawing worms and of unquenchable fire.[1] (4) The conception of the Divine transcendence and of God's remoteness from the world and human life, which is noticeable in the Persian period (p. 21), became still more manifest in the age that followed; and there ensued in consequence an even greater development of Angelology and Demonology. To evil spirits were ascribed not only the ills which troubled individual men, but the calamities which afflicted nations; for the various heathen peoples were each supposed to have their guardian Spirits (cf. *Deut.* xxxii. 8, LXX), and the prostration of Israel beneath Persia and Greece was accounted for by the hostile influence of the angels of these two powers (*Dan.* x. 13, 20).

[1] Cf. 3 *Is.* lxvi. 24, and see p. 424.

The Greek period may be regarded as extending from 331 (the date of the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander) to 63 (when the independence enjoyed by the Jews under the Hasmonæan kings was destroyed by Rome); but the limits within which were produced the Apocalyptic writings characteristic of the period were narrower than these, the earliest (so far as is known) originating in the second century B.C.

The precise date of these compositions, however, is not uniformly ascertainable; and the difficulty of placing them in their chronological order is increased by the fact that many are either composite, or have undergone extensive interpolation. A peculiarity common to all that ostensibly proceed from individual prophets is that they are really pseudonymous, being attributed to Enoch, Moses, Daniel (seemingly a righteous character famous in tradition, *Ezek.* xiv. 14, xxviii. 3), and other great characters of legend or of history. The reason for this is doubtless the fact that prophetic inspiration by this time was believed to have ceased (cf. 1 *Macc.* iv. 46, xiv. 41), so that anyone who desired to influence his contemporaries by making known his convictions about the future of his race could only secure attention for his message under the name of some earlier prophet or patriarch; and this he did the more readily as Semitic writers were quite indifferent to literary reputation (cf. p. 117). One of these writings is included in the Hebrew Bible, and another has a place in the LXX; but the rest are outside of both the Hebrew and the Greek Canon of Scripture.

The names and probable dates of the Apocalypses of the Greek period are as follows, though many of the dates are rather uncertain :—

Enoch i.–xxxvi.	*circ.* 170 B.C.
Enoch lxxxiii.–xc. (*Dream Visions*)	166 B.C. ?
Daniel	166 B.C.
Enoch xci.–civ.	end of second century B.C.
Sibylline Oracles (part)	end of second century B.C.
Enoch xxxvii.–lxx. (*Similitudes*)	beginning of first century B.C.
Testament of the XII Patriarchs (part)	first century B.C.
Book of Jubilees	first century B.C. ?
Wisdom of Solomon	first century B.C. ?

The features which have been described above as characteristic of these Apocalyptic works are by no means found uniformly or consistently in all of them; and it is desirable to draw attention to certain variant representations occurring in several.

(1) In some Apocalypses (*e.g.* the book of *Jubilees*) the early prophetic conception of a human king sprung from the tribe of Judah is retained; and it is noteworthy that in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* the Messiah (if the Messiah be really meant) is expected not only to save the race of Israel, but to gather together the righteous from among the Gentiles (*Test. Naph.* viii. 3). The *Similitudes of Enoch* stands apart from the rest of the Apocalypses in respect of the Messianic anticipation which it contains, since in it there is substituted as the agent of deliverance a

celestial Judge and Saviour instead of an earthly sovereign. This seems to have been suggested by a passage in the book of *Daniel*, the original significance of which was different In *Daniel* the prophet is represented as seeing in vision successively four savage beasts come up from the sea, symbolizing the consecutive empires of the Babylonians, the Medes,[1] the Persians, and the Greeks, and then " one like unto a son of man " coming with the clouds of heaven. This last figure is explained to mean " the saints of the Most High," *i.e.* the Jewish people, who are thought of as possessing the qualities of humanity as contrasted with the nations preceding them, whose rule was based on brute force. To God's people would be assigned universal authority; and their dominion would be everlasting. The figure " like unto a son of man " is in *Daniel* clearly a personification of Israel in the future; but in *Enoch* it is transformed into a person. Enoch is described as saying " I saw one who had a head of days (*i.e.* God, " the Ancient of days," cf. *Dan.* vii. 13), and His head was like white wool; and with Him was another Being, whose countenance had the appearance of a man. . . . And I asked the angel who went with me . . . concerning that Son of man." He then learnt that He had existed before Creation, and that to Him judgment was committed, and that before Him all evil would pass away, whilst the righteous and the elect would be saved and " with that Son of man would they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever." The transformation in *Enoch* of a symbol for the Israelite people into a heavenly Person, the destined Saviour of Israel, was probably aided by the fact that in the second century B.C. there were believed to exist in heaven angelic representatives of nations and peoples on earth (cf. p. 39). It may be conjectured that the Son of man in *Enoch* is a development of the angelic representation of Israel, who in *Daniel* is Michael, but in the work here under consideration has been transmuted into a Personality of still higher dignity and more comprehensive functions. This conception of the future Deliverer as destined to descend from heaven as the universal Judge and the vindicator of God's loyal servants is of great importance in connection with the New Testament, since it furnishes a clue to the language used by Christ about Himself (p. 460).

(2) Concerning the way in which the miscarriages of justice so often occurring on earth would be redressed in the future, the ideas of different writers varied considerably. The conception of a resurrection is found both in *Daniel* and in parts of *Enoch*; but the resurrection is only partial, not universal. In *Daniel* it is declared that " many that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt." The reference is probably to such Jews as were pre-eminent for righteousness or wickedness, the heroes and apostates respectively of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. In *Enoch* i.–xxxvi. it

[1] The author of *Daniel* regarded the Babylonian empire as destroyed by the *Medes* (probably in consequence of the prediction in *Is.* xiii. 17, *Jer.* li. 11); and considered that the empire of the latter was subsequently displaced by the Persians (cf. *Dan.* v. 31 with vi. 28).

is represented that sinners who have met their deserts on earth will not be raised from the dead; but that there will be a resurrection of the righteous and of sinners unpunished in this life, that they may receive respectively recompense and retribution. Though the nature of the resurrection is not defined in these passages, it is no doubt to be assumed that a revival of the actual bodies of the dead is intended. And in the books of *Maccabees*, which reflect the beliefs of this period, the future life destined to be enjoyed by the righteous after death is conceived on very materialistic lines. One of the Jews tortured to death by Antiochus for the sake of his religion is recorded to have put out his hands and his tongue for severance, and to have said, "From heaven I possess these, and for His laws' sake I contemn these, and from Him I hope to receive these back again" (2 *Macc.* vii. 10, 11). But elsewhere the idea that prevails is that of a spiritual immortality. In *Enoch* xci.–civ. and in *Jubilees* the dead are to be raised from Sheol as spirits and will have much joy, becoming companions of the heavenly hosts. And in the Book of *Wisdom* it is the *souls* of the righteous that have a happy immortality. "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and no torment shall touch them. . . . For even if in the sight of men they are punished, their hope is full of immortality; and having borne a little chastening they shall receive great good; because God made trial of them and found them worthy of Himself" (iii. 1–5).

(3) Logically, the nature of a bodily resurrection should imply that the scene of the future life is earth; whilst a belief in the immortality of the soul alone should involve the inference that the sphere of such immortality is heaven. But speculations of this character are governed by the imagination rather than by logic, and consistency cannot be looked for. The Hebrews, indeed, found it difficult to divest the idea of spirit altogether from physical associations [1]; so that the earth was often conceived to be the abode of the righteous after death, and thought of as being fitted for them through a transformation sensuous rather than spiritual (*Enoch* xlv. 4, cf. 3 *Is.* lxv. 17 f.). Naturally when a writer on such a subject went into details, it was from the earth that he took them. In *Enoch* i.–xxxvi. the earthly Jerusalem is the capital of an eternal kingdom, but in lxxxiii.–xc. a New Jerusalem is described as descending to earth from heaven. The doom of the wicked was represented by some Apocalyptists (*Enoch*, "Dream Visions") as endless torture by fire, and the sight of their suffering was even conceived to enhance the happiness of the righteous. But by others none save the righteous were regarded as having a renewed phase of existence, the wicked being seemingly annihilated.

(4) The important place which angels had in the theology and eschatology of this period is shown by the circumstance that numbers of them received personal designations. In the book of *Daniel* only Michael (the angelic prince of Israel) and Gabriel are mentioned by name; but in *Enoch* several others have individual appellations—Raphael, Phanuel and Uriel. Raphael also occurs in the book of *Tobit* (v. 4). In the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* the prince of evil spirits is called Beliar;

[1] For spirit conceived materially and quantitatively see *Num.* xi. 17, 2 *Kg.* ii. 9.

and in *Tobit* (iii. 8 f.) mention is also made of a demon called Asmodæus. In *Enoch* lxix.–xc. there occur the names of no fewer than twenty evil angels. The final judgment which is executed upon men is also sometimes regarded as extending to the fallen angels, who had seduced human women (cf. *Gen.* vi.. 1–4), and whose offspring had corrupted the world. These, after being imprisoned under the earth, are, at the judgment, punished with eternal torment.

iii. *The Roman Period*

GOVERNORS OF SYRIA FROM 65 B.C. TO A.D. 69.[1]

M. Æmilius Scaurus, 65 B.C.
[Cn. Pompeius Magnus, 64–63]
M. Æmilius Scaurus, 62
Marcius Philippus, 61–60
Lentulus Marcellinus, 59–58
A. Gabinius, 57–55
M. Licinius Crassus, 54–53
C. Cassius Longinus, 53–51
M. Calpurnius Bibulus, 51–50
Veiento, 50–49
Q. Metellus Scipio, 49–48
Sextus Cæsar, 47–46
Cæcilius Bassus, 46
C. Antistius Vetus, 45
L. Statius Murcus, 44
C. Cassius Longinus, 44–42
Decidius Saxa, 41–40
P. Ventidius, 39–38
C. Sosius, 38–37
L. Munacius Plancus, 35
L. Calpurnius Bibulus, 32–31 (?)
Q. Didius, 30
M. Messalla Corvinus, 29
M. Tullius Cicero, 28 (?)
Varro, *date uncertain*
M. Agrippa, 23–13
M. Titius, about 10
C. Sentius Saturninus, 9–6
P. Quinctilius Varus, 6–4
P. Sulpicius Quirinius, 3–2 [2] (?)
C. Cæsar, 1 B.C.–A.D. 4 [3]
L. Volusius Saturninus, 4–5
P. Sulpicius Quirinius, 6 f.
C. Cæcilius Creticus Silanus, 11–17
Cn. Calpurnius Piso, 17–19
Cn. Sentius Saturninus, 19–21
L. Ælius Lamia, *date uncertain*
L. Pomponius Flaccus, 32–35 (?)
L. Vitellius, 35–39
P. Petronius, 39–42
C. Vibius Marsus, 42–44
C. Cassius Longinus, 45–50
C. Ummidius Quadratus, 50–60
Cn. Domitius Corbulo, 60–63
C. Cestius Gallus, 63–66
C. Licinius Mucianus, 67–69

The intervention of Rome in the affairs of Asia Minor began with the war against Antiochus III of Syria (p. 29), which resulted, after the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.), in the enlargement, at the expense of his territories along the Ægean, of the kingdom of Pergamum. Rather more than half a century later Pergamum was bequeathed by its last king Attalus to the Roman state (133), and this constituted the first Asiatic province which the Romans acquired, and to which others were speedily added. It was in the course of the war against Mithradates, King (74–66) of Pontus, success in which rendered the Roman state paramount in western Asia, that Pompey, who had been invested with almost autocratic authority in the east, sent (65) his general Scaurus into Syria to interfere in the quarrel between Aristobulus II and his brother Hyrcanus (p. 38). Scaurus decided in favour of Aristobulus; but in 63 Pompey himself

[1] See Schürer, *Hist. Jewish People*, I. i. 328–370.

[2] See p. 343.

[3] Some think that the actual *legati* during these years were successively M. Lollius and C. Marcius Censorianus, who were guardians of Gaius Cæsar.

proceeded towards Judæa. At Damascus both brothers appeared before him to press their claims, whilst representatives of the Jewish people, who were also present, desired the abolition of the monarchy altogether, and the restoration of the High Priestly government. As Pompey delayed a settlement, Aristobulus withdrew to Jerusalem and prepared for resistance; but eventually submitted to the Roman leader. His Sadducean partisans, however, refused to do so; and when the adherents of Hyrcanus surrendered the city of Jerusalem, they retired into the citadel on the Temple hill. This was stormed, and its capture was followed by a dreadful massacre (cf. *Ps. Sol.* viii. 23), whilst the walls of the city were demolished. Pompey entered the Temple and penetrated even to the Holy of Holies: but he did not rifle its treasure. Nevertheless the desecration of the Temple left bitter memories, and must have filled those Jews who were zealous for their religion with a deep hatred for their Roman conquerors. Syria had been made a Roman province in 64; and Pompey now included in it all the coast towns, the Greek cities (the Decapolis) east of the Jordan, and the districts round Scythopolis and Samaria. But Judæa itself was placed under tribute, and its administration left to Hyrcanus with the title of High Priest and Ethnarch, though not of king. His rival Aristobulus (whom Pompey held responsible for the resistance at Jerusalem) and many other Jews were carried captive to Rome (*Ps. Sol.* viii. 24), where, after figuring in Pompey's triumph (61 B.C.), the majority were allowed to settle.

Hyrcanus did not retain for long the civil power given to him by Pompey. Gabinius, the governor of Syria in 57–55, took from him the political administration of the country, confining him to his priestly duties, and incorporated Judæa in the province of Syria. The country, however, did not remain free from disturbances. Aristobulus and his sons Alexander and Antigonus, who had been imprisoned by the Romans, but had escaped, made repeated attempts (56 and 55) to recover the power they had lost; but their endeavours all proved abortive and eventually Aristobulus perished by poison (49 B.C.). In 54 Crassus, who succeeded Gabinius as proconsul of Syria, showed nothing of the self-control of Pompey; and on his march to fight the Parthians he pillaged the Temple of its treasure. An insurrection by the Jews, following upon the defeat and death of Crassus at Carrhæ (53 B.C.), was suppressed by Cassius, the lieutenant of Crassus, who sold 30,000 Jews as slaves. In the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar (49–48), Hyrcanus and Antipater supported Cæsar, who received from the latter most valuable aid at Alexandria, where there was secured for him the help of the Jewish population of that city (47 B.C.). As a reward for this service Cæsar (47) rescinded the arrangements previously made by Gabinius in regard to Judæa, and Hyrcanus was again appointed Ethnarch of the Jews; whilst Antipater was made chief minister (ἐπίτροπος), having, as before, the control of the taxation. Jerusalem was permitted to be fortified once more; the country was freed from tribute; and the people were allowed the control of their own internal administration. Further concessions were granted in 44, Joppa and various other places, which had been severed from Judæa by Pompey, being now restored to

it. The favours shown by Cæsar to the Jews were not confined to those who were resident in Palestine, for Roman citizenship was conferred on the Jews of Alexandria; and when Cæsar was assassinated in 44 the Jews are recorded as having been conspicuous amongst foreign nations for their grief (Suetonius, *Julius* 84).

Antipater was murdered by a rival in 43; but he left two sons, Phasael and Herod, the latter of whom became a conspicuous figure in Jewish history for the next sixty years. The brothers, after being governors of Jerusalem and Galilee respectively during their father's lifetime, were made, during 41, tetrarchs of the Jews by Antony, Hyrcanus being again deprived of his political authority. It was not long before Hyrcanus lost his liberty as well. Antigonus, the son of his brother Aristobulus, had intrigued with the Parthians with a view to recovering his father's throne; and by a Parthian force that crossed the Euphrates and entered Palestine, Hyrcanus and Antipater's son Phasael were made prisoners, and Antigonus was appointed King (40 B.C.). Thereupon Herod, who escaped capture, made his way to Rome.

The reign of Antigonus (whose Hebrew name was Mattathias) was a brief one. Herod on his arrival at Rome secured the favour of both Antony and Octavian; and, in view of the Parthian invasion, was formally declared King of Judæa by the senate. Returning to Palestine in 39 and being supported at Antony's direction by two successive pro-consuls of Syria, P. Ventidius (who conquered the Parthians in 38) and C. Sosius, he was in a position to besiege Jerusalem in 37. The city offered a stubborn resistance, but was at last taken, and Antigonus was carried away prisoner by Sosius to Antioch, where he was executed. With him ended the Hasmonæan dynasty after a period of sovereignty lasting not quite seventy years.

TABLE OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS (TO THE MIDDLE OF THE SECOND CENTURY) AND THE HERODS

B.C.	*Roman Emperors.*	*The Herods.*
37		Herod king of Judæa, Galilee and Trachonitis
27	Augustus	
4		Archelaus ethnarch of Judæa Antipas tetrarch of Galilee Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis
2		*Birth of our Lord*
A.D. 6		Archelaus deposed Judæa under procurators
14	Tiberius	
29		*The Crucifixion*
34		Philip dies
37	Caligula	Agrippa I king of Trachonitis
39		Antipas deposed Agrippa I king of Trachonitis and Galilee
41	Claudius	Agrippa I king of Trachonitis, Galilee, and Judæa
44		Agrippa I dies Judæa, Galilee and Trachonitis under procurators

A.D.	*Roman Emperors.*	*The Herods.*
53		Agrippa II king of Trachonitis Judæa and Galilee under procurators
54	Nero [1]	
68	Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian	
70		*Fall of Jerusalem*
79	Titus	
81	Domitian [2]	
96	Nerva	
98	Trajan	
100		Agrippa II dies
117	Hadrian	
132–135		*Revolt of Bar Cochbâ*
138	Antoninus Pius	
161–180	Marcus Aurelius	

The Herods [3]

Herod (distinguished as the Great) [4] was by nature ambitious, passionate, sensual, and cruel, but was nevertheless an energetic and capable, if unscrupulous, ruler. Although he had mounted the throne (37 B.C.) by the destruction of the last of the Hasmonæan kings, he was connected with the Hasmonæan house by his marriage with Mariamne, the granddaughter of Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus himself had been released from his captivity among the Parthians (p. 45); but as his ears had been cut off by his captors, and he was thus incapable of resuming the High Priest's functions (*Lev.* xxi. 17–21), Herod chose as High Priest in 37 a certain Ananel, with whose appointment the regular succession of descendants of Aaron as High Priests was interrupted. After a very brief interval it was restored (35) by Herod's nomination of Hyrcanus' grandson Aristobulus III; but since the latter was a Hasmonæan, he was feared by Herod as a possible rival, and was put to death, and thenceforward the High Priesthood was disposed of according to the pleasure of the secular ruler of the day. At the outbreak of the war between Antony and Octavian, Herod, as being greatly indebted in the past to Antony (p. 45), had prepared to help him; but he did not take active part against Octavian, and after the defeat of Antony at Actium (31 B.C), he was able to conciliate the conqueror, whom in the following year he met at Rhodes. Before leaving Jerusalem he directed, as a precaution against plots in his absence, the execution of Hyrcanus.

The territory which Herod possessed at the beginning of his reign was not the whole of Palestine, for Antony in 34 had given to Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, the entire seacoast (except Tyre and Sidon) from the river Eleutherus to the Egyptian border, as well as the district of Jericho. But after the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra in 30 he received from Octavian several of the southern coast towns as well as Jericho and Samaria; in

[1] With Nero the Julian dynasty ended.
[2] Vespasian, Titus and Domitian constituted the Flavian dynasty.
[3] See Schürer, *Hist. Jewish People*, I. i. p. 400 f.
[4] He is the Herod of *Matt.* ii. 1 f., *Lk.* i. 5.

25 his realm was still further enlarged by the inclusion within it of Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis (p. 7); whilst in 20 he obtained the districts north and north-west of the Lake of Gennesaret. By these additions his dominion grew to twice its original size. Within this extent of territory he exercised sovereign rights; he had the title of King; he could pass and execute laws; he could impose taxes; he had unrestricted power of life and death over his subjects; and he organized and controlled his own army. But this considerable authority was qualified in certain ways (cf. p. 69). (*a*) He could not make peace and war independently of the Roman government; (*b*) he had, in the event of Rome being at war with a foreign power, to provide auxiliary troops and sometimes money; (*c*) he could only issue a copper coinage of his own; (*d*) his nomination of his successor had to be confirmed by the Emperor. His subordinate position was evidenced by the fact that his subjects took the oath of allegiance not only to him but also to the Emperor.

By the Jews he was regarded with much dislike, partly on account of his origin, partly by reason of his dependence upon the Romans and his Gentile tastes and sympathies, and partly because of his oppressive taxation. By race he was an Idumæan (p. 38), though his family had been Jews for three generations. He owed his position of sovereign to the authority and support of Rome, and he was naturally indisposed to allow the Sadducean priestly families to enjoy in addition to their ecclesiastical prerogatives any secular power, making it his policy to conciliate the opposite party of the Pharisees. This, however, did not prevent him from indulging his inclination for Hellenic usages. He aggrieved the bulk of his people by constructing a theatre in Jerusalem and an amphitheatre in the Plain where games were held (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, 1), and he even made provision for heathen worship within his dominions. Yet he did not repeat the outrages of Antiochus Epiphanes; and in order to avoid offending in certain directions the religious sentiments of his Jewish subjects, he refrained from the use, on his buildings or coinage, of representations of the human figure. And though some of the structures which he reared were designed for his own sole pleasure and advantage (like the palace at Jerusalem and the fortress (named Antonia) on the north of the Temple, see p. 11), others were of real value to the people. He adorned Samaria and called it Sebaste in honour of Augustus. He replaced Straton's Tower by a new city which he named Cæsarea (building a palace there which afterwards became the residence of the Roman procurator, *Acts* xxiii. 35), and provided it with a harbour by the construction of a breakwater. Among other undertakings he rebuilt the fortress of Machærus on a height above the eastern shore of the Dead Sea and erected a palace within it. But his greatest architectural achievement was the building of the Third Temple to take the place of the comparatively humble one raised by Zerubbabel (p. 14). This was begun in 20–19 B.C., and though the actual fane was completed in a year and a half, the surrounding buildings took eight years, and the whole work was not finished until A.D. 62–64, shortly before its destruction by the Romans in 70. For a description of its plan see p. 90.

The domestic life of Herod was marked by a number of tragedies due to his jealousy and his passionate temper. He had ten wives and fourteen children, his favourite wife being Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus. She was his first victim, being executed on a charge of unfaithfulness in 29 B.C. Alexandra, mother of Mariamne, was put to death in 28 for attempted treason. Costobar, the husband of Herod's sister Salome, whom his wife desired to get rid of, was betrayed by her and executed in 25. His two sons by Mariamne, Aristobulus and Alexander, excited his suspicions in consequence of their natural resentment at the death of their mother; and being slandered by their half-brother Antipater (son of the king's first wife Doris), were charged with plotting against him, and were put to death in 7 B.C. Finally Antipater himself became suspected of attempting his father's life, and he, too, was executed in 4 B.C. It is not surprising that the Emperor Augustus should have said that it was better to be Herod's pig (ὗς) than his son (υἱός).

Herod in his old age was attacked by a loathsome disease (Eus. *H.E.* i. 8); and his death was eagerly anticipated by numbers of his subjects. In the course of his life he altered his mind three times as regards the disposal of his crown after his death. By his first will he left the succession to his favourite son Antipater, directing that, if Antipater should die before himself, it should then pass to Herod Philip, son of his third wife who, like the second, mentioned above, was called Mariamne. In a second will he wished Antipas (son of Malthace) to succeed him. But in his final testament he divided his dominions, naming Archelaus (also son of Malthace) his successor on the throne of Judæa (to which were attached Samaria and Idumæa), giving the tetrarchy of Galilee and Perœa to Antipas, and bestowing the tetrarchy of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea and Panias upon Philip (son of Cleopatra).

TABLE OF THE HERODS AND THE ROMAN PROCURATORS

B.C.			
37	Herod the Great, *King of* JUDÆA, GALILEE, *and* TRACHONITIS		
4	*Partition of Herod's Dominions between his sons*		
	JUDÆA	GALILEE	TRACHONITIS
	Archelaus, *ethnarch*	Antipas, *tetrarch*	Philip, *tetrarch*
A.D. 6	*Deposition of Archelaus, and Appointment of Procurators*		
	Coponius		
9	M. Ambivius		
12	Annius Rufus		
15	Valerius Gratus		
26	Pontius Pilate		
36	Marcellus		*Death of Philip*
37	Marullus		Agrippa I, *king*
39		*Deposition of Antipas and union of* GALILEE *and* TRACHONITIS *under* Agrippa I	
41	*Union of* JUDÆA, GALILEE *and* TRACHONITIS *under* Agrippa I		
44	*Death of Agrippa; Appointment of Procurators*		
		Cuspius Fadus	
		Tiberius Alexander	
48		Ventidius Cumanus	

Campus Crusade for Christ Library

A.D.	JUDÆA	GALILEE	TRACHONITIS
52–53	JUDÆA *and* GALILEE *under procurators*		TRACHONITIS *under a king*
	Felix		Agrippa II
60	Festus		
62	Albinus		
64	Gessius Florus		
70	JERUSALEM *captured*		
73	JUDÆA *made a province*		
100			*Death of Agrippa II*

The death of Herod was followed by a dispute between two of his sons respecting the succession to the kingdom of Judæa. Against the nomination of Archelaus as heir to his father's principal dominions appeal was made by Antipas to the decision of Rome, whither both claimants proceeded. In the meantime the Emperor Augustus had placed Judæa temporarily under a procurator, Sabinus, whose rapacity and oppression provoked a rebellion. The rising in Judæa was accompanied by another in Galilee, headed by Judas the Gaulonite (p. 55). These were only suppressed by the intervention of Quintilius Varus, the governor of Syria, who crucified 2,000 of the rebels. At Rome the dispute between Archelaus and Antipas was argued before Augustus, and the strong feeling against the house of Herod entertained by the Jews was manifested by a request that the Romans should allow no further members of the family to rule in Judæa, but should suffer its people to be governed by their own laws under Roman suzerainty. Augustus, however, decided in favour of Archelaus, but severed from the territory assigned to him by his father the cities of Gaza, Gadara and Hippos; and instead of allowing him to be king, gave him the title of Ethnarch. This, however, was superior to the title *Tetrarch* borne by Antipas and Philip. It had been bestowed on Hyrcanus II (see p. 44), but is otherwise rare. The term *tetrarch*, which originally meant the ruler of a fourth part or division of a country (τετραρχία being first used in connection with the four districts into which Philip of Macedon divided Thessaly (Dem. *Phil.* iii. § 26)), by this time had lost its former signification, and was used to designate a dependent prince (as in Galatia (see p. 265) and elsewhere).

ARCHELAUS, by his father's last will, received as his possessions Judæa, Samaria and Idumæa. Though not allowed by Augustus to retain his father's style of king, he was promised this title by the Emperor, should he prove worthy of it. He was not twenty when he assumed authority, and his period of rule was short and troubled. By disposition he was cruel and tyrannical (cf. *Mt.* ii. 22); and he gave great offence to the Jews by marrying the wife of his half-brother Alexander, though she had children by her former husband. He, too, like his father and brothers, interested himself in building schemes, and founded the city of Archelais, near Jericho. He so far respected his subjects' sentiments that he did not use heathen symbols on his coinage. But his administration excited much discontent; and the measures which he took in suppressing it caused complaint to be made against him at Rome, whither he was summoned by Augustus, and by him was deposed (A.D. 6). He was banished to Gaul, though, since his grave was shown in the fourth century at Bethlehem,

he may have returned to Palestine before his death. His territory was taken over by the Emperor, and except for a short interval (41–44) was governed by a procurator (see p. 53). The transfer of Judæa to the direct administration of Rome changed for the worse the position of its inhabitants, for though the Herodian family were in general self-seeking and brutal, they were bound to their subjects, at least ostensibly, by the tie of a common religion, whereas between the Roman procurators and the people whom they ruled there was no such link; so that any consideration shown for a race which they despised depended upon the policy of the Roman state and the humanity of individual officials (cf. p. 55).

Herod Antipas[1] (a shortened form of Antipatros), who was the full brother of Archelaus, never really had the title of king, though he is loosely styled so in *Mk.* vi. 14. His dominions were in two separate halves. He possessed Galilee, on the western shore of Lake Gennesaret (with his capital at Tiberias), and Peræa, on the east of the Jordan; but between them came the region of Decapolis (p. 7), the towns constituting that confederation not being coterminous, but interpenetrating the tetrarchies of Antipas and his brother Philip (p. 51). In character Antipas resembled his father, but was endowed with less ability. Like him he built extensively, the principal town that owed its foundations to him being Tiberias, mentioned earlier (p. 5). Like his father also he respected Jewish religious feeling to the extent of avoiding the use, on his coins, of any image; and he joined others of his family in protesting against the conduct of the Roman procurator Pilate in setting up in the palace at Jerusalem a shield with an emblem that gave offence to the Jews. His first wife was the daughter of the Arabian king Aretas (cf. p. 370); but on the occasion of a journey to Rome he became attached to Herodias, the wife of one of his brothers, who, called by Josephus *Herod* but by St. Mark *Philip*, and possibly having both names, occupied a private station, and who entertained him on his way. In consequence of this passion he divorced the daughter of Aretas and then married Herodias. According to St. Mark, this union, effected whilst Herodias' husband was alive evoked a reproof from John the Baptist, whose ministry, if exercised in Peræa, was within the dominions of Antipas, and the tetrarch in consequence put him in prison, where his death was procured by Herodias. The place of his murder is not mentioned by St. Mark; but Josephus, who attributes his captivity to Herod's fear of his influence with the people (*Ant.* xviii. 5, 2), represents that he was imprisoned and executed at Machærus (p. 9). Antipas' conduct naturally embroiled him with Aretas, who for the wrong done to his daughter, and for other reasons, declared war (A.D. 36), and defeated his forces. The Emperor Tiberius gave orders to the governor of Syria (Vitellius) to avenge the defeat of his vassal; but as the Emperor died shortly afterwards, Vitellius proceeded no further with the punitive expedition.

It was within the dominions of Antipas that our Lord spent most of

[1] He is the Herod of *Lk.* iii. 1, 19, ix. 9 (= *Mk.* vi. 14, *Mt.* xiv. 1), xiii. 31, xxiii. 7, *Acts* iv. 27, xiii. 1.

His ministry. It was also to Antipas, when in Jerusalem, that our Saviour, according to *Lk.* xxiii. 6–12, was sent for trial by Pilate.

When Agrippa, the brother of Herodias, was appointed by Caligula to succeed Philip in the tetrarchy of Trachonitis (see below), he received from the Emperor the title of king. This promotion caused Herodias to persuade Antipas to seek the same honour for himself, and he went to Rome to petition for it. Agrippa, however, had causes of resentment against Antipas; and he accordingly now accused him to the Emperor of treasonable negotiations with the Parthians, and of having collected arms for some sinister purpose. As Antipas could not rebut the charge, he was at once deposed by Caligula and banished, as Archelaus had been (p. 49), to Gaul (A.D. 39),[1] where he died; whilst his tetrarchy was conferred upon Agrippa.

The territory possessed by PHILIP (who is alluded to in *Lk.* iii. 1, but must be distinguished from the Philip of *Mk.* vi. 17 (see p. 50)), consisted of the region known in the Old Testament as Bashan (situated between the Yarmuk and its sources, on the south, and Hermon and Damascus on the north) and called by St. Luke (iii. 1) "the Ituræan and Trachonite country," together with the district of Panias, near the sources of the Jordan. Philip, who married his half-niece Salome, was the best of the Herods. Upright and unambitious, he ruled justly and pacifically. He had his father's fondness for building cities, two of which are mentioned in the New Testament. One of these was Cæsarea Philippi, which was an enlargement of the earlier Panias (p. 7), and the other was Bethsaida Julias (p. 7), which was converted from a village into a flourishing town. It was to his dominions that our Lord on one occasion retired when He deemed it expedient to withdraw from the territory of Herod Antipas. Philip is said to have been the first Jewish prince to stamp a human likeness upon his coins, which bore successively the features of Augustus and Tiberius. He died in A.D. 33–34; and for a short while his realm was incorporated in the province of Syria. Eventually, however, it was conferred by Caligula in 37 upon Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, the second son of Herod the Great.

AGRIPPA I[2] had been educated at Rome, where, in consequence of his extravagant habits, he had grown impoverished. He became, however, intimate, during the lifetime of Tiberius, with Gaius Caligula; and near the close of Tiberius' reign, was put in prison by the Emperor for having incautiously expressed a wish that Caligula might succeed to the throne. Released on the accession of Caligula, he received many favours from him, being appointed to the tetrarchy of Philip, to which there was added later Abilene, the tetrarchy of Lysanias (executed in 34 B.C. by Antony); and in 38 he was allowed the title of king. On the deposition of his uncle Antipas, his territory was still further enlarged, since Caligula appointed him in A.D. 40 to be successor of Antipas in the tetrarchy of

[1] Josephus' statements are inconsistent: in *Ant.* xviii. 7, 2, he gives as his place of banishment Gaul; in *B.J.* ii. 9, 6, Spain.

[2] The Herod of *Acts* xii. 1.

Galilee and Peræa (p. 50). Finally, when Caligula was succeeded in 41 by Claudius, the latter, in gratitude for services which Agrippa rendered him, gave him the territories of Judæa and Samaria, so that he possessed at last all the domain once ruled over by his grandfather Herod (p. 47).

He is represented by Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 7, 3) in a very favourable light, being described as naturally generous and humane; and though he indulged his private tastes for Greek and Roman institutions, like the theatre and the arena, his attitude towards his Jewish subjects was, in general, very conciliatory. He carefully observed, at least within his own realm, all the injunctions of the Mosaic Law; and he used his influence on one occasion to prevent a statue of the Emperor from being erected in a Jewish synagogue at the Phœnician city of Dora (the ancient Dor). His adherence to the Jewish faith inevitably inclined him to regard unfavourably those who, like the Christians, might be considered disloyal to it; and he consequently persecuted them, putting James, the son of Zebedee, to death, and imprisoning Peter, with the intention of executing him also, though the Apostle was enabled to escape (*Acts* xii. 1–19). Towards the end of his reign he became involved in a dispute with the people of Tyre and Sidon,[1] resulting in an economic war, which, as Phœnicia was largely dependent upon Palestine for corn, wine, and oil (cf. 1 *Kg.* v. 9, *Ez.* iii. 7, *Ezek.* xxvii. 17), ended in the submission of the former. He died in A.D. 44 at Cæsarea, after a very brief illness, the circumstances of which are somewhat differently related in Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8, 2) and *Acts* xii. 19–23 (see p. 239). He left one son, Agrippa, and three daughters, Berenice (*Acts* xxv. 13), Mariamne, and Drusilla. Of these, Agrippa eventually succeeded to his father's dominions, Berenice married, first, Herod, son of Aristobulus, and afterwards Polemon of Cilicia, whilst Drusilla married, first, Azizus, King of Emesa,[2] and next, Felix the Roman procurator (*Acts* xxiv. 24), the last union taking place during her former husband's lifetime.

AGRIPPA II,[3] the only son of Agrippa I, was but sixteen at the latter's death. In view of his youth, he was not allowed to succeed at once (A.D. 44) to his father's possessions, all of which were placed under a Roman procurator (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23). But in 50 he received from Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis (p. 7); and he was also permitted to nominate the High Priest (p. 55). In 53 he was given, instead of Chalcis, his father's original tetrarchy of Trachonitis, together with the tetrarchy of Abilene and some other domains. At a later date Claudius' successor Nero likewise bestowed upon him certain important cities in Galilee and Peræa, including Tiberias, Taricheæ, and Bethsaida Julias; and his tetrarchy was also enlarged by Vespasian. He did not, however, obtain the whole of Galilee or Peræa, nor was he granted Samaria and Judæa (governed by a Roman procurator), so that his realm was less extensive than that which his father ruled at the time of his death. His capital was Cæsarea Philippi, which he re-named Neronias.

Like his father, he kept on good terms with his subjects, observing

[1] These places were included in the Roman province of Syria.
[2] On the Orontes.
[3] The Agrippa of *Acts* xxv. 13.

the Law himself and even requiring the princes Azizus and Polemon, who married two of his sisters, to be circumcised. His professed devotion to Judaism did not prevent him from maintaining friendly relations with the Roman authorities, and on his coins he styled himself *Philokaisar* and *Philoromaios*. On the entrance of the procurator Festus upon his office after the recall of Felix (p. 58), he went to Cæsarea with his sister Berenice to salute him ; and on the occasion of the outbreak of the Jewish revolt against Rome (A.D. 66), he joined the Romans. His sister Berenice (or Bernice, *Acts* xxv. 13),[1] who had been the wife of his uncle Herod, King of Chalcis, shared his home after her husband's death, and the relations between them caused much scandal.[2] After marrying, as her second husband, Polemon of Cilicia (p. 52), she returned to her brother ; and then created further scandal by her relations with the Roman Titus, who, it was rumoured, promised her marriage, though the promise, if made, was never fulfilled. After the accession of Titus (A.D. 79) to the Imperial throne, little is known of either Berenice or Agrippa. The latter is said to have lived till the reign of Trajan and to have died about A.D. 100.

The Roman Procurators

It has been deemed expedient to narrate the history of the Herods consecutively, but the narrative has shown that at various intervals different parts of the territories ruled by them came under the direct authority of the Roman State, and were administered through procurators : it is now desirable to consider both the functions and powers of these, and to say something about such of them as figure in New Testament history.

Under the arrangement by which the provinces under the Empire were divided into two classes, senatorial and imperial (p. 64), procurators existed in both classes. They comprised, however, two types of officials one being a finance officer merely, whilst the other had complete charge of such countries as were not quite ripe for inclusion in the Roman provincial system. The second possessed authority similar, though inferior, to that of *legati*. Like the latter they were military commanders, with some military force at their disposal ; but as the force was small, they had, in case of serious emergencies, to depend upon the army of a neighbouring *legatus*. The latter, moreover, if invested by the Emperor with the necessary power, could at his discretion interfere with the affairs of a district under a procurator whenever he had reason to fear serious trouble there.

After the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6 (p. 49), his dominion was placed beneath the control of a procurator of the second type, who was under the authority, to the extent described above, of the governor of Syria.[3] Syria was defended by a large force of legions, there being three in the reign of Augustus and four in the reign of Tiberius ; but the pro-

[1] *Berenice* is a corruption of Φερενίκη, which is represented in Latin by *Veronica*.

[2] Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 157–8.

[3] See Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4, 2, xx. 6, 2, but cf. Morrison, *Hist. of the Jews under the Romans*, p. 121.

curator of Judæa, whose seat of government was Cæsarea, had only auxiliary troops. These troops appear to have consisted of one squadron (*ala*, ἴλη) of cavalry and five battalions (*cohortes*, σπεῖραι) of infantry, and to have numbered in all about 3,000 men. They were drawn principally from the districts about Cæsarea and Samaria, and accordingly were called *Καισαρεῖς καὶ Σεβαστηνοί*. The title *Augustan*, applied to a particular cohort that is mentioned in *Acts* xxvii. 1, was probably an honorary designation bestowed, as a distinction for conspicuous valour, upon one of the five (cf. p. 73). It is natural at first sight to suppose that the *Italian cohort* stationed at Cæsarea (*Acts* x. 1) was raised in Italy, but there is some difficulty involved in the inclusion of such a cohort among the *auxiliary* forces stationed in Judæa, so that possibly the explanation is that this particular cohort was composed of Roman citizens of Italian origin but resident in Cæsarea or Samaria. A detachment of the garrison stationed at Cæsarea, the centre of government, was usually posted at Jerusalem, occupying the fortress of Antonia on the north of the Temple (p. 11), which could be easily reached by a stairway. With the detachment there was a small body of cavalry.

The Roman procurator in Judæa, besides being invested with military authority, also discharged judicial functions. The duty, however, of administering justice did not belong to him alone, but was shared with him as regards Jews by the Jewish Sanhedrin (p. 100). The procurator, to whom all cases involving a death sentence had to be referred for confirmation, was not bound to be guided in his decision by the Jewish Law; but it was within his competence to follow it, if he chose. The procurator's authority to inflict capital punishment in the case of provincials was unrestricted; but in the case of Roman citizens, although he could pronounce a capital sentence, he could not legally execute it, if the accused appealed to the Emperor. Such an appeal could be made even at the beginning of the judicial proceedings; and entailed the transfer of the trial to Rome. Cases could be decided by a procurator in accordance with his own judgment alone; but he frequently utilized the assistance furnished by assessors constituting his council (*συμβούλιον*).

In addition to the duties already described, there belonged to him the care of the finance of his district. As he was an Imperial officer, the revenue which he collected was paid into the imperial *fiscus*. All the gold and silver coins that circulated in Judæa were Roman, and bore the Emperor's image or emblem: the Jewish kings were only permitted to issue a copper coinage. For the nature of the taxes and the methods employed in levying them, see p. 70.

The situation created by the direct government of a race extremely sensitive in regard to their religion by the representatives of a people in which religious sentiment was conspicuously weak was a difficult one. On the whole, the policy pursued by the Romans towards the Jews was considerate. Though after the deposition by Archelaus in A.D. 6 the appointment of the High Priests fell to the *legatus* of Syria or the *procurator* of Judæa for the next thirty-five years (A.D. 6–41), nevertheless when Agrippa I in 41 became King of Judæa as well as of Galilee and Trachonitis

(p. 52), the right of nominating them was transferred to him; whilst after his death in 44, though the administration of Judæa and Galilee relapsed to Rome, yet from 44 to 66 the right was not resumed by the Romans but was given to certain Jewish princes, first to Herod, King of Chalcis, and then to Agrippa II, King of Trachonitis. After A.D. 6 the High Priest's robe was kept in the fortress of Antonia by the Roman commander and allowed to be used only on the three great festivals and the Day of Atonement; the reason for its retention by the military authority was that, since the vestment was essential for the religious ceremonies, it enabled control to be exercised over the appointment to the High Priesthood.[1] In A.D. 36, however, the governor of Syria, Vitellius, at the request of the Jews, gave it up altogether. The worship of the Emperors (p. 81), though enforced elsewhere in the Empire for political reasons, was not demanded of the Jews except in the reign of Caligula (37–41). It was deemed sufficient if, in the Temple, sacrifice was offered not *to* Cæsar but "*for* Cæsar and the Roman people." The soldiers were even allowed to dispense with their military standards while in Jerusalem, for, as those of the legions bore an eagle and those of the cohorts a serpent woven on a piece of cloth, under which might be placed the likeness of the Emperor, they gave great offence to Jewish feeling. And although the Emperor's head was stamped on the gold and silver coins which were not minted in the country, the copper coinage bore nothing but his name. Nevertheless, whilst the Roman state in the principles of its administration made many concessions to its Jewish subjects, the same considerateness was not uniformly manifested by the officials representing the government. Even those who were upright in character did not recognize that the tranquillity of the country depended as much upon tact and sympathy as upon justice; and since many of them were not conspicuous for integrity or moderation, it is not surprising that under their rule numerous insurrectionary outbreaks occurred.

Between the dethronement of Archelaus in A.D. 6 and the appointment of Agrippa I to be king of Judæa in 41, there were seven Roman procurators. The first was COPONIUS (A.D. 6–9), the contemporary *legatus* of Syria being P. Sulpicius Quirinius. It was Quirinius who undertook the "enrolment" of which mention is made in *Acts* v. 37. This, which occurred in A.D. 6 or 7, included both a census of the population and a registration of the value of their property, and gave great offence to the religious sentiments of the Jews, since it was carried out by Gentile officials, and did not conform to the regulations of the Jewish Law. Opposition to it was offered by Judas, son of Hezekiah, a native of Gamala in Gaulonitis, but usually called the Galilean. At this time Galilee was under Antipas, and though the enrolment applied to the whole of the province of Syria, it would only affect such parts of Palestine as were included in the province, namely Samaria and Judæa. These accordingly must have been the scene of the insurrection, which ended with the death of the leader and the dispersal of his followers. The disturbance gave rise to the revolu-

[1] Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Pt. I, p. 14.

tionary party of the Zealots (though this designation was perhaps of later origin).

The six procurators who followed Coponius were MARCUS AMBIVIUS 9–12 ?), ANNIUS RUFUS (12–15 ?), VALERIUS GRATUS (15–26), PONTIUS PILATUS (26–36[1]), MARCELLUS (36–37), and MARULLUS (37–41). The long tenure of office enjoyed by some of these exemplifies the tendency of the emperors to change the governors of the imperial provinces as little as possible, in the hope that they would have less temptation to rapacity (cf. p. 70), though the practice was not always justified by its results. This was manifestly so in the instance of PONTIUS PILATE. He is described as unbending and obstinate in disposition, and in his public actions as guilty of corruption, violence, oppression, and intolerable cruelty. On more than one occasion he offended the religious susceptibilities of the Jews, first by causing his soldiers to enter Jerusalem with their standards bearing the figure of the Emperor (p. 55); and next by applying the treasures in the temple to the building of an aqueduct (see Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3, 1, 2; *B.J.* ii. 9, 2–4). On the first occasion he had to remove the causes of offence. His indifference to all considerations of justice when our Lord was brought before him for trial will appear in the course of the history. His want of humane feelings, illustrated by the occurrence recorded in *Lk.* xiii. 1, was evinced repeatedly; and finally the resultant complaints against his conduct led Vitellius, governor of Syria, to send him to Rome to answer for his proceedings. Of his subsequent fate nothing is known with certainty, though tradition represents him as having committed suicide in the reign of Caligula (Eus. *H.E.* ii. 7).

Pilate's successor was *Marcellus* (36–37); and it was during his term of office that Vitellius at the Passover of A.D. 36 restored to the Jews the High Priest's robe (p. 55). Like consideration for Jewish religious feeling was shown by Vitellius (37) in a war against the Arabian king Aretas, who had defeated the forces of Antipas (p. 50). The direct route of his army from Antioch (the residence of the Syrian governors) to Petra was through the Holy Land, but in deference to the Jews, who regarded the passage of the Roman standards through their country as a profanation, the Roman general avoided it.

The successor of Marcellus was *Marullus* (37–41), whose governorship coincided with the reign of the Emperor Caligula. As has been stated, the worship of the head of the Roman state had not hitherto been enforced upon the Jews; but by Caligula, whose weak mind caused him to take seriously the divine attributes that were ascribed to him, an effort was made to compel the Jews to conform to the prevalent usage. At Alexandria the synagogues were profaned by the erection in them of an image of Caligula[2]; and in Syria, Vitellius' successor, Petronius, was directed to have a statue of the Emperor placed in the temple at Jerusalem. Appeals addressed to Petronius by the Jews of the capital, who were resolved to endure the utmost extremities rather than to submit to the threatened sacrilege, induced him to send a letter of remonstrance to the

[1] He was appointed in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37).
[2] Eus. *H.E.* ii. 6, 2.

Emperor; whilst Agrippa I, who happened to be then in Italy, petitioned Caligula to refrain from dedicating the statue. From the goodwill which he entertained towards Agrippa he yielded; but he resented the remonstrance of Petronius, who was only preserved from disgrace by the Emperor's death through violence in A.D. 41.

In A.D. 41 the direct authority which Rome had hitherto exercised in Judæa was for a time suspended, inasmuch as Claudius, on succeeding Caligula, gave Judæa to Agrippa I (p. 52). But when Agrippa died in 44, all his possessions came once more under the government of Roman procurators, though Trachonitis and portions of Galilee and Peræa were afterwards (52–3) bestowed upon Agrippa II (p. 52). The first procurator after the reign of Agrippa I was CUSPIUS FADUS (45), who, though an upright ruler, betrayed his lack of sympathy with Jewish sentiment by an endeavour (foiled through the influence of Agrippa II) to take back into Roman keeping the High Priest's robes, which Vitellius had given up to the Jews in 36 (p. 55). During the rule of Fadus there occurred a threatening movement by a pretended prophet called Theudas, who seems to have contemplated an insurrection, and sought to win popular support for himself by telling his followers that he would open a way for them across the Jordan by dividing the stream; but the movement was arrested by the dispatch against it of a body of horsemen who captured Theudas and put him to death. The incident is of interest chiefly from the allusion made to it in *Acts* v. 36–7.

The successor of Fadus was TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, who, though the precise date of his entering upon his office is unknown, was procurator until 48. He executed James and Simon, the sons of Judas the Gaulonite (p. 55), on suspicion that they meditated designs like their father's. A severe famine which began during his predecessor's tenure of office extended into his period of rule, and is of importance in connexion with the chronology of *Acts*.

Tiberius Alexander was followed by VENTIDIUS CUMANUS (A.D. 48–52). On the occasion of a sanguinary disturbance between the Jews and the Samaritans, the former charged the procurator with acting harshly to them, and with having taken bribes from the Samaritans. Agrippa II, who was at Rome at the time, supported the Jews, and Claudius, deciding in their favour, banished Cumanus.

At the request of the ex-high priest Jonathan, the head of the Jewish delegation that accused Cumanus, the procuratorship was next given to ANTONIUS FELIX (52–60), a freed man, who was brother of the Emperor's favourite Pallas. Felix, who was three times married (the name of his first wife being Drusilla, granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra (Tac. *Hist.* v. 9) and that of his second being unknown [1]), had as his third partner Drusilla, sister of Agrippa II and consequently a Jewess (*Acts* xxiv. 24). In his administration of Judæa, his reliance upon the influence of Pallas with Claudius led him to throw off all restraint (cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii.

[1] Like the others she was a princess, since Suetonius calls him *trium reginarum maritum* (*Claud.* 28).

54); and his cruelty and misgovernment[1] rendered the condition of the country, bad enough under his predecessor, still worse. The Zealots and Sicarii committed many outrages, and the excitement among the people was still further stimulated by religious enthusiasts who claimed the power of working signs portending the advent of national liberation. One of these latter was an Egyptian Jew who gathered round him a multitude of people by the promise that he would cause by his mere word the walls of Jerusalem to fall, and so enable his followers to enter the city and secure the government. Felix attacked and dispersed his adherents, but the Egyptian himself escaped.[2] With this insurgent St. Paul was mistakenly identified by the military tribune Lysias commanding at Jerusalem (*Acts* xxi. 38). It was during the governorship of Felix that the Apostle was imprisoned at Cæsarea, where he remained during the last two years of the procurator's tenure of his office. Felix was recalled by Nero probably in A.D. 58 (see p. 347) and was succeeded by PORCIUS FESTUS.

Festus (58–61) was a man of better character than his predecessor, but he was unable to repress successfully the disorders that were rife in the country. By him St. Paul, who had been left in prison by Felix and who as a Roman citizen had appealed to the Emperor for trial at Rome, was sent to Italy. Festus did not occupy his office long, dying when he had filled it barely two years.

Some short interval separated the death of Festus from the arrival of his successor; and during this time the duty of government was discharged by the high priest Ananus, son of the Annas before whom our Lord was tried. It was by Ananus that James the "brother" of our Lord is said to have been put to death *circ.* 61 or 62 (see Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9, 1, cf. Eus. *H.E.* ii. 23).

The procurator sent to succeed Festus was ALBINUS (62–64). He was so corrupt that he accepted bribes from all parties, from the Sicarii no less than from the supporters of Roman authority; so that both the capital and the country were reduced to complete anarchy. He was recalled by the Emperor in 64.

The last procurator was GESSIUS FLORUS (64-66), who was even worse than Albinus, and brought matters to a crisis by taking money from the treasury of the Temple. This produced tumults which the procurator punished savagely but was unable to put down. An attempt to pacify the populace of Jerusalem was made by Cestius Gallus the *legatus* of Syria, who was aided by Agrippa II; but all efforts were vain, and the renunciation of allegiance to Rome was openly marked by the cessation in the Temple of the daily offering on behalf of the Emperor (see p. 55). The Zealots, aided by Idumæans, became masters of the city; the palace of the high priest Ananus was burnt, and Ananus himself killed. The Roman garrison in the fortress of Antonia capitulated on terms; but the

[1] Of him it is observed by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9) that *per omnem sævitiam et libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit.*

[2] Josephus gives two rather inconsistent accounts of this Egyptian impostor in *B.J.* ii. 13, 5 and in *Ant.* xx. 8, 6. The former account is reproduced in Eus. *H.E.* ii. 21.

compact was broken and the soldiers were all massacred. In consequence, Gallus besieged Jerusalem with a large force, but was compelled to abandon the siege with heavy loss, and the whole of Palestine broke into revolt. The retirement of Gallus enabled the Jewish Christians about this time to withdraw from Jerusalem and take refuge in Pella (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 5, 3, cf. p. 446). Titus Flavius Vespasian was sent in 67 with a force of some 60,000 men to deal with the insurgents; and Galilee, where John of Gischala (a place south-west of the Waters of Merom) led the rebellion, was first subdued (A.D. 67); but John fled to Jerusalem, where he butchered a number of the principal inhabitants. Vespasian, after subjugating Idumæa, Samaria, and Peræa, invested the Jewish capital in 68; but the death of Nero (A.D. 68) and the dispute respecting the succession to the Empire interrupted the siege, until Vespasian himself became Emperor in 69. Then early in 70 Titus, the new Emperor's son, was sent into Judæa, and the investment of the capital was renewed. The defence was weakened by conflicts, within the walls, of rival sections headed by John of Gischala and Simon Bar-Giora; and finally, after a siege of many months, the Temple was stormed and burnt, and the city, in which famine had long raged, was captured and razed to the ground. With its overthrow the Jewish State ceased to be. The High priesthood was abolished, the daily sacrifice came to a permanent end, the Sanhedrin was dissolved, and the tax previously contributed by all Jews for the support of the Temple was henceforward paid to the Roman treasury. In the subsequent triumph enjoyed by Vespasian and Titus the sacred vessels of the Temple and the rolls of the Law figured among the spoil carried in procession, whilst coins were struck to commemorate the captivity of Judæa. The war, however, was not absolutely brought to a close until the last fortress held by the insurgents, Masada, on the western shore of the Dead Sea, south of Engedi, was successfully attacked in 73; but with the capture of this the struggle was finally concluded.

After the destruction of Jerusalem, the country was constituted an independent province, held by a legion, the commander of which was the governor. The seat of Roman authority continued to be Cæsarea; and since Jerusalem was now merely the site of a Roman camp, the only centre of Jewish religion and of Rabbinical studies was Jamnia (the ancient Jabneh [1]). It was not in Palestine but among the Jews of the Dispersion that insubordination to Roman rule was first renewed. Shortly before the end of the reign of Trajan (98–117) disturbances of a serious character either broke out or were brewing in Cyprus, Egypt, Cyrene, and Mesopotamia,[2] where the Emperor was engaged in war with the Parthians. The revolt was suppressed with severity, and under Hadrian (117–138) the Jews were for a time more tranquil. Hadrian, who had a passion for founding cities, rebuilt Jerusalem; but was ill-advised enough not only to give it a new name—Ælia Capitolina [3]—and to erect on the site of the Temple a forum dedicated to Jupiter, but to forbid the practice of circumcision. These outrages upon the sentiments of the Jews caused in

[1] In the valley of Sorek, west-north-west of Jerusalem, near the sea.
[2] Eus. *H.E.* iv. 2.
[3] *Ælius* was the *nomen* of the Emperor.

132 a violent insurrection in Judæa itself, the leader of which was Simeon Bar-Coziba, who styled himself *Bar-Cochbā*,—" son of the star," in allusion to the prophecy in *Num.* xxiv. 17. He was supported by a distinguished Rabbi named Akiba, and was hailed by him as the Messiah (cf. Eus. *H.E.* iv. 6). The movement was at first successful; and since Teneius Rufus, the contemporary governor of Judæa, was unable to suppress the revolt, Sextus Julius Severus had to be recalled from Britain by the Emperor in order to cope with the insurgents. By Severus the rebellion was quelled in 135; and the bloodshed that accompanied its suppression is said to have much exceeded that which marked the capture of Jerusalem by Titus. The Jews were now forbidden under pain of death to set foot in Jerusalem, which was occupied by heathen colonists; and the country was henceforward called by the Roman authorities *Syria Palæstina*.

The outbreak in the reign of Hadrian was the last attempt on the part of the Jews to revolt against Rome. By Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, the prohibition of circumcision was withdrawn; and under succeeding Emperors, many of their former privileges, such as exemption from military service, were restored. But the spirit of the race, though subdued, was not conciliated; and in spite of the toleration accorded to their religion, they continued to cherish bitter animosity against their rulers. It has, indeed, been a conspicuous feature of their later history that they have never amalgamated with the peoples among whom they have lived, and have repeatedly given countenance to Tacitus' description of their distinctive qualities,—*Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia im promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium.*

Religion in the Roman Period

The control exercised by the Roman power over the Jews began in 63 B.C., and extended long beyond the limits of the time covered by the present work. Of the principal Apocalyptic writings which throw light upon the development of Jewish religious thought during the period with which alone we are concerned (namely from 63 B.C. to the end of the first century A.D.), one—the Book of *Revelation*—is embraced within the New Testament, and the leading ideas of this, which are Judæo-Christian, do not fall to be considered here, but will come under notice later. The rest, of which one is included in the Old Testament Apocrypha, are the following:

Psalms of Solomon [1] . . .	70–40 [2] B.C.
Sibylline Oracles (part) . . .	before 31 B.C.
Assumption of Moses [3] . . .	A.D. 7–29.
Slavonic Enoch (*The Secrets of Enoch*)	first half of the first century A.D.
Apocalypse of Baruch . . .	latter half of the first century,
2 Esdras.	about A.D. 120. [A.D.

[1] Now existing only in Greek, but originally in Hebrew.

[2] That parts of this work date after 48 B.C. appears from reference in it to the death of Pompey which occurred in that year.

[3] Originally written in Hebrew but translated into Greek.

All of these works, like most of the preceding period, are pseudonymous. Several of them are composite, the dates of the constituent parts varying, and not being always easily determined with certainty.

The distinctive speculations respecting the future which are contained in these books, though not without significance for the New Testament, are of less importance than those reviewed in connexion with the Greek period, and may be treated more briefly. An interesting proof that there survived, by the side of the belief in the coming of a Heavenly Man, the older expectation of a Messiah, born of the house of David, is presented by the *Psalms of Solomon*. In *Ps.* xvii of the collection there is a prayer that begins: "Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them (the Jewish people) their King, the son of David, in the time which Thou, O God, knowest, that he may reign over Israel thy servant; and gird him with strength that he may break in pieces them that rule unjustly." The Messiah here described is clearly human, not superhuman; and it is anticipated that, exercising the authority of an earthly king, he will not only overthrow the foreign oppressors of his people, but will destroy the predominance of those Jews who, in the eyes of the party from which these psalms emanated, were irreligious and unjust. This group of psalms was the production of the Pharisees; and the section of the Jews against whom sentiments of hostility are manifested consisted of the Sadducees.

Another conception of earlier days is preserved, with some modification, in the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. Here the expectation of a great gathering of the enemies of Israel for a final conflict, which occurs in *Ezekiel* and *Joel* (p. 23), survives. They are represented as mustered under a "last leader," but they are destroyed and their leader is put to death by God's Messiah, the protector of God's people. This representation is of interest in connexion with various passages in the New Testament (such as 2 *Thess.* ii. 8, *Rev.* xx. 7 foll.).

In some of these Apocalypses the thought of the evil condition of the present world (though it is by no means confined to these but appears earlier) receives conspicuous emphasis. In 2 *Esdras* it takes the form of a contrast between two worlds or ages, that which now exists and that which is to come (see vii. 50). The one is corrupt and transitory, full of sadness and infirmity, and will be ended by the judgment; whilst the other will be permanent and immortal, abounding in virtue and happiness (iv. 11, 27, vii. 12, 13, 113, 114). The same idea of the two worlds recurs in several places in the New Testament (see *Lk.* xx. 35, *Mt.* xii. 32, *Eph.* i. 21).

The only really novel development of thought exhibited by these Apocalypses of which account need be taken here is the anticipation of a *Millennium*, which is of importance in view of the recurrence of the idea in *Rev.* xx. 4. It appears first in *Slavonic Enoch*. The writer of this, arguing from the fact that the earth was created in six days, which were followed by a seventh day of rest, and assuming one day with God to be as a thousand years, concludes that the ordinary history of the world will be completed in 6,000 years, and that after the expiration of these

there will be a period of rest and bliss for another thousand years, after which millennium time will pass into eternity.[1] In *Slavonic Enoch* there is no mention of a Messiah in connexion with the Millennium. A parallel conception of a limited Messianic age on earth, lasting not a thousand but only 400 years, occurs in 2 *Esdras*. During this space of time the Messiah, whom God is represented as addressing as "My Son" (2 *Esd.* vii. 28, xiii. 37), will be manifested, and at its expiration will die.[2] The origin of the number 400 has been sought in a comparison of *Ps.* xc. 15, "Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us," with *Gen.* xv. 13, where the affliction of Israel in Egypt is described as lasting 400 years.[3] After the death of the Messiah there will ensue a brief interval, and then a new era will begin, inaugurated by a judgment-scene in which the Judge is God. There will be a resurrection of the dead, and good deeds will be rewarded and evil punished. "The pit of torment shall appear and over against it shall be the place of rest; and the furnace of Gehenna shall be shewed, and over against it the paradise of delight" (2 *Esd.* vii. 36).

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[1] Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 261.

[2] In 2 *Esd.* vii. 28 the correct reading is *my son the Messiah*, not *my son Jesus* (see Box, *The Ezra Apocalypse*, p. 114).

[3] Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 286.

III

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY the middle of the first century A.D. Rome had reduced under its sway all the southern parts of Europe, the western portion of Asia, and the north coast of Africa. It was thus supreme over the Mediterranean, ruling all the lands which are washed by that sea, and several which are not. The frontiers of its dominions were on the West, the Atlantic ; on the North, the Trent, the Rhine, the Danube, the Black Sea and the Caucasus ; on the East, the upper waters of the Euphrates and a more or less undefined line running from thence to the Red Sea ; and on the South, the edge of the African desert. Authority over this vast territory, stretching about 3,000 miles from East to West, and 2,000 from North to South, was enforced, under republican forms, by a single ruler. Octavian was the first to possess the supreme authority. Though by a constitutional fiction he was the servant of the State, yet, since to him alone the soldiers took their oath of allegiance (*sacramentum*), this fact made him its master. Accordingly, though in form many functions of government were left to the Senate, the reality of sovereignty rested with the Emperor. In the New Testament no distinction is made between the titles *Emperor* and *King*, *βασιλεύς* being employed for both (1 *Pet.* ii. 17, *Matt.* ii. 1). The cognomen *Cæsar*, which was received by Octavius when he was adopted by Gaius Julius Cæsar and became C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus, and the title *Augustus* (in Greek *Σεβαστός*) which he then assumed, were taken by all his successors ; for the use of these titles in the New Testament, see *Mark* xii. 14, *Lk.* ii. 1, *Acts* xxv. 25.

(*a*) *The Provincial System* [1]

The centre of government was Italy, outside of which the subject lands of the empire were divided into provinces (*ἐπαρχίαι*). The names of these, as given below, did not always coincide in extent with the countries which were denoted by them before their annexation by Rome ; and in the New Testament some ambiguity is occasioned by the uncertainty whether its writers in particular passages employ the names in the official or the popular sense, the latter corresponding to the older kingdoms out of which the Roman provinces had been constructed by combination or division. Examples of such ambiguity are furnished by the terms

[1] See Arnold, *Roman System of Provincial Administration.*

Galatia (p. 266) and *Pontus*. The number of the provinces varied through the inclusion in the provincial system of additional territories, or through the subdivision of existing provinces. At the death of Augustus (A.D. 14) there were about thirty, at the death of Claudius (54) thirty-five, under Nero (54–68) thirty-six, and at the death of Trajan (117) the number had been increased to forty-five.

Although the Roman empire constituted a unity under a single head, there was no uniformity in the method of its administration. Amongst the provinces there were two distinct classes; whilst outside the provinces there were numerous semi-independent States which, so long as their external policy was controlled by the Emperors, were allowed much liberty in respect of internal government. The classification of the provinces was effected in 27 B.C. by Augustus, who divided them between the Senate and himself. Such of them as were little liable to disturbance he assigned to the Senate, which appointed the governors of them by lot out of ex-consuls and ex-prætors, the term of office being restricted to one year. Two of the Senatorial provinces, Asia and Africa, were reserved for ex-consuls (*consulares*), whilst the rest were given to ex-prætors (*prætorii*). Both classes of governors, however, were officially styled *pro-consuls* (*ἀνθύπατοι*), though the pro-consuls of Asia and Africa had twelve lictors, whilst the others had only six. None of the governors of the Senatorial provinces had an army; though each was allowed a small force for the purpose of maintaining order, and in Africa a legion was stationed. The revenue of these provinces went into the State treasury (*ærarium*) which was administered by the Senate, but in each province certain dues were payable to a separate imperial treasury (*fiscus*), which was under the exclusive control of the Emperor, and these dues were placed in the charge of a special finance officer (*procurator*, see p. 53). The number of provinces belonging to this class remained constant. On the other hand, those provinces which were less tranquil (requiring the presence of considerable military forces to ensure them protection or to repress disorder) and all new territories were under the exclusive supervision of the Emperor, who nominated his own deputies (*legati*) for such periods as he pleased, out of ex-consuls, ex-prætors, or even mere knights. Imperial deputies who were ex-consuls or ex-prætors of Senatorial rank were uniformly called *legati Augusti* (or *Cæsaris*) *proprætores* (*πρεσβευταὶ καὶ ἀντιστρατηγοὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*) and such had five lictors. Certain officials drawn from the Equestrian order, who were placed by the Emperor in charge of such provinces as either needed some, but not much, military force, or presented peculiar problems of administration had the same style as the fiscal agents in the Senatorial provinces and were called *procuratores* (*ἐπίτροποι*, *ἔπαρχοι*, or *ἡγεμόνες*), but had judicial and administrative, as well as financial, powers. The governor of Egypt had the special title of *præfectus*. As the frontiers of the Empire were extended, and additional regions were included in it, the Imperial provinces increased in number, since the newly acquired countries naturally called for military occupation, and so fell to the care of the Emperor. Circumstances sometimes made it desirable for the Emperor to take over a

Senatorial province, and to surrender one of his own in exchange, so that the distribution of the provinces between the two authorities was constantly being modified.

The following is a list of the provinces in existence during the first century. Those that at different times were transferred from one class to the other and consequently appear twice are indicated by italics.

Senatorial *under proconsuls*	Imperial
	(*a*) *Under proprætors*
Africa	Hispania Tarraconensis
Asia	*Dalmatia* (after 11 B.C.)
Sicily	Moesia (divided by Domitian)
Sardinia and Corsica (27 B.C.–A.D. 6 and after 67)	Pannonia (divided by Trajan)
Hispania Bœtica	Germania Superior
Dalmatia (or *Illyricum*) (27 B.C.–11 B.C.)	Germania Inferior
Macedonia (27 B.C.–A.D. 15 and after 44)	*Achaia* (A.D. 15–44 and 67–74)
Gallia Narbonensis (27–22 B.C. and after 11 B.C.)	Syria
Bithynia and Pontus	Lusitania
Cyrene and Crete	*Gallia Narbonensis* (22–11 B.C.)
Cyprus (after 22 B.C.)	*Cyprus* (27–22 B.C.)
Achaia (27 B.C.–A.D. 15, 44–67, and after 74)	Aquitania
	Gallia Lugdunensis
	Gallia Belgica
	Galatia
	Macedonia (A.D. 15–44)
	Pamphylia
	Britannia
	Numidia
	(*b*) *Under procurators*
	Cappadocia
	Mauritania
	Thrace
	Sardinia and Corsica (A.D. 6–67)
	Cilicia
	Alpine Provinces (Alpes Cottiæ, Alpes Maritimæ)
	Rhætia
	Noricum
	Judæa (sometimes under native rulers)
	(*c*) *Under a præfect*
	Egypt

A large proportion of the provinces of the Empire are either not mentioned at all in the New Testament or are only slightly alluded to, so that they require no notice here, but several of them figure prominently in it.

Asia, in many ways the principal of the provinces by reason of its

population, wealth, and culture, was first organized in 129 B.C. out of the kingdom of Pergamum, which its King Attalus III bequeathed to the Romans in 133. It embraced Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, most of Phrygia, and the numerous islands lying near the coast. Pergamum (on the Caicus), the capital of the ancient kingdom, remained for a while the capital of the province; but, later, Ephesus, at the mouth of the Cayster, became the seat of government. Rivals of Ephesus in importance were Smyrna (on the coast) and Sardis (on the Hermus). Other towns mentioned in the New Testament are Miletus, Troas, Assos, Adramyttium (on the coast), Mytilene (in Lesbos), Thyatira, Laodicea, Philadelphia, Colossæ, Hierapolis (inland).

In Asia there existed a provincial association which had as its object the encouragement of the worship of Rome and the Emperor. Its designation was *Κοῖνον Ἀσίας* (*Commune Asiæ*) and its members were termed *Asiarchs*. They appear to have been the high priests of the new imperial cult (which had its earliest centre at Pergamum), and administered funds devoted to the maintenance of it. It naturally fell to the Asiarchs to see that no forms of worship other than those allowed by the Roman State were introduced into the province. It is not known for certain how long they held office, but the title was seemingly retained after their office had expired, and was one of much dignity. In neighbouring provinces there were officials bearing analogous titles (*Bithyniarchs*, *Galatarchs*, *Syriarchs*, etc.), and presumably invested with similar duties.

The name *Asia* was ambiguous (cf. p. 63), since, besides denoting the Roman province, it might be used of that part of it in particular (exclusive of Phrygia) which lay along the Ægean coast. It appears to have this signification in *Acts* ii. 9, where it is distinguished from Phrygia.

Macedonia was conquered by the Romans at the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C., and was at first divided into four districts in which there were established federations retaining a certain measure of independence. Of this division possibly the memory survives in *Acts* xvi. 12. The arrangement proving unsatisfactory, the country was organized as a province in 146. Its extent varied at different times. During the period covered by the historical narratives of the New Testament it stretched from Thrace (from which it was separated by the river Nestus) to the Adriatic, and included Thessaly and part of Epirus. By Augustus it was placed in 27 B.C. under the Senate, but at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 15) it was transferred to the Emperor; whilst by Claudius in 44 it was restored to the Senate. Its most important towns lay on the *Via Egnatia* (p. 75); among these were Thessalonica, Apollonia, Amphipolis and Philippi. Other places of some note were Neapolis (the port of Philippi), Beroea, and Pydna. Thessalonica and Amphipolis were both "free" cities (p. 71); whilst Thessalonica was the seat of the Roman governor.

Philippi had the distinction of being a Roman colony, for some of the troops of Octavian and Antony were established there in 42 B.C., after the victory gained over Brutus and Cassius; and a second body of soldiers were sent thither by Augustus after the battle of Actium (31 B.C.).

*** *To illustrate the Roman Provinces in Asia Minor.*

Achaia, conquered in 146 B.C., was at first included in the province of Macedonia, but in 27 B.C. it was made a separate Senatorial province, comprising all Greece, from Thessaly and the southern part of Epirus to the extremity of the Peloponnesus. At a later date Thessaly was disconnected from it and attached to Macedonia (p. 66). In A.D. 15 Achaia, together with Macedonia, to which it was once more joined, became a single Imperial province, but it was retransferred to the Senate in A.D. 44, so that on the occasion of St. Paul's visit it was under a proconsul (*Acts* xviii. 12). Its most famous city was Athens ; but its official capital and chief trading centre was Corinth, of which Cenchreæ was the eastern, and Lechæum the western port. Corinth was destroyed by Mummius in 146, but the city was refounded as a colony by Julius Cæsar, its settlers consisting largely of freedmen. (See further p. 553.)

Bithynia and Pontus formed a single province, constituted out of the kingdom of Bithynia (left to the Romans by its king Nicomedes III in 74 B.C.), and the western part of Pontus (the kingdom of Mithradates). The joint province was under the Senate until A.D. 111, when it was transferred to the Emperor. None of its towns is mentioned in the New Testament, though Nicomedia, in Bithynia, was a place of importance.

Cyprus, when annexed in 58 B.C., was at first attached to Cilicia ; then for a short period it was given to Ptolemy of Egypt ; but in 27 B.C. it became a separate province, first under Imperial, and then, after A.D. 22, under Senatorial control, so that when visited by St. Paul and Barnabas (*Acts* xiii. 7) it was governed by a proconsul. Its principal towns were Paphos (the seat of the government) and Salamis.

Cyrene and Crete formed a joint province, the former being first included in the Roman provincial system in 74 B.C. and the latter in 68 B.C., and the two being united by Augustus and placed under the Senate. Of Crete the only localities named in the New Testament are certain places on the coast, Salmone, Lasea, with a neighbouring harbour called Fair Havens (*Καλοὶ Λιμένες*), and Phœnix.

Galatia derived its name from a body of Gauls who in the third century B.C. crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor, and after perpetrating many ravages, finally settled in the region around Ancyra. In 64, Pompey placed the Galatians under three chiefs, the ablest of whom was Deiotarus, who afterwards received the title of king. The last king, Amyntas, was killed in battle, and his realm in 25 B.C. was reduced by the Romans to a province. This included, beside Galatia proper, parts of Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pontus ; and eventually in A.D. 70 it was augmented by the addition to it of Cappadocia. Of the northern portion of the province (the district inhabited by the descendants of the Gauls) the chief cities were Pessinus, Ancyra (the modern Angora), and Tavium ; whilst of the southern part the principal places were Pisidian Antioch,[1] Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra, all of which were inhabited by Asiatic peoples (not Celts), though Antioch and Lystra contained Roman colonies (p. 71).

Cappadocia was annexed in A.D. 17, and remained a separate province

[1] Strictly Antioch *ad Pisidiam*, "Antioch bordering Pisidia." It was really in Phrygia.

under procurators until 70, when it was attached to Galatia (p. 67). It was a poor district, possessing few towns.

Pamphylia was at first comprised in Cilicia, but was severed from it in 25 B.C., and probably administered by the *legatus* of Syria. But when in A.D. 43 Lycia was added to it, it became a separate province under the Emperor. Among its chief towns were Perga and Attalia; whilst others named in the New Testament are Myra and Patara.

Cilicia was acquired in 103 B.C., but not effectively occupied until 67 B.C., when Pompey suppressed the pirates which had their haunts there. The province varied greatly in the extent of territory included in it at different times. Physically it consisted of two halves, a western section of mountainous character (*Cilicia Tracheia*), and an eastern section, level and fertile (*Cilicia Pedia* or *Campestris*). It was the western half alone which constituted the province during the rule of Augustus, who placed it under a procurator subordinate to the *legatus* of Syria. The country was famous for a dark-coloured fabric made of goats' hair which was called *κιλίκιον*, and furnished material for sackcloth (*Rev.* vi. 12) and tent cloth.[1] Its most important towns were Seleuceia (on the sea) and Tarsus (on the Cydnus), the latter being a free city (p. 71) and the seat of a university whose students were not inferior to those of Athens and Alexandria (Strabo, *Geog.* xiv.).

Syria was conquered in 64 B.C., when the dynasty of the Seleucids was ended (p. 37). The province, which embraced all the country from the gulf of Issus to the borders of Egypt, and from the Arabian desert to the sea, was placed under the control of the Emperor, who was represented by a *legatus*. But at different times various parts of Syria (in the geographical sense) were under *quasi*-independent native rulers, including Commagēne, Emesa, Abilene, Chalcis, and others mentioned below. The most important of its cities (outside those in native states) was Antioch, reckoned as the third city of the Empire. This was built on the Orontes and was distinguished from various other Antiochs by the designation *Ἀντιοχεία ἡ πρὸς Δάφνῃ* (the latter place being a grove sacred to Apollo). The city was some 14 miles from the sea, and had a port at the mouth of the Orontes called Seleuceia, both it and Antioch being founded by Seleucus Nicator.

Of the semi-independent states which were in the vicinity of the province of Syria, and some of which at different times were included in it, the following, as being directly or indirectly alluded to in the New Testament, may be noticed here.

(1) The Kingdom of the Ituræans. This tribe, famous as archers,[2] lived on the slopes of Anti-Lebanon, their kingdom extending on both sides of the range, and their capital being Chalcis, in the plain between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. In the time of Antony, their king was named Lysanias and was executed by the Roman triumvir in 36 B.C. His kingdom was subsequently divided into four sections: (*a*) *The*

[1] It was the weaving of this material that constituted the secular occupation of St. Paul, who was a native of Tarsus.

[2] Cf. Verg. *G.* ii. 448 *Ituræos taxi torquentur in arcus.*

Tetrarchy of Ulatha and Panias (the former, the region round Lake Merom and the latter near the source of the Jordan), conferred in 20 B.C. upon Herod the Great, and afterwards, in part, upon Herod's son Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis; cf. *Lk.* iii. 1. (*b*) *The Tetrarchy of Abila*, on the eastern slope of Anti-Lebanon, bestowed in A.D. 37 upon Agrippa I (p. 51) and in A.D. 53 upon Agrippa II (p. 52). (*c*) *The Kingdom of Chalcis* (north of Panias), given in A.D. 41 to Herod, grandson of Herod the Great, and afterwards (until 53) to Agrippa II (p. 52). (*d*) *The Kingdom of the Ituræans*, in a restricted sense (between Heliopolis and Laodicea *ad Libanum*.

(2) The Kingdom of the Nabatæans. This Arabian tribe in the fourth century B.C. occupied Petra, driving the Edomites northwards. From 9 B.C. to A.D. 40 they were ruled by Aretas IV, whose daughter was married to, and afterwards divorced by, Herod Antipas (p. 50), and who was in possession of Damascus (which he governed by an ethnarch) in the time of St. Paul (2 *Cor.* xi. 32), *circ.* A.D. 35.

(3) Trachonitis. This, from 37 to 4 B.C., formed part of the kingdom of Herod the Great, and at his death was bestowed upon his son Philip, who had the title of tetrarch. When the latter died in A.D. 36, it came under the direct rule of Rome for a short while; but in A.D. 37 it was given to Agrippa I (p. 51), who was allowed the style of king. On Agrippa's death in 44, it, together with the rest of his domains, passed again under Roman rule; but in 53 it was bestowed upon Agrippa II (p. 52), who governed it until his death about A.D. 100.

(4) Galilee. This, like Trachonitis, was included in the realm of Herod the Great. At his death in 4 B.C., it, together with Peræa, was given to his son Antipas (p. 50), who, like his brother Philip, had only the title of tetrarch. On the deposition of Antipas in A.D. 39 it was transferred to Agrippa I, king of Trachonitis, but at his death in 44 it was taken over by the Romans and governed by procurators.

(5) Judæa. This, with Trachonitis and Galilee, constituted the kingdom of Herod the Great. At his death (4 B.C.) it was bestowed on his son Archelaus (p. 49), to whom was given the title of ethnarch; but when he was deposed in A.D. 6, it was placed by the Romans under procurators. In A.D. 41 it again received a king, being added to the other territories conferred upon Agrippa I (p. 51). At his death in 44 it, like the rest of his possessions, was once more deprived of independence; and though in 53 Trachonitis was separately treated, and given to Agrippa II, the remaining portions of the territories of Agrippa I (Judæa and Galilee) continued to be ruled by Roman procurators, until after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, when Judæa was made a separate province and governed by a *legatus* of consular rank.

To the states here named and to others like them the Roman Emperors allowed a measure of independence; but their rulers were expected to govern in the interest of Rome, and their foreign policy in particular was controlled from Italy (cf. p. 49). Their independent status was not guaranteed to them by treaty, but was granted or withdrawn by Rome at will; yet in practice the right of interference was not often exercised,

for the subservience which the Emperors required they could easily secure, since they had the power of removing an intractable ruler, or of augmenting his authority and dignity if he became amenable to their wishes.

For the sake of completeness brief mention may here be made of a few remote countries outside Roman territory to which occasional allusions occur in the New Testament. The most powerful state in the east was PARTHIA, situated south-east of the Caspian Sea. The Parthians were at one time included in the dominions of Alexander and his successors; but in 256 B.C. they were constituted an independent kingdom by Arsaces; and eventually dominated the lands extending from India to the Euphrates. At various times they were rivals of Rome for the mastery of the East, and on more than one occasion they interfered in the affairs of Palestine (p. 45). They are referred to in the book of *Enoch* (lvi. 5) and perhaps in *Rev.* ix. 14–16. MEDIA lay south and south-west of the Caspian and east of the Tigris. ELAM was south of Media, and near the head of the Persian Gulf. MESOPOTAMIA, west of Media, was the region between the Tigris and the Euphrates, the latter river separating the Roman Empire from the group of countries here enumerated.

The division of the Roman provinces into two classes by Augustus greatly improved the condition of many of the subjects of the Empire. Even in the senatorial provinces, some check could be put on the rapacity of governors by the Emperor in virtue of his *proconsulare imperium*, and in the last resort a misgoverned region could be transferred to the class of imperial provinces. In the latter there were not the same incentives or opportunities for misconduct as in the countries under the immediate control of the Senate, since their governors were appointed for variable periods (five or even more years), were regularly paid, and were dependent for promotion upon the Emperor, who generally exercised a close supervision over them. But besides this, the whole system of provincial taxation was changed for the better by Augustus. In the time of the Republic the taxes and customs were not exacted by the state from the taxpayers through its own officials; but large companies (*publicani*, *τελῶναι*), consisting of wealthy persons, contracted for the collection of them, paying a lump sum to the state treasury, and re-imbursing themselves for their outlay and their trouble by what they exacted through their agents from the people. Both the amount of the taxes and the method of collecting them were naturally often oppressive, since there was no definite register of property to enable the amount to be fairly apportioned to the different localities, whilst the *publicani* were under the temptation of extorting as much as they could for their own advantage. Under the Empire two alterations were made. (1) A census both of the population and of the taxable capacity of the various provinces was instituted, such being taken, in the case of Judæa, certainly in A.D. 6, when, after the deposition of Archelaus, it was included in the province of Syria (p. 55), and possibly on an earlier occasion (see p. 343). (2) The system of allowing capitalists to contract for the collection of the revenue was discontinued in connection with the direct taxes, which were now placed in the hands of government officials (the quæstors in senatorial, the

procurators in imperial provinces), and retained only in respect of the indirect taxes.

In those parts of Palestine where authority was exercised by vassal kings, such were empowered to levy customs for their own revenue. Hence during our Lord's lifetime whilst the taxes and customs exacted in Judæa, which was under a procurator, went to the Roman Emperor (*Mk.* xii. 14, *Lk.* xx. 25), the customs levied at Capernaum in Galilee (*Mk.* ii. 14) went to Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of that region The *τελῶναι* mentioned in the New Testament were not the Roman *publicani*, but their subordinate agents (*portitores*) who, if Jews, were detested not only for the oppressiveness of which, as a class, they were guilty, but also for being in many cases the tools of a foreign power. The *ἀρχιτελῶναι* (cf. *Lk.* xix. 2) were probably more important agents, occupying a position intermediate between the *τελῶναι* and their Roman capitalist employers. In addition to taxation levied for secular purposes every Jew likewise paid an individual contribution of a half shekel (*δίδραχμον*) for the maintenance of the Temple worship.

In respect of administration the large majority of provincial cities were allowed to have their own magistrates and civic regulations. In most there existed a senate (*βουλή*) and a public assembly (*ἐκκλησία*). The regular meetings of the latter were called *νόμιμοι* (or *κυρίαι*) *ἐκκλησίαι*; whilst extraordinary meetings could be held by permission of the Roman authorities, such being styled (at least in some places) *σύγκλητοι ἐκκλησίαι* (cf. *Acts* xix. 39). A certain number of towns were "free" (*i.e.* exempt altogether from Roman taxation and from the control of the provincial governor), among them being Tarsus, Thessalonica, and Athens. The bestowal of this autonomy naturally encouraged much local pride and patriotism, such as that evinced by St. Paul (*Acts* xxi. 39). Distinct from these privileged cities, whose inhabitants were chiefly provincial, were the Roman *colonies*, towns which ordinarily consisted of Roman citizens, either established in places from which the previous population had been expelled, or planted in localities where the existing citizens were allowed to remain, and to share the privileges of the settlers. Under Augustus colonies were mainly intended to serve as settlements for veterans; and compensation was sometimes paid to those who were dispossessed of their farms or estates. But the name and status might also be bestowed upon a place without the introduction into it of any new citizens, and merely with the design of conferring upon it rank and privilege. Among the towns mentioned in the New Testament that had the style of "colony" were Pisidian Antioch, Lystra, Philippi, and Corinth. The titles of the chief magistrates of provincial towns were very varied. In Roman colonies they were called *prætors* (*στρατηγοί*) or *duoviri* (*δυανδρικοί*). In Hellenic cities the old term *Archons* was sometimes retained; but more common designations were *στρατηγοί* and *δημιουργοί*. In Thessalonica (a free city) the principal officials were styled *Politarchs* (*πολίταρχαι*, *Acts* xvii. 6), a title occurring elsewhere in Macedonia (where it seems to have been frequent), in Bithynia, in Thrace, and in Egypt. An official who had no counterpart in the Roman cities was the town-clerk or secretary

(γραμματεύς), who kept the city records and seems to have exercised considerable authority (*Acts* xix. 35). In the island of Melita (Malta) the chief administrator was styled the *Primus* (ὁ πρῶτος).

The collective inhabitants of Roman *coloniæ* and *municipia* (the latter differing from the former in history, but not at this time in legal rights) possessed the Roman franchise; but this could also be acquired by individual residents of cities that were not colonies or municipalities. It was obtainable in various ways: (*a*) as a mark of favour or reward, (*b*) in exchange for money, (*c*) through manumission. Josephus, a native of Jerusalem, received it as a distinction from the Emperor Vespasian; and Claudius Lysias, a *tribunus militum*, procured it by purchase (*Acts* xxii. 28). The privilege of citizenship, however acquired, was transmitted from father to son, as in the case of St. Paul. The possession of it was of great value, since every Roman citizen (1) was exempt from scourging or torture[1] and from such an agonizing and ignominious punishment as crucifixion; (2) had the right to appeal to the Emperor (representing the Roman people) against sentences pronounced by a magistrate; (3) could claim, if accused of a capital offence, to be tried by the Emperor before being sentenced. Presumably the Emperor did not hear all such appeals in person, but tried most cases through his representatives at Rome; but the mere removal of the trial from places where local prejudice was strong to the capital might in itself be an advantage. Persons who were not Romans by race but who became Roman citizens, assumed Roman names, in addition to, or in substitution for, their own. Thus, the Jew Josephus took the name of Flavius, after the Emperor Tiberius Flavius Vespasianus, and the Greek Lysias assumed the name of Claudius (*Acts* xxiii. 26), after the Emperor Claudius. St. Paul either replaced his Hebrew appellation *Saul* by the Latin *Paulus*, or united the two names.

The defence of the Empire against foreign foes, and the maintenance of order within it was secured by a standing army. This consisted of two sections, the legions and the auxiliary forces (*auxilia*), the former being drawn from Roman citizens and the latter from provincials not possessed of Roman citizenship. Jews (as has been said) were exempted altogether from military service. The legions shortly after Actium numbered eighteen; in the time of Tiberius, they amounted to twenty-five; and by A.D. 69 they were further increased to thirty or thirty-one. A legion during this period was composed of ten cohorts (σπεῖραι), each divided into three maniples[2] and each maniple comprising two centuries. The total number of men in a legion was between 5,000 and 6,000, so that in size a legion would correspond approximately to a brigade (which normally consists among ourselves of four battalions each of 1,022 men). The legions were commanded by *legati legionum*. Of the officers those of superior rank (corresponding broadly to our commissioned officers) numbered six in each legion and were styled *tribuni militum* (χιλίαρχοι), whilst those of inferior rank

[1] Cf. Cic. *In Verr.* Act II. v. 170. *Facinus est vincire, scelus verberare, prope parricidium necare.*

[2] In Polybius the term σπεῖρα is perhaps used of a maniple (xi. 23).

(non-commissioned officers) were called *centuriones* (ἑκατόνταρχαι). Each maniple was under the first of its two centurions. From the centuries parties of four soldiers each (*quaterniones*, τετράδια) were drawn for the purpose of guarding prisoners, each party being placed on duty for three hours (the night being divided into four watches and the duties of the day being similarly apportioned). Prisoners were usually chained to one or two of the soldiers who guarded them (*Acts* xii. 6, xxi. 33, xxviii. 20, *Eph.* vi. 20, *Phil.* i. 7, cf. 2 *Tim.* i. 16),[1] and the guards were held responsible for the safe custody of the imprisoned and suffered the penalty of death if the latter escaped (cf. *Acts* xii. 19, xvi. 27). To every legion there was attached a force of cavalry, the divisions of which were called *alæ* (ἴλαι). The auxiliary forces, infantry and cavalry, were divided into *cohortes* and *alæ* respectively; and the infantry officers bore the same titles as those of the legions. The δεξιόλαβοι mentioned in *Acts* xxiii. 23 were probably javelin-throwers, constituting a variety of light-armed troops, but the precise nature of their equipment is obscure. The term *speculatores*, which generally denotes military scouts, was employed to designate the Emperor's bodyguard (Tac. *Hist.* II. 11), and was apparently also used of the bodyguard of less important sovereigns (*e.g.* Herod Antipas, *Mk.* vi. 27).

In Italy no legion was stationed. The defence of the country and its capital was entrusted to three or four urban cohorts and nine prætorian cohorts, each containing 1,000 men, and recruited at first almost exclusively from Italians. The urban cohorts (as their name suggests) were kept within Rome; whilst the prætorian cohorts had a camp just outside the walls, near the *porta Viminalis*. By Augustus only three of the prætorian cohorts had been stationed near Rome, the rest being dispersed among neighbouring towns; but by Tiberius they were concentrated in the camp just alluded to, north-east of the city. The whole force was known as *prætorium* (see Tac. *Hist.* II. 11 *veterani e prætorio*) and its camp *castra prætoria* (*prætorianorum*). Besides these there were certain *Italian cohorts*, consisting of Roman volunteers, but stationed in the provinces (cf. p. 54). It was on the frontiers of the Empire and in those provinces which were most exposed to invasion that the legions were quartered. In Syria, during the reign of Tiberius, there were four legions, which constituted the largest force in any single province, the reason being the danger threatening from the Parthians. Soldiers belonging to a special force engaged in conveying supplies and dispatches between the provinces and the capital were called *Frumentarii* and *Peregrini*.

The separate legions were not only distinguished by numbers but by names. These were sometimes local designations like *Gallica* and *Germanica*; others were complimentary titles, such as *Victrix*, *Ferrata*, *Fulminata*. The cohorts and *alæ* of the auxiliary forces were named after the nation or people from which they were drawn, *e.g.* *cohors Ascalonitarum*. Some also seem to have borne honorary titles such as *Augusta* (Σεβαστή); see *Acts* xxvii. 1 and cf. p. 54. The total military

[1] Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* v. 7 (quoted by Blass), *Eadem catena custodiam* (=*vinctum*) *et militem copulabat.*

force of Rome in the middle of the first century A.D. has been estimated at about 320,000 men.

The population of the Roman Empire at the death of Augustus has been calculated to have been not more than 54 millions, the population of the capital being placed at about 800,000. The figures given above for the whole Empire can scarcely be more than conjectural; whilst even in regard to Rome opinions vary greatly, some authorities holding that the total population was about 1,200,000. Be this as it may, it is certain that *slaves* formed a very large proportion of it, for the conquests made during the last century of the Republic and the early years of the Empire greatly enlarged the sources from which they were procurable. They were drawn especially from the East, as shown by some of the names common among them (*e.g. Syrus*). They were at the absolute disposal of their owners; and this fact throws light upon the attitude of mind of Christians when calling themselves *δοῦλοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. But though they were the property of their masters, they were frequently able to save money to purchase their freedom, whilst a generous owner sometimes bestowed it (cf. p. 72). When manumitted, they passed into the class of *libertini* (cf. *Acts* vi. 9), from which several of the professions were largely supplied.

(*b*) *Conditions in the Empire conducive to the Diffusion of Christianity*

In spite of the cruelty and other vices which marked several of the early Roman Emperors, as well as many of their subordinate officials, certain conditions which prevailed under their rule, and for the existence of which they were largely responsible, were such as to contribute very materially to the spread of Christianity. It will therefore be expedient to enumerate a few of the factors which conduced most conspicuously to this result.

1. The mere subjection to a central authority of a number of peoples who had once been engaged in frequent hostilities with one another ensured a peace which allowed scope for mutual intercourse, and the consequent spread of moral ideas and influences.

2. The security against external aggression afforded by the armies posted on the frontiers prevented the extension of a new movement like Christianity from being endangered in its early stages by the irruption of barbarian tribes.

3. The existence of a common system of law throughout the civilized world promoted the administration of justice. Though the Romans to a large extent respected the native laws of the races and peoples under their control, yet cases of injustice could be checked by the central power, and individuals who enjoyed the Roman citizenship could, if accused where a current of prejudice ran strongly against them, make appeal to have their case tried at Rome (cf. p. 72).

4. The growth of a community of sentiment between various races

and peoples was developed through inclusion in a common Empire and participation in common advantages and privileges.

5. Improved means of communication between distant places provided by the construction of roads, and the more or less successful attempts to suppress brigandage on land and piracy at sea, facilitated evangelistic efforts.

Inasmuch as the journeys of St. Paul occupy much space in *Acts*, it is desirable to say a little more about the principal routes linking Palestine and Syria with the Ægean coast, Greece, and Italy.

The extensive system of *roads* instituted by the Romans had as its main object the rapid transit of messengers bearing dispatches to and from Rome, and the easy passage of troops ; but its existence also fostered commercial traffic and encouraged intercourse for general purposes. The development of such intercourse was itself a means for conveying a knowledge of Christianity from one district to another, even apart from direct missionary enterprise. The roads, paved with blocks of stone resting on cement, were usually about 9 or 10 feet wide ; milestones were erected along them ; and at various points military guards were stationed for the protection of travellers, though it is clear, from St. Paul's reference to perils from robbers (2 *Cor.* xi. 26), that no little insecurity continued to prevail. Along the roads generally there existed places of entertainment (*deversoria*), but they were commonly of poor quality, so that there was the greater need of, and scope for, the virtue of hospitality which was so warmly enjoined by St. Paul and other Apostles (*Rom.* xii. 13, 1 *Pet.* iv. 9, cf. *Acts* xxi. 16). As regards the rate of travel it has been estimated that Imperial couriers riding, and assisted by relays of horses, could cover in a day about 50 miles, persons using carriages about 25 miles, and pedestrians 15 miles ; though under particular circumstances these figures were doubtless not seldom exceeded. Infantry soldiers on march accomplished 20 miles at the ordinary pace and 24 at a quicker rate.

From Palestine and Syria to Italy there were four main land and sea routes. (1) A road leading from Jerusalem and Antioch through the Syrian gates (the name given to the pass over Mount Amanus) to Tarsus, thence through the Cilician gates (over Mount Taurus) to the cities of South Galatia, and thence to Laodicea, Tralles, Sardis, Adramyttium and Troas ; from Troas by sea to Neapolis, by which Philippi could be reached (*Acts* xvi. 11–12) ; thence along the *via Egnatia* through Amphipolis, Apollonia, and Thessalonica (*Acts* xvii. 1) to Dyrrhachium, on the Adriatic ; and thence by sea to Brundisium, from which port the *via Appia* crossed the Italian peninsula to the west coast, proceeding along it from Sinuessa to Rome. (2) A route taking by land the same direction as (1) as far as Laodicea, thence down the valley of the Mæander to Ephesus ; and from the latter city by sea to Corinth, and thence along the west coast of Epirus, whence the passage across the Adriatic could be effected to Brundisium, and so, as in (1), to Rome. From Pisidian Antioch there was an alternative route to Ephesus, which kept along higher ground, away from the valley of the Mæander, and which was followed on one

occasion by St. Paul (*Acts* xix. 1); whilst from this another road diverged to the city and port of Smyrna. (3) A coasting voyage from Cæsarea, Sidon, or Seleucia along the south and west shores of Asia Minor to Miletus or Ephesus, whence the passage could be made to Corinth as in (2). (4) A voyage from some Palestinian or Phœnician port along the south coast of Asia as far as Myra, where a large corn ship from Alexandria might be picked up (cf. *Acts* xxvii. 1–6); such could reach Puteoli or Ostia (for Rome) by crossing to the straits of Messina, and proceeding through them along the west coast of Italy (cf. *Acts* xxvii. 7, xxviii. 11–14). The most expeditious was the overland route by the *via Egnatia*, for the others involved a longer sea voyage, with the chance of bad weather. Navigation over any considerable stretch of sea, though actually suspended for not more than four months in the year (November 10 to March 10), was only regarded as safe between May 26 and September 14. It was in consequence of the dangers attending voyages in the early spring that Jews, resident over sea, usually made their pilgrimages to Jerusalem at Pentecost rather than at the Passover (cf. *Acts* xx. 16). Even in the summer the westward voyage was not unattended with difficulty, for in the open sea ships encountered the Etesian winds which blew steadily from the west for forty days after July 20. A voyage from Cæsarea or Sidon to Puteoli would under favourable conditions be accomplished in six or seven weeks.

Merchant vessels, unlike ships of war which were equipped with both oars and sails, usually had sails only. The masts were generally two—a main mast, carrying a large sail supported on a yard, and a much smaller mast, placed near the centre of the vessel and carrying a foresail (*ἀρτεμών*, *Acts* xxvii. 40). Latin writers also mention a top-mast carrying a triangular top-sail (*supparum*), and some suppose that this is meant by the term *σκεῦος* in *Acts* xxvii. 17. Sails were not shortened by furling, but by lowering the yard with the sail attached. A vessel was steered not by a rudder but by two paddles (*πηδάλια*) on either side of the stern. These, when not needed, could be hoisted up and lashed to the vessel's side until required again (*Acts* xxvii. 40). Several anchors were ordinarily carried (*Acts* xxvii. 29, 30). The hulls of ancient ships were not very substantially built, so that in rough seas the timbers were liable to start, rendering it necessary to secure them by cables passed under the keel and made taut on deck (*Acts* xxvii. 17). Vessels were distinguished by names and emblems. The use of the verb *ἀντοφθαλμεῖν* (*Acts* xxvii. 15) suggests that sometimes on either side of the stem eyes were painted. As the compass was unknown, a ship's course, if out of sight of land, was steered by the sun and stars (*Acts* xxvii. 20).

The size of ships and the number of persons which they could carry must have varied considerably. Josephus (*Vit.* 3) relates that a vessel in which he once voyaged had about 600 people on board. Even in Homeric times vessels are represented as conveying 120 warriors (*Il.* ii. 510). The rate of a ship's progress under favourable conditions might amount to 110–150 nautical miles (125–170 miles) in 24 hours,[1] though an

[1] Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*, p. 615 (Haverfield).

average daily run would probably be less than this (96 or 100 nautical miles).

(5) But besides the conditions favourable to the progress of Christianity which were due to the order maintained by the Romans throughout their empire, and their organization of traffic by land and sea, there were three others even more advantageous. These were (i) the extensive dispersion of the Jewish race throughout the world; (ii) the widespread currency of the Greek language; (iii) the prevalence of religious unrest among pagan peoples.

(i) The wide diffusion of the Jewish race in the first century,[1] in consequence of which an acquaintance with the Hebrew Scriptures and the prophecies in them relating to the Messiah penetrated in different directions had various causes. One was the deportation of Jewish captives by the several kings who from time to time obtained the mastery over Palestine. Another was the anxiety on the part of dwellers in Palestine to escape from the strife prevailing between the rival powers of Syria and Egypt for the possession of the country (p. 27 f.). And a third was probably the trading enterprise which marked the Jewish race, and which led many to migrate to those lands where they could best secure fortunes. They were sufficiently intelligent and industrious to make them desirable settlers; and the rulers of many places encouraged them by bestowing upon them favours. Possibly, too, among the incentives to emigration were the greater intellectual freedom to be found in Greek-speaking lands, and the allurements which literature, art, and science had for gifted individuals.[2] After A.D. 70 the dispersion of the Jewish people was greatly increased in consequence of the destruction of Jerusalem. The countries to which bodies of Jews were first forcibly transferred by their various conquerors were Assyria (with its subject territories) and Babylonia. A portion of the population of the Kingdom of Israel was deported by the Assyrian Sargon in 722 B.C., and settled in the neighbourhood of the Habor (*Chaboras*, an affluent of the Euphrates), and in various cities of Media (2 *Kg.* xvii. 6), and, as far as is known, remained permanently in the land of their exile (see Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5, 2). Many of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Judah were carried captive to Babylonia by Nebuchadrezzar in 597 and 587; and though sections of them returned to their own land with Zerubbabel in 537 (p. 14) and with Ezra in 458, considerable numbers continued to remain in a land which in respect of material advantages was much superior to Palestine. About the middle of the fifth century B.C. Hyrcania, a district south of the Caspian Sea, also received a number of Jewish captives (p. 24). But it was not alone in the countries watered by the Tigris and Euphrates and in the regions beyond those rivers that people of Jewish stock were to be found. Consequent upon the overthrow of the last of the Hebrew kingdoms, fugitives from it made their escape into the adjoining lands of Moab, Ammon, and Edom. Syria in the first century A.D. is represented as having a large number of Jews; and both Antioch and Damascus were among the cities

[1] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2, who quotes Strabo.
[2] G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. pp. 393–4.

in it where thousands of them were settled. They were also to be found in most parts of Asia Minor, such as Phrygia, Lydia and Galatia ; whilst evidence of their presence in towns like Ephesus, Sardis, Smyrna, Pergamum, Adramyttium, Miletus, Hierapolis and Laodicea is forthcoming from official documents (quoted by Josephus), from inscriptions, and from epitaphs.[1]

Africa as well as Asia had a large Jewish population, which was concentrated chiefly in Egypt. In 587 a number of Jews, from fear of the Babylonians, migrated to Egypt, where they established themselves in Noph (Memphis), Tahpanhes (Daphnis), Migdol and Pathros (*Jer.* xliv. 1). All these places were in Lower Egypt, but later in the sixth century Jews also settled at Syene (Assouan) and Yeb (Elephantine) ; and in the last-mentioned locality there was built a temple of Jehovah (*Yahu*). But the principal city in Egypt where the Jews made their home was Alexandria, for Alexander incorporated a number of them among the citizens of his new foundation. The Alexandrian Jews contributed pre-eminently to the diffusion of their own, and indirectly of the Christian, faith throughout the world, for it was to meet their needs that there was produced the LXX translation of the Hebrew Scriptures (p. 28), so that these became intelligible to a multitude of people who were acquainted with Greek but not with Hebrew. Jewish settlements in Africa were not confined to Egypt, for mention is made of such in connexion with Cyrenaica (cf. *Lk.* xxiii. 26, *Acts* xi. 20, xiii. 1) and other parts of the African continent.

The distribution of Jews throughout various regions of Greece and the islands of the Ægean is shown by mention of them in the Maccabean period at Sparta, Sicyon, and in Cyprus, Delos, Samos, Cos, and Rhodes ; whilst references to Jewish places of worship at Philippi, Thessalonica, Beroea, Athens and Corinth occur in the account of St. Paul's missionary travels in *Acts* (xvi. 13, xvii. 1, 10, 17, xviii. 4), and evidence of their existence in various other localities (such as Argos and Tegea) is furnished through documents conferring freedom on slaves and through inscriptions.[2]

In Rome the multitude of Jews was very large, especially after Pompey in 62 B.C. carried thither a great number of captives (p. 44). They excited much dislike, and were expelled both by Tiberius (in A.D. 19) and by Claudius afterwards (*circ.* A.D. 49). This last expulsion (cf. *Acts* xviii. 2) is connected by Suetonius[3] with disorders among the Jews caused by one "Chrestus," the name being possibly an error for "Christus," and the disorders resulting from the hostility of the Roman Jews towards the Christians.

The peculiar features of the Jewish religion distinguished the Jewish communities so markedly from the adherents of other cults that it was often found desirable to grant them in various localities certain powers of self-government. At Alexandria, for instance, they were controlled by an ethnarch of their own ; at Antioch there was an official called the

[1] See Hastings, *D.B.* v. pp. 93–5.
[2] Hastings, *D.B.* v. p. 97.
[3] See *Claud.* 25, *Judæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.*

Archon of the Jews; and at Berenice, a city of Cyrenaica, the Jewish residents appear to have formed an independent corporation *(πολίτευμα)* ruled by ἄρχοντες. Throughout the Empire, indeed, the Jews were greatly favoured; for they were allowed the free exercise of their religion; they had the right to administer their own funds (a privilege which enabled them to remit money for the support of the Temple at Jerusalem, see p. 71); they were permitted to inflict through the Sanhedrin correctional discipline upon their own members for breaches of their Law; they were not obliged to appear before a judicial court on the Sabbath Day; they were exempted from military service (since the duties of such were incompatible with the observance of the Sabbath); and imperial emblems were usually excluded from Jerusalem. Not all the emperors, indeed, conceded uniformly the toleration here described, for Caligula attempted to exact from the Jews Emperor-worship, which neither his predecessors nor his successors demanded. After the fierce war which ended with the destruction of Jerusalem, the condition of the Jews was not so favourable (p. 59), but their religious freedom was not impaired until the reign of Hadrian (117–38), and even his restrictions were removed by his successor (p. 60).

Among the Jews of the Dispersion at large there were two classes differing in their religious attitude towards the Law. One section found their situation among pagan surroundings a strong incentive to a rigid adhesion to Mosaism, rendering them opposed to any departure from its regulations, so that amongst them there was exhibited towards Christianity much hostility; and Hellenists (*i.e.* Greek-speaking Jews) were prominent in the persecution of both St. Stephen and St. Paul (*Acts* vi. 9, ix. 29). The other section were led by contact with Greek culture, especially in centres of intellectual life, like Alexandria, Antioch and Tarsus, to adopt a more liberal interpretation and application of the Law, and were more tolerant in their bearing towards Gentiles and Gentile religions than their countrymen in Palestine (cf. *Joh.* vii. 35).[1]

(ii) If the Jewish race in consequence of their extensive diffusion spread far and wide a knowledge of their Scriptures, it was the prevalence, throughout a large part of the Roman Empire, of the Greek language that enabled them to do this. In the most distant provinces, indeed, and doubtless in the rural districts of all the provinces, native tongues predominated among the masses of the people (cf. *Acts* xiv. 11). In Judæa during the first century A.D. Aramaic (which had displaced Hebrew) was still current. It was almost certainly the language spoken habitually by our Lord, for various Aramaic phrases uttered by Him are preserved (*Boanerges*, *Talitha koum*, *Ephphatha*, *Eloi* (or *Eli*), *lama sabachthani*); and it was adopted by St. Paul when addressing a multitude at Jerusalem (*Acts* xxi. 40, xxii. 2).[2] The use of it is further attested by the occurrence in the New Testament of words and names like *'Abba*, *Aceldama*, *Amen*,

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[1] A Babylonian Jew called Ananias told Izates, son of Helena, queen of Adiabene, that he might worship God without being circumcised (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 2, 4).

[2] An Aramaic phrase, *Maran atha* ("Our Lord, come"), occurs in 1 *Cor.* xvi. 22.

Corban, *Gabbatha*, *Gehenna*, *Golgotha*, *Mammon*, *Raca*; and by personal appellations such as *Cephas*, *Martha*, *Tabitha*, and the numerous class containing the element *bar* (*Barabbas*, *Bartholomew*, *Barnabas*, *Bartimæus*). It was even the medium for literary composition, for Josephus wrote in it his *History of the Jewish Wars*, which he afterwards translated into Greek. But notwithstanding the survival of this and other languages in various districts within the Roman provinces, the Greek tongue was understood and spoken almost everywhere by the educated classes, and some acquaintance with it was possessed by numbers of the less educated, since numerous slaves and freedmen were of Greek descent or drawn from Greek-speaking regions. The conquests of Alexander had carried Greek culture eastward and southward; and when after his death Syria and Egypt became respectively the kingdoms of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies (p. 27), Greek speech and modes of thought penetrated even among the alien races living by the Orontes and the Nile. In Egypt, as the evidence of recently found papyri shows, Greek was used with perfect freedom by peasants, who at the same time talked and wrote their native languages. The strongest opposition to the extension of Greek influence came from the Jews of Palestine. But, as has been seen, Hellenic cities were founded along, and even within, the Jewish borders (p. 26); Greek words were stamped upon the money that circulated in the country; and the Aramaic-speaking population could scarcely have held commercial or other intercourse with the peoples about them without being bilingual. Greek influence in Palestine is also attested by the prevalence of Greek names like *Andrew* and *Philip* among our Lord's disciples, and Jesus Himself, since He was able without an interpreter to converse with persons who were not Jews (*Mk.* vii. 26), could probably, like many others, understand and use the Greek language. Among the Jews of the Dispersion Greek must have been the vernacular tongue in which devotions were conducted, those who thus habitually spoke Greek being styled *Hellenists* (cf. *Acts* vi. 1). In Egypt the Old Testament Scriptures were translated into Greek; and in addition to this, books like the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Susanna*, the *Song of the Three Holy Children*, and others were composed in Greek; whilst the widespread use of the LXX outside Egypt is evidenced by the fact that in most of the references to the Old Testament occurring in the New Testament this version and not the original is quoted. The extensive prevalence of Greek thus enabled the early preachers of Christianity, though Jews by race and using Aramaic as their native speech, to obtain a hearing from audiences of most diverse nationalities.

Latin was the only rival to Greek as a channel of communication between different races and peoples; but it was not a very serious rival, except in the West, where it eventually ousted the native tongues of Gaul and Spain. The Romans seem to have made little effort to diffuse it in the East; and though it was naturally employed there by Roman officials in state documents and inscriptions, yet an announcement or a record in Latin was generally accompanied by its equivalent in Greek. Thus the *monumentum Ancyranum*, an account of the Roman Empire drawn up by Augustus and found at Ancyra in Galatia, was composed

in Greek as well as Latin. Again, over our Lord's cross the superscription was written not only in Latin and Hebrew (Aramaic) but in Greek likewise. In the Temple the warning to Gentiles not to enter the inner courts (p. 90) was couched in Greek; and it was in the same language that St. Paul addressed the Roman *tribunus militum* (*Acts* xxi. 37). And the circumstance that in the eastern part of the Empire the ruling authorities took no steps to make Latin dispute for predominance with Greek witnesses to the strong position occupied by the latter as a medium for practically universal intercourse, as well as to their own excellent sense in recognizing the fact. Even at Rome itself the Christian Church which was established there was as familiar with Greek as with Latin; and when St. Paul addressed an epistle to it, he wrote it in Greek. It was not at Rome, but in the province of Africa that the need first arose for a Latin translation of the Scriptures.

(iii) The religious unrest of the pagan world during the early centuries of the Roman Empire contributed to the spread of Christianity, if not directly at least indirectly, by creating an interest in it. The worship of the traditional gods of Rome, though specially encouraged by Augustus for State reasons, could not deeply influence the feelings or greatly move the springs of conduct. Among the educated and thoughtful classes the place of religion had been filled by the systems of different philosophers; but the masses to whom philosophic reflection was uncongenial had, prior to the first century B.C., no moral support but their current religious beliefs, from which they could extract little to inspire hope; and uneasy minds had before them only a vague but alarming prospect of the pains of Tartarus.[1] There is small reason for wonder, therefore, that many whose emotions were strong and whose consciences were sensitive, should have yielded to the spell of the religions of the East and of Egypt, which taught how the soul could be secured against the perils which the unseen future might have in store. But before giving some account of the Oriental cults which competed with Christianity, it is desirable to say something about that feature in the State religion with which the Christian faith came into deadly conflict, viz. the worship of the Roman Emperors; and to notice briefly two influential systems of philosophy.

The first suggestion in the direction of deifying a human being probably came to Rome from outside; but there already existed in Roman minds an idea which prepared the way for its reception.[2] This was the belief in, and reverence for, the *Genius*, conceived as a spiritual counterpart, accompanying each man through his life, and specially concerned with the perpetuation of his family and the maintenance of its welfare. From a slightly different point of view, it was a divine element which became incarnate in successive generations, and which ensured the permanency of the stock as contrasted with the transitoriness of individual lives. It is obvious that the same idea could easily be transferred from the individual

[1] Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, i. 111, *Æternas . . . pœnas in morte timendum est.*

[2] See Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, pp. 81 f., 107 f.

and his race to the State. This also could be regarded as having its *genius*, the source of its stability and prosperity. The massive strength of Rome, the extraordinary good fortune which attended its enterprises, and the authority attaching to its name or to the names of its official representatives could scarcely fail to make a great impression upon the provincials, inducing a belief in some inseparable protective power that was more than mortal; and the awe which this belief created almost inevitably found expression in acts of worship and adoration. A cult of the *genius* of Rome had begun in the provinces as early as the second century B.C., there being, for instance, a *templum urbis Romæ* at Smyrna in 195. This tendency to pay worship to the divinity of Rome would be intensified through the establishment of the Empire. The substitution of order, security, and peace for the social chaos, the massacres, and the confiscations of the preceding century must have led many to feel that in Augustus, the author of so beneficent a change, there was inherent something divine. Deification of human beings would be easiest, indeed, in the case of the mighty dead, who had laid aside the infirmities of the flesh which linked them so obviously to common men. Julius Cæsar, for whom during his lifetime Antony had proposed divine honours in 45 B.C., was the first to be officially styled after his death *Divus Julius*, by an ordinance in 42 B.C. But from the deification of the dead to the worship of the living was only a step; and the proneness of the human mind to desire some concrete embodiment for an abstract conception would be gratified by the thought of Divinity impersonated in the head of the State. Amongst the Romans, indeed, the title *Divus*, used by a Roman Emperor, probably did not mean that he was a Deity in the full sense, but merely that he was worthy of the reverence and trust entertained towards the gods. And even though the individual ruler might be contemptible, the principles of Authority and Law for which he stood were deserving of veneration. Moreover, in the provinces the less admirable side of the court-life at Rome was lost in the distance separating them from the capital. The Emperors themselves were naturally not blind to the advantage accruing to their newly established imperial power from an attitude of adoration on the part of the people towards the ruler of the state. The early Emperors, however, were too sensible to allow the cult of themselves to run to extremes. Both Augustus and Tiberius would not let a temple be dedicated to themselves during their lifetime in Rome itself, and only permitted the raising of such in the Asiatic provinces (the first being built at Pergamum in honour of Rome and Augustus in 29 B.C.), though the erection of temples in honour of *Divus Julius* was required at Ephesus and Nicæa.[1] Caligula, however, showed much less self-restraint, and being intoxicated with vanity, was the first to promote vigorously the deification of himself (p. 56). By Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, and Titus the worship of the reigning Emperor was not enforced (though it may be reasonably supposed that those who failed to render it, especially in Asia Minor, were always liable to persecution at the hands of local authorities).

[1] Cf. Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Pt. I, p. 204.

It was Domitian who first renewed the effort to compel his subjects to pay him Divine honours; and it was upon the Christians that the consequences of refusal pressed most heavily. They had inherited the monotheistic faith of the Jews, and some of the titles given to the Emperor, such as *Divi filius*, were peculiarly abhorrent to those who believed exclusively in the Divine Sonship of Christ. And whereas Judaism was a *religio licita*, Christianity enjoyed no such toleration, and consequently its adherents had no legal protection when they refused to render worship to the Emperor—a refusal which could be treated as disloyalty to the State as well as to its head. It is not surprising, therefore, that the relations between the Christians and the Empire became, before the end of the first century, very different from those subsisting earlier, or that the spirit in which the Emperor is referred to in the book of *Revelation* (xiii. 4 f., 12, xiv. 9–11, xix. 20) contrasts strikingly with that which marks the Epistles of St. Paul (*Rom.* xiii. 1–7, *Tit.* iii. 1; cf. also 1 *Pet.* ii. 13).

Among the thoughtful classes belief in the traditional mythology of Rome was undermined by philosophy which, in general, substituted for the conflicting wills of discordant divinities some unifying principle as an explanation of nature and as a guide for human life. Here it is only necessary to say something about the two philosophical schools which are mentioned in the New Testament, namely *Stoicism* and *Epicureanism*. Both were based on a materialistic view of the universe, but though they started from similar premises, they differed widely in the practical conclusions which they drew from them.

The founder of Stoicism was Zeno, a native of Cition in Cyprus, who established about the end of the fourth century B.C. a philosophical school which obtained its name from the place where he taught (the *Stoa Poecile*, at Athens). The ethical teaching of the Stoics was a materialistic pantheism. The ground-work of their system was the belief that the only reality was matter, but that in matter there was an active, rational principle, which was the source of all phenomena. This cosmic principle they identified with God or Zeus, so that there subsisted a single Divine entity beneath manifold diversity; and just as from God all things came, so to Him all things would ultimately return. Since God was the immanent Reason pervading the universe, and mankind was part of universal nature, men would attain to virtue through living in accordance with nature, regulated as this was by the Divine Reason. A good and wise man would be indifferent to all external ills, for such ills, being ordained by God, could not really be evils. The basic materialism and fatalism of the system was thus qualified by the recognition of a moral order in the world, by the admission of human freedom, and by belief in communion between God and man consequent upon the common possession of reason. God was addressed in prayer, human effort was demanded, and human duty and responsibility were asserted. As the human will was free, men could live according to, or in defiance of, nature, just as they might choose, and so could co-operate with, or oppose, the purpose of God of which nature was the expression. There was even recognized a limited immortality of the soul; for the souls of good men were believed to survive

until the return of all things into God, who at certain long intervals was thought to re-absorb the Universe into Himself and then generate it anew.

Of all the Greek philosophies Stoicism had most points of contact with Judaism, for like Judaism it taught what in practice was monotheism, though of a pantheistic type; and Josephus was led to compare it with Pharisaism (see p. 103). In regard to this comparison it is not improbable that there was really a Semitic element in Stoicism, which has been described as the introduction into Greek philosophy of the Semitic temperament and spirit. Zeno, its founder, was called the Phœnician; no less than six later Stoic teachers came from Tarsus; and two others from neighbouring Cilician towns; whilst others again were natives of various places in Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. St. Paul, who was not only brought up at Tarsus, but lived there after he became a Christian (*Acts* ix. 30, xi. 25) probably gained there some acquaintance with Stoic doctrine; certainly his utterances present some interesting parallels to Stoic thought and language.[1] In his speech at Athens the Apostle quoted part of a verse from the Stoic poet Aratus (*Acts* xvii. 28), who like himself was a native of Cilicia. Nevertheless there was a fundamental difference between the Stoic idea of God and that of Judaism or Christianity, for whereas in the former a belief in the Divine immanence was alone influential, in the latter this was supplemented by a belief in the Divine transcendence, which ensured far more effectively for ordinary minds a feeling of accountability to a Divine Judge; whilst, in addition, the self-sufficiency of most of the Stoic philosophers and their unsympathetic temper were altogether alien to the ideal Christian character. Though the Stoics often spoke of God as a Father,[2] they could only do so at the cost of consistency; and their system had no place for a unique source of moral inspiration, such as Christians have in Christ.

Epicureanism, unlike Stoicism, had no Eastern affinities, but was exclusively Greek. It originated with Epicurus, who, though born in Samos (in 342 B.C.), was an Athenian by race and largely by residence. His teaching was based on that of Democritus, whose determinist system he modified in the interest of a doctrine of free will, with much resultant loss of coherence. His theory of conduct rested, like that of the Stoics, upon a materialistic theory of nature; for he considered the world to be the result of a clash of atoms which, falling downwards through space, swerved slightly, and so came into collision with one another, this initial swerve not only occasioning ultimately the constitution of the physical universe, but also explaining the existence of free-will in man. But the principle recognized by Epicureanism as a guide to conduct was not, as in Stoicism, accordance with nature conceived as an ordered system controlled by reason, but the following of such natural impulses and instincts as arise

[1] The correspondence between the teaching of St. Paul and the maxims of the Roman Stoic Seneca (the two were contemporaries) is especially close: see Lightfoot, *Philippians* (1885), pp. 278–90.

[2] Seneca described God as having a fatherly mind towards good men; and Epictetus bade men consider all that belongs to God as belonging to a father,

in the individual through sensation. Pleasure and pain, which are known by immediate experience, were held to be the decisive criteria for determining human behaviour, pleasure being the only good and pain the only evil. Nevertheless, though pleasure was the end to be attained, it was not necessarily the satisfaction of the moment that should be sought (for this might be attended by disproportionate pain), but a stable condition of mental and moral tranquillity. Hence temperance and self-control, though not valued for themselves, were valued as means for reaching the true end of life, which was, in theory, a surplus of pleasure over pain. In regard to religion, Epicureanism did not deny the existence of the gods, but only denied that mankind had anything to hope or fear from them, for they were unconcerned for either the welfare or the woe of man. After death no future life for man was possible, for the soul, being material, perished with the body. As the earth was the sphere of conduct, so it was the only scene of recompense and retribution for wise and for foolish behaviour.[1]

It will be seen that Epicureanism could, without inconsistency, advocate the practice of several of the virtues ; but it was unable to supply a strong stimulus to the pursuit of them. On the principle of Hedonism, which constituted its foundation, it was always easy for individual disciples of this school to reckon that the course of conduct to which their desires impelled them would yield more pleasure than pain ; and in the absence of a moral ideal, of the hope of a heaven, or of the fear of a hell, no motive was afforded for the regulation of life other than the pressure of the strongest impulse. Such a system at best could only produce a balanced and placid frame of mind ; whilst upon gross natures its effect tended to be disastrous, since it could readily be made to countenance all kinds of self-indulgence and vice.

By numbers of people who were not attracted by philosophical speculations emotional satisfaction was found in various religions that had their origin in the East. These Eastern faiths were propagated by traders, soldiers and slaves ; and when established in the Roman capital, they were fostered by private associations (*sodalitates*), which were not only religious confraternities but burial clubs. These embraced men of all nationalities and classes (for the countries in which they took their rise had been absorbed by Rome and ceased to exist as independent polities) ; and so they tended to level the barriers between different races and ranks. In this way they were inimical to patriotism ; but at the same time they fostered in their votaries a sense of common humanity, and so prepared men's minds for the conception of a universal religion replacing national cults. The popularity which they enjoyed in the Early Empire was occasioned by the appeal which the strangeness of their rites made to the senses, the satisfaction which they professed to give to the desire for the removal of moral stains, and the assurance of safety which they offered to souls dismayed at the prospect of death.

The most important of the cults from the East which, whilst competing

[1] Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, iii. 1025, *Hic Acherusia fit stultorum denique vita.*

with Christianity in some respects, paved the way for its extension, were those of *Cybele and Attis*, of the *Eleusinian Mother* (Demeter), of *Isis and Osiris*, and of *Mithras* [1]; whilst a religion which exercised much influence upon thoughtful and spiritually-minded men was *Judaism*.

The worship of CYBELE had been imported into Rome from Asia Minor as early as the closing years of the second Punic War, when Attalus of Pergamum, with the view of cementing friendship with the Romans, presented to them in 204 B.C. a black fetish stone (perhaps of meteoric origin) which was supposed to be the abode of the goddess. The worship of the Great Mother (ἡ μεγάλη μήτηρ) as she was called, received, however, little encouragement from the Roman authorities during the Republic, citizens being forbidden to enter her priesthood or to participate in her rites; and it was not until the reign of Claudius that this prohibition was withdrawn. The cult was of Phrygian origin, and was one of the many developments of nature worship. Cybele was an earth-goddess, who loved the youthful Attis, personifying the spirit of vegetation, mourned over his death, and rejoiced when he revived. The cause of his death was variously represented; but according to one form of the myth, Cybele, through jealousy, drove him mad, and in his frenzy he mutilated himself at the foot of a pine-tree (which became his symbol). The goddess grieved for him passionately, but after three days he returned to life, and her grief was changed to joy. The day on which the death of Attis was commemorated was marked by scenes of wild and tumultuous sorrow; whilst the day that celebrated his return to life was characterized by equally extravagant joy. But to this orgiastic nature-worship there had come to be attached ethical and spiritual ideas. The restoration of Attis from death became to his worshippers an assurance of their own immortality after the termination of this life. Purification from sin was a condition of this salvation, and was believed to be effected through a mystic baptism of blood (the *taurobolium*). A bull was sacrificed on a platform built over an excavation in which the worshipper stood (as in a grave), and when the animal was killed, the blood poured down upon him. The rite, no doubt, in origin goes back to a time when the blood of some fierce and strong animal was thought to communicate ferocity and strength to anyone who steeped himself in it; but though the repulsive immersion was retained, it came to be regarded as imparting moral purity and not the animal's physical qualities. Another ceremony practised in connexion with the worship of Attis also exhibits the spiritualizing of earlier crude conceptions. In primitive times the consumption of food in common was believed to unite in a covenant men with men and worshippers with their God, since they thereby became partakers in some degree of the same physical nature. But when it ceased to be credible that a divinity could eat material food, it was deemed sufficient for the food eaten by his votaries to be brought into contact with his altar or his emblem in order to effect the same union. Hence meat and drink consecrated by having been contained in the tambourine which was among

[1] See Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*.

the symbols of Attis were thought to be a means of communion with the deity; and the worshipper who partook became a mystic of Attis, and was by the god sustained in his spiritual trials.

The ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES (derived from Attica), in which worship was offered to Demeter (the Corn Mother) and Core or Persephone (the Corn Maiden), were also marked by a sacrament. The worshippers annually partook of a posset of meal and water, representing the body of the Corn goddess; and this act renewed the bond uniting them to their deity, as well as the bond uniting them one to another. The meal likewise purified them, and enabled them to see without danger the ear, or sheaf, of corn which was believed to be the Corn Mother upon whose favour the next harvest depended. Participation in, and abstention from, these mysteries were held to be attended by rewards and punishments both in this life and in the next. In the course of time ethical ideas qualified the purely ceremonial aspect which the mysteries first presented; and when Orphic doctrines were blended with them, there was developed the belief that the retribution of the next life was spiritually and not merely ritually conditioned.

The religion of ISIS AND OSIRIS came from Egypt. It spread into Italy from the Mediterranean islands in the first century B.C. (there being *Collegia* devoted to the worship of Egyptian deities in the time of Sulla) and was at first regarded by the Roman Senate with grave disapproval, owing to the corruption of morals which attended it. But after the death of Cæsar a temple was built to Isis and Serapis (a title of Osiris as god of the lower world) by the triumvirs for the sake of popularity; and in the reign of Caligula it enjoyed imperial favour, whilst its character in some measure underwent a transformation. The ablutions, which were a conspicuous feature in Egyptian ritual, and which at first were practised with a view to physical purity, came to be regarded later as conducive to the removal of moral stains. Physical abstinence and self-mortification were also believed to expiate sins and to render the worshipper fitter for approach to the deity (cf. Juv. *Sat.* vi. 523 f., 537 f.). The cult also fostered a belief in a future life. Osiris, like Attis, had been restored from the dead after he had been slain by Set; and celebration of his revival to life, which took place in the autumn, was attended by emotional outbursts on the part of the worshippers, similar to those which accompanied the festival of Attis (p. 86). To the votaries of the god, a future existence of happiness was assured through initiation into certain mysteries, whereby they became assimilated to the Divine object of their devotion; and the prominence which was given to the hope of immortality was the principal reason for the attraction which the religion of Isis had for many.

MITHRAISM had its origin in Persia, *Mithras* being a sun-god, who in some unexplained way had displaced Ahuramazdah (p. 22). Its prevalence in Asia Minor is attested by the name *Mithradates* occurring in the list of the kings of more than one State. Although it reached Rome before the Christian era, it did not become influential there until two or three centuries later. Like the earlier form of the Persian religion (p. 22), it recognized two antagonistic powers, one of light and good, and the

other of darkness and evil, each controlling a host of spirits who were the agencies that brought about the blessings and the calamities experienced by mankind. Mithras seems to have been the leader of the armies of light, and he stood perhaps to Ahuramazdah as Apollo stood to Zeus. In the perpetual conflict between the powers of good and evil men were expected to take their part. The human soul was the scene of an inward struggle corresponding to the greater struggle without, so that, as compared with many contemporary religions, Mithraism was morally stimulating. Its division of the world into two mutually hostile camps was a conception that specially appealed to the fighting spirit in men, and made it a religion that was particularly popular amongst Roman soldiers, whose sympathies it also enlisted by the stress it laid upon truthfulness and fidelity. Unlike so many Eastern religions, it gave no honour to the female sex, and no woman's name is said to be found among its votaries. It had its mysteries, into which the devout were admitted by successive stages; and the *taurobolium*, which was borrowed from the religion of Cybele, had a place in its ritual. It, like other religions, also encouraged its followers to believe in a future life which was enjoyed by the souls of the righteous (after they had been tried by Mithras) in the celestial realms of light.

A feature in these cults deserving notice is the application of the term *Lord* (κύριος) to some of the deities worshipped in them. For instance, in many recently discovered papyri the title is given to Serapis, whose worshipper, when thanking him for having preserved him from peril, or when inviting friends to supper in the god's temple, describes him as *the Lord Serapis*. This, though it is not likely to have originated the Christian practice of calling Jesus "Lord," may possibly have contributed to the extension of it.

The interest of these religions for the study of the New Testament is not merely the circumstance that they were symptomatic of certain spiritual emotions and aspirations to which Christianity, when it entered the world, was able to appeal, but the fact that they were marked by various features of ritual and teaching which occur also in the worship and doctrine of the Church. It is especially to Christianity as it is presented in the writings of St. Paul that they offer resemblance. The significance attached to sacraments, and the idea of a new birth and of a union between the worshipper and the divinity worshipped, which were effected by means of them, have their parallels in his Epistles; and it is an important question how far his exposition of the Christian faith was influenced by his acquaintance with these religions, which had their followers among the Gentile peoples to whom he preached (p. 654). But apart from the difference of moral standard distinguishing Christianity from even the best of the heathen cults, the former had as its object of worship and imitation not a shadowy mythical figure but an historic character, whose life and teaching were sufficiently well known through trustworthy traditions handed down by a continuous succession of believers from the time of His activity on earth.[1]

[1] See Deissmann, *St. Paul*, p. 117.

In addition to the other Oriental religions just described JUDAISM could not fail to have likewise an attraction for many persons in the Western world, especially the more reflective classes. The extent of the Jewish Dispersion (see p. 77 f.) naturally spread widely some knowledge of the leading characteristics of the Jewish faith, and afforded to the Jews themselves exceptional scope for the propagation of their religious principles. Various features, indeed, of the religious usages of the Jews excited ridicule, especially their abstention from the flesh of swine, their practice of circumcision, and their rigid observance of the Sabbath; whilst their exclusiveness excited against them much hostile feeling. Nevertheless, to religious minds, dissatisfied with the polytheism and idolatry of current beliefs and the immorality of the age, there was much in Judaism that was calculated to make a strong appeal. Its strict monotheism, the absence in the practice of its worship of any image or symbol of the Deity, its Scriptures purporting to contain a Divine revelation, and the belief in another life, which, though not universally accepted by the Jews themselves (p. 101), yet had the adhesion of a powerful section among them, were bound to arrest the attention of serious and earnest thinkers. And although in the case of many such, the burdensome requirements of the Jewish Law prevented them from becoming proselytes, yet it was possible to adopt the monotheistic and spiritual faith of the Jews without being circumcised or actually joining the Jewish community. Accordingly a considerable number of non-Jews attached themselves by a loose tie to the Jewish religion, frequenting the synagogues and observing the moral, and some of the ceremonial, rules of the Law. These constituted the class described in *Acts* as "devout" and "God-fearing" persons (x. 2 f., xiii. 16, 26, 50, xvi. 14, xvii. 4, 17, xviii. 7). Although, indeed, in one passage (xiii. 43) the expression "devout proselytes" is actually employed, it seems clear that this must be used with some inexactness. That the "God-fearers" alluded to were not really persons who accepted the whole Jewish Law seems proved by the fact that the description *εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν* is applied to the Roman Cornelius (*Acts* x. 2, cf. *v.* 35), who is definitely stated not to have been circumcised (xi. 3). The familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures which this class acquired through their attendance at the Synagogues would render them more accessible to the arguments of the early Christian preachers than the heathen to whom the Scriptures were wholly strange; so that probably they constituted a large proportion of the first Gentile converts to Christianity.

IV

JEWISH INSTITUTIONS

(*a*) *The Organization of Worship, Teaching, and Discipline*

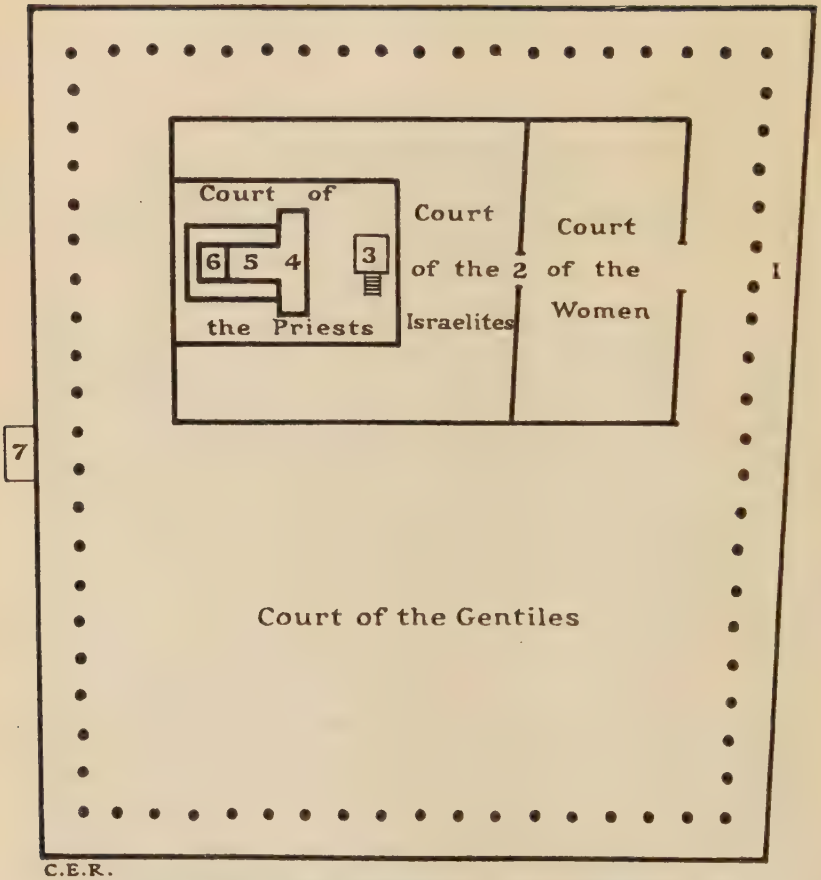
The Temple

THE Temple in existence during the period covered by the New Testament was the Third, having been built by Herod the Great. Possibly Herod's structure was a renewal of Zerubbabel's Temple (p. 14), embellished and enriched, and furnished with more extensive courts. The Third Temple, like its predecessors, was built on the eastern of the two hills which Jerusalem at this time occupied (p. 10) and overlooked the Kidron. Adjoining on the north rose the castle of Antonia (p. 11), manned by a Roman garrison, which was thus in a position to interfere at once in the event of any rioting in the vicinity (cf. *Acts* xxi. 32). The fabric of the Temple was surrounded by three courts, and as the middle one of the three was subdivided into two halves, there may be said to have been four in all. All the courts were roofless enclosures (except so far as they had cloisters).

1. On the outside of all was a large court 500 cubits square, into which Gentiles were admitted, as well as Jews,[1] and which was styled, in consequence, the *Court of the Gentiles*. The walls of this were bordered on the inside by cloisters, of which that on the east was known as *Solomon's porch*, or portico (*Acts* iii. 11, v. 12). It was in this court (from which access was gained to the castle of Antonia by a flight of stairs, *Acts* xxi. 35–40) that cattle and birds were sold for sacrificial purposes, and foreign money changed (*Mk.* xi. 15); whilst in its cloisters teachers used to sit or walk whilst instructing their disciples (cf. *Mk.* xi. 27, xii. 35, *Mt.* xxvi. 55).

2. Within this external court was an interior court of oblong shape, with its longer axis running east and west. This was situated on higher ground than the outer court, and was separated from the latter by a stone parapet about 5 feet high, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to penetrate on pain of death.[2] Tablets were placed along the parapet, warning trespassers of the fate to which they were liable; and one of these

[1] This is the ἡ αὐλὴ ἡ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ of *Rev.* xi. 2.
[2] It is to this that St. Paul alludes in *Eph.* ii. 14.



C.E.R.

PLAN OF HEROD'S TEMPLE

1 *Solomon's Porch*
2 *Nicanor or Beautiful Gate*
3 *Altar of Burnt Offering*
4 *Porch of the Temple*
5 *Holy Place*
6 *Holy of Holies*
7 *Meeting Place of the Sanhedrin*

has been found in recent years, bearing the inscription: *μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰςπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου, ὃς δ' ἂν ληφθῇ ἑαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον.* The inner court itself was divided by a second wall into two halves: (*a*) an eastern half, called the *Court of the Women*, because Jewish women as well as men were allowed to enter it; and (*b*) a western half, more elevated than the other, and styled the *Court of the Israelites*, only male Jews being admitted to it. Entrance into the last was gained by nine gates, four on the north and south and one on the east (opening from the Court of the Women and called the *Beautiful Gate*, *Acts* iii. 2, 10). Round the Court of the Women ran a series of colonnades, and under these were placed receptacles shaped like ram's horns and numbering 13, which were designed for receiving offerings bestowed for religious purposes. This part of the Court was in consequence called the *Treasury* (*Mk.* xii. 41, *Joh.* viii. 20).

3. Inside the court of the Israelites, on a still higher level, was an innermost court, called the *Court of the Priests*, into which lay persons were only permitted to enter for special purposes (such as certain rites connected with sacrifice). This court formed an enclosure within which the Temple itself was constructed. In the court, and in front of the Temple, there stood the altar of burnt-offering (on the north of which was the place where the victims were slaughtered and dressed) and the brazen laver where the priests washed before discharging their duties. The altar, made of unhewn stone, was 15 feet high and 48 feet square.

The actual Temple stood on ground rising above the level of the surrounding court, and was approached by twelve steps. It resembled, in general plan, that built by Solomon, and like the latter was 60 cubits long and 20 cubits broad on the inside; but must have greatly exceeded it in height. Without, on three sides there were chambers arranged in three stories, up to a height of 60 cubits; but above these chambers the central structure rose to an additional height of 40 cubits, containing an upper chamber of equal area with the space below; so that externally the building was 100 cubits high in all.[1] The area of the surrounding chambers, and the thickness of the various walls, must have made the exterior length of the Temple 85 cubits, and the exterior breadth 70 cubits. At the east end there was a porch 11 cubits deep, and of the same height as the main building, but projecting 15 cubits beyond each of the external walls of the latter. The total length of the fabric (including the porch) was, like its height, 100 cubits.[2] From the porch access was gained to the building through a vast gateway without a door. The Temple itself was divided within into two compartments, the *Holy Place* (40 × 20 cubits), on the east, and the *Most Holy Place* (20 × 20 cubits) on the west. From the porch the Holy Place was separated by a veil; whilst from the Holy Place the Most Holy Place was marked off by two veils. Within the former were the golden altar of Incense, the golden table of

[1] Josephus, *B.J.* v. 5, 5.
[2] On the dimensions of the Temple see Hastings, *D.B*, iv. pp. 714–5.

Shewbread, and a seven-branched golden lamp-stand; whilst the latter, constituting the innermost sanctuary, was entirely empty. Entrance into the Holy Place was confined to Priests, whilst into the Most Holy Place the High Priest alone penetrated once every year, on the Day of Atonement. Neither division was lit by windows.

The term *τὸ ἱερόν* was sometimes applied comprehensively to the whole enclosure comprising the courts as well as the actual structure of the Temple (see *Mk.* xi. 16, *Lk.* ii. 37, 46, *Acts* xxi. 26, 27); and sometimes designated the latter exclusively (see *Mt.* iv. 5 (= *Lk.* iv. 9), xii. 6). The Temple building was strictly termed *ὁ ναός* (*Mt.* xxiii. 35, xxvii. 40, *Lk.* i. 9, 21); but this word is used irregularly in *Mt.* xxvii. 5 for one of the Temple courts.

The Priesthood and its Duties

The idea behind the conception of Priesthood in antiquity seems to have been the possession of the special knowledge requisite for propitiating the Deity, and offering acceptable service to Him (see 2 *Kg.* xvii. 24–28). In an age when such service consisted mainly in external rites and practices, and the arts of reading and writing were not widely diffused, acquaintance with the right method of conducting worship would tend to be restricted to certain experienced persons who were familiar with it through family traditions, and whose knowledge would be orally transmitted to their posterity. This was the case among the Hebrews. Before the Exile, though probably not in the earliest times, the priesthood was confined to the tribe of Levi; but in the post-exilic period the priestly office was legally restricted to one Levitical family—the house of Aaron. Hence, when the essential qualification for the priesthood was descent from Aaron, it was of the utmost importance to establish this by carefully preserved pedigrees.

But though all descendants of Aaron were theoretically on the same level, this was not the case in practice. It was from certain families only that the High Priests were commonly chosen; and those who were thus distinguished occupied a much higher rank than the rest. The title *High* (Heb. *Great*) *Priest* seems to have originated in post-exilic times, being used by the prophets Haggai (i. 1) and Zechariah (iii. 1) and in the priestly code of the Pentateuch (*Lev.* xxi. 10) but rarely elsewhere. In pre-exilic times the principal member of the sacerdotal order seems to have been called simply *the priest* (2 *Kg.* xi. 9, *Is.* viii. 2), or the *head priest* (2 *Kg.* xxv. 18). During the early monarchy he was removable by the sovereign (1 *Kg.* ii. 26, 27); but in the post-exilic period his office gradually became tenable for life. Under the Roman rule, however, this arrangement ceased to prevail, and the High Priests were appointed and deposed at the discretion of the secular authority. During their tenure of the position, they were not only the religious heads of the nation but exercised great secular power as well. In consequence of the frequency with which the office changed hands there was always a number of persons who, though not discharging its duties, yet retained the title of it; and since (as has been said) the High Priests were usually selected from a small

number of families, the same title (*οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς*, *Mk.* xv. 1, *Mt.* xxi. 15 [1]) seems to have been also applied comprehensively to the members of those families. The religious duties specially required of the High Priest were to offer sacrifices on various important occasions, such as the annual feasts, and particularly on the Day of Atonement; and he seems to have been accustomed to officiate on the Sabbaths, and on the festivals of the New Moon (Jos. *B.J.* v. 5, 7) The rest of his time was occupied with the discharge of civil duties (p 92). Three High Priests are named in the New Testament, Annas, Caiaphas, and Ananias (*Lk.* iii. 2, *Joh.* xviii. 13, *Acts* xxiii. 2).

Next in rank was the Captain of the Temple (*ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, *Acts* v. 24) [2] whose function it was to preserve order in the Temple and its neighbourhood. He was a priest, and bore in Hebrew the title of *ruler of the house of God* (*Neh.* xi. 11). Other officials who acted under the authority of the captain of the Temple bore a title like his, and were called *στρατηγοί* (*Lk.* xxii. 4, 52). These had under them numerous watchmen (Levites) who attended to the opening and closing of the gates; and kept guard over the valuable treasures often stored in the Temple (cf. Jos. *B.J.* vi. 5, 2 ff.; see p. 44). There were also officials (treasurers) who had charge of the large sums of money that were contributed for religious purposes. The chief of such officials was naturally a person of much importance.[3]

The power and influence of the Priesthood was greatly increased by the augmentation of their emoluments, as enjoined in the Priestly code, which far exceeded those prescribed in the earlier code of *Deuteronomy*. Over and above a large share of various sacrifices, both public and private, there were given to the priests the first fruits of certain products of the soil, the first-born of animals (or a sum of money in substitution) and a proportion of the tithes (the rest going to the Levites). By the more religious part of the population the tithes of even garden herbs were paid with the greatest scrupulousness (cf. *Mt.* xxiii. 23). The expenses of the services of the Temple were defrayed by a poll-tax of half a shekel levied upon every male Hebrew above the age of twenty years (*Ex.* xxx. 13) and by voluntary gifts. For the collection of the latter there existed within the Temple, in the Court of the Women, the trumpet-shaped chests mentioned on p. 91.

Of the numerous sacrifices offered in the Temple the two that were in some ways the most significant were (1) the "continual" burnt-offering, presented twice every day, at dawn and in the evening; (2) the sacrifice of the Day of Atonement. The interruption of the first, both in the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes (*Dan.* viii. 11) and in the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans (Jos. *B.J.* vi. 2, 1, see p. 59) was most acutely felt. The victim was a lamb, the blood of which was dashed on the altar

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[1] The R.V. disguises the identity of the title by the rendering *chief priests* instead of *High Priests*. The high priests are described as "the rulers" (*οἱ ἀρχοντες*) in *Acts* iv. 5, but distinguished from them in *Lk.* xxiii. 13, xxiv. 20.

[2] See Jos. *B.J.* vi. 5, 3.

[3] The principal treasurer was of sufficient dignity to form, with the High Priest, part of a deputation to the Emperor Nero (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, 11).

of burnt-offering, whilst the flesh was burnt. The second was of annual occurrence, and was marked by two exceptional features. Two goats were set apart, one for Jehovah, and the other for Azazel, a demon believed to haunt the desert. The first was sacrificed and its blood sprinkled on the Mercy seat (or Propitiatory) in the Holy of Holies, which the High Priest entered on this occasion only. The second, after an acknowledgment of the people's offences had been made over it, was sent away into the wilderness to carry with it symbolically the national sins that had been confessed by the priest. The days on which the annual feasts and fasts were held, were as follows :—

(*a*) The *Passover* on the fourteenth day of the First Month (*Nisan* = Mar.–Ap.).

(*b*) The *feast of Unleavened Bread* on the seven days immediately following the Passover (*Nisan* 15–21).

(*c*) The *feast of Weeks* (Pentecost), on the fiftieth day after the second day of Unleavened Bread.[1]

(*d*) The *feast of Trumpets*, on the first day of the Seventh Month (*Tishri* = Sept.–Oct.).

(*e*) The *Day of Atonement* (a universal fast), on the tenth day of the Seventh Month.

(*f*) The *feast of Tabernacles*, on the fifteenth day of the Seventh Month.

(*g*) The *feast of Dedication*, on the twenty-fifth day of the Ninth Month (*Chislev* = Nov.–Dec.), see p. 32.

(*h*) The *feast of Purim*, on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the Twelfth Month (*Adar* = Feb.–Mar.).

Besides the fast on the Day of Atonement, fasts were also observed in the fourth, fifth, seventh and tenth months in commemoration of the overthrow of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (*Zech.* viii. 19. cf. vii. 5, *Jer.* xxxix. 2) ; and in the time of our Lord individual Jews of a strict type also fasted twice a week (*Lk.* xviii. 12).

The Synagogue

The word *synagogue* means primarily "an assembly," but came to mean secondarily a "place of assembly" for the purpose of religious worship. The origin of synagogues must go back to the earliest post-exilic times. Inasmuch as some twenty-five years before the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah, Josiah had confined all sacrifices to one central sanctuary, namely Jerusalem (in accordance with the directions of *Deuteronomy*), the Jews, when they returned from captivity to their own country, naturally maintained the same restriction and practised sacrificial worship in the Temple only.[2] This limitation of sacrifices to a single locality caused religious devotion to seek satisfaction in other directions. The

[1] In calculating the date of Pentecost from the Feast of Unleavened Bread, it has to be remembered that the Hebrew months were lunar. Pentecost fell early in the Third Month (*Sivan* = May–June).

[2] In the sixth century B.C., however, an altar for sacrifice existed at the Jewish settlement of Yeb (Elephantine) in Egypt.

suspension, during the period of exile in a foreign land, of the sacrificial system confined public worship to the reading and exposition of the Scriptures (or at least to those parts which were then in existence) and united prayer; and though the offering of sacrifice in the Temple at Jerusalem was resumed after the Return, the practices which had for a while replaced it were not discontinued. A single allusion in the Old Testament to synagogues appears to occur in the present Hebrew text of *Ps.* lxxiv. 8. "they (the enemy) have burnt up all the synagogues (literally "appointed places") of God in the Land"; but as the LXX has *Λεῦτε καὶ καταπαύσωμεν τὰς ἑορτὰς Κυρίου ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*, it is very doubtful whether the apparent allusion is a real one. But be this as it may, the need for appropriate buildings where public prayer could be offered and religious instruction could be given was bound to arise when in the course of time the majority of the Jewish people lived at a distance from Jerusalem. Synagogues existed not only in the towns of Palestine (cf. *Mk.* i. 21, vi. 2) but in most of the important cities of the Roman empire (*Acts* ix. 2, xvii. 17, xviii. 7, etc.). In Jerusalem itself they were numerous, serving the needs not only of natives of the capital, but of such Jews as, though resident elsewhere, were sojourners in the city; and reference is made in particular to those of the Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians and Asians as well as of a body of freedmen (*Acts* vi. 9). At Philippi, where the Jewish community was perhaps small, mention is made not of a synagogue, but merely of a place of prayer (*προσευχή*, i.e. *οἶκος προσευχῆς*).

Though there seems to have been no uniform practice in regard to the choice of a site for a synagogue, the account of St. Paul's visit to the *proseucha* at Philippi, which he expected to find near a riverside (*Acts* xvi. 13), suggests that, where possible, they were built close to streams, perhaps for the convenience of obtaining the water needed for lustrations. In plan the buildings varied; at Capernaum, for instance, a synagogue of which ruins remain had a double colonnade running down the centre.[1] Of the furniture of a synagogue the principal articles were a chest, where the copies of the Scriptures, wrapt in cloths, were kept, seats of honour near it, a platform (or tribune) with a lectern, seats for the male congregation, a gallery for women, lamps for lighting the building, and horns and trumpets for blowing on festivals.

In places where a large population was entirely or mainly Jewish, and where a considerable measure of local independence was allowed by the foreign power to which the Jews were subject, the management of the synagogue was in the hands of the same body of elders that directed civil affairs. It is these elders who are presumably designated as *οἱ ἄρχοντες* in *Acts* xiv. 5.[2] Elsewhere the elders of the synagogue possessed authority only over religious matters, and were in consequence quite distinct from the civil magistrates of the locality. There were no ministers formally appointed to conduct the services, but there were particular officials empowered to superintend them. These officials were (1) the "ruler of

[1] See Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., i. p. 434.

[2] Cf. the reading of D. in *Acts* xiv. 2 *οἱ ἀρχισυναγωγοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς συναγωγῆς*.

the synagogue" [1] (*ἀρχισυναγωγός*), whose function it was to decide who should take part in the service, to maintain order, and to prevent breaches of the Mosaic Law (cf. *Lk.* xiii. 14); (2) the attendant (*ὑπηρέτης*), who had charge of the building and its furniture, handed the copies of the Scriptures to the persons who were selected to read them (*Lk.* iv. 17, 20), and called upon a priest, if present, to pronounce the concluding Blessing. The service (at which alms were collected) was divided between different members of the congregation. The several parts were as follows: (1) the recitation of three short sections from the Pentateuch, *Dt.* vi. 4–9, xi. 13–21, *Num.* xv. 37–41 (the whole being styled from the opening word ("Hear") of the first (*Dt.* vi. 4), the *Shĕma*); (2) a series of Eighteen Blessings (called the *Shĕmōneh Esreh*, the Hebrew for "eighteen"); (3) prayer; (4) two Lessons, one from the Law and the other from the Prophets, which included the Historical books (cf. *Acts* xiii. 15, xv. 21, *Lk.* iv. 17); (5) an exposition of the Scripture read; (6) the blessing, pronounced by a priest (if one was present), but changed to a prayer if there was none. The attitude adopted by those who offered prayer and read the lessons was standing (cf. *Lk.* iv. 16), but the preacher who delivered the exposition sat. The lesson from the Law was fixed, the whole of the Pentateuch being read through in a cycle of three years; but the lesson from the Prophets was left to the choice of the reader (cf. *Lk.* iv. 16, 17). As Hebrew was little understood by the mass of the people even in Palestine, the lessons, as they were read, were translated by an interpreter into Aramaic wherever this was current, whilst amongst the Dispersion probbably the Septuagint translation was used. The principal service took place on the forenoon of the Sabbath; but there were also shorter services on the afternoon of the Sabbath, on Mondays and on Fridays. From what has been said, it will be seen that though the synagogue was primarily a house of prayer, it was also a place of instruction in the Scriptures.[2]

The elders of the synagogue had the right of exercising discipline over its members; and offenders were punished by exclusion, which might be either temporary or permanent (*Joh.* xvi. 2); and the penalty was greatly dreaded (*Joh.* ix. 22, xii. 42). It appears also that the elders had the power of inflicting chastisement by scourging (*Mt.* x. 17, *Mk.* xiii. 9, *Acts* xxii. 19), this sentence being probably carried out by the *ὑπηρέτης*, For the conviction of a person the evidence of at least two witnesses was required (see *Dt.* xix. 15, cf. *Mt.* xviii. 16, xxvi. 60, 2 *Cor.* xiii. 1).

The Scribes

The class of professional copyists and teachers of the Law, who were designated by the names of *Scribes* or *Lawyers* (see p. 17), came into existence after the Return from the Captivity. The origin and develop-

[1] There were sometimes more than one (*Mk.* v. 22, *Acts* xiii. 15), the title being perhaps retained by those who had once held the office.

[2] The Jewish practice of reading Lessons at meetings for public worship was adopted by the Christian Church, communications from Apostles and others being read on such occasions (see *Col.* iv. 16, 1 *Thes.* v. 27, *Rev.* i. 3, and cf. Eus. *H.E.* iv. 23).

ment of such a class is readily explicable from the circumstances of that period, and by the conditions prevailing in subsequent centuries. (*a*) The disuse of Hebrew amongst the mass of the people and its replacement by Aramaic called for a body of persons capable of understanding the Hebrew Scriptures and translating them into the current form of speech. (*b*) The intricacy of a legislative system of which the several parts originated at times widely separate from one another (p. 16) demanded the skill of a professional order to explain its provisions. (*c*) As the Jewish people grew in numbers and were more and more widely diffused, the multiplication of copies of the Law and the other Scriptures, the reading of which entered into the synagogue services (p. 96), became increasingly important. (*d*) The application of the principles of the Law to every department of life, with a view to emphasizing the difference between Jew and Gentile, could not be accomplished without the help of trained expositors, able to show how regulations should be fulfilled in a number of cases that had not been contemplated when they were originally enacted. As new needs arose to which the principles of the Mosaic legislation had to be adjusted, there was wanted a system of oral comments more flexible than the fixed rules of the written code.

The decisions of the Scribes respecting the meaning and requirements of the Law had to be confirmed by the Sanhedrin (on which they had representatives, p. 99) before they became binding; but the respect paid to their interpretations was such that sanction to their rulings was customarily granted. In Jerusalem the Scribes met, for mutual consultation and for the communication of instruction to others, in some of the cloisters within the outer courts of the Temple (p. 90). It was in these that our Lord is represented by St. Luke as listening to them (*Lk.* ii. 46), and in these He Himself afterwards came into conflict with them in the course of His teaching (*Mt.* xxi. 23, *Joh.* xviii. 20). The method of instruction adopted was the constant repetition by the pupil of what was imparted, the exposition of the Law as transmitted or originated by the Scribes being delivered orally and not written down.[1] A Scribe, before he was allowed to teach publicly, had to be formally admitted into the body of professional teachers of the Law [2]; and with a view to becoming qualified, an aspirant to inclusion in the order had to become a pupil of some distinguished Rabbi. It was in accordance with this practice that St. Paul came from his native town Tarsus to be trained at Jerusalem under Gamaliel (*Acts* xxii. 3). In the interpretation of the Scriptures there was room for differences of opinion; and as a result the decisions of famous Scribes were adopted by bodies of disciples, who thus constituted Schools, called after their masters' names. Of such schools the two best known were those that perpetuated the teaching of Rabbi Hillel and Rabbi Shammai (contemporaries of Herod the Great). Since it was held to be derogatory to the Law to make the study of it a means

[1] The ideal student was one who like a water-tight cistern allowed nothing to escape from his mind that was once put into it.

[2] Morrison, *The Jews under the Romans*, p. 286.

of livelihood, every Scribe was expected to follow some secular occupation. Hence Hillel, mentioned above, was a hewer of wood; others of almost equal reputation were needle-makers, bakers, and tailors; whilst St. Paul was a weaver of Cilician tent-cloth.

In virtue of their profession great respect was both claimed for, and rendered to, the Scribes, for the profound reverence felt for the Law was naturally extended to its expounders, since the traditions of which they were the channel were considered to have been derived from God no less than the written Law itself. They were saluted by the title of *Rabbi* or *Rabboni* (both meaning "my master"); and were accorded by the populace various tokens of distinction. The deference thus paid to them inevitably had upon those who were ambitious an injurious effect, fostering in them a spirit of pride and ostentation, and creating in the unprincipled a tendency to hypocrisy (*Mk.* xii. 38–40). And since the general trend of their teaching was to treat the ethical and ceremonial regulations of the Law as of equal importance, and, by insisting upon the observance of the minutest details, to sacrifice the spirit of it to the letter, their influence upon religion was often pernicious (*Mt.* xv. 3–6, xxiii. 16 foll.). Nevertheless, just as the Law could develop virtues of high excellence, so among the professional teachers of it there were sincere and noble characters (see *Mk.* xii. 34).

The Scriptures which in the time of our Lord constituted the subject of the Scribes' studies were those included in the Canon of the Old Testament. They were divided into three divisions, (1) the Law (consisting of the Pentateuch), (2) the Prophets (subdivided into (*a*) the Former Prophets, comprising the Historical books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, 1, 2 *Samuel*, 1, 2 *Kings*, and (*b*) the Latter Prophets, viz. *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* and the Twelve Minor Prophets (the last being included in a single book)); (3) the Hagiographa or Writings (consisting of *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *The Song of Solomon*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*, *Daniel*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and *Chronicles*). Of these three divisions (cf. *Lk.* xxiv. 44) the first was regarded as of the highest importance and value. But though the Pentateuch was invested with pre-eminence, the other books were held to be also Divine (cf. *Mt.* i. 22, *Heb.* i. 1), and the term "Law," indeed, was often extended so as to include them. Thus a passage from the *Psalms* was cited by our Lord as "written in the Law" (*Joh.* x. 34); and a quotation from *Isaiah* is similarly represented by St. Paul as contained in the Law (1 *Cor.* xiv. 21).

The body of expository and supplementary traditions which the Scribes attached to the legislative parts of the Pentateuch was known as the *Halacha*. This determined the manner in which the injunctions of the Law were to be observed under varying circumstances, and how difficulties arising out of its obscurity or want of explicitness were to be solved. The body of comments which accumulated around the narrative section of the Pentateuch and around the historical and prophetical books was styled the *Haggada*. This consisted of edifying illustrations and imaginative expansions of those portions of the Scriptures which dealt with the past fortunes and with the future destiny of Israel. Thus, for

example, the history of Abraham was enlarged by describing how he was the first to teach men that there was only one God, the Creator of the Universe, and how for this the people of Chaldea raised a tumult against him (Jos. *Ant.* i. 2, 3; 7, 1). Numerous statements contained in the New Testament for which no authority exists in the Old Testament seem to be really drawn from the traditions included in the Haggada, such as *Acts* vii. 22 (Moses' training in Egyptian wisdom), *Acts* vii. 53, *Gal.* iii. 19 (the Law ordained by angels), *Gal.* iv. 29 (persecution of Isaac by Ishmael), 1 *Cor.* x. 4 (the Rock that followed the Israelites in the wilderness), 2 *Cor.* xi. 14 (Satan fashioned as an angel of light), xii. 2 (number of heavens), 2 *Tim.* iii. 8 (Jannes and Jambres), *Heb.* xi. 37 (Isaiah (?) sawn asunder), *Jude* 9 (dispute between Michael and the Devil for the body of Moses). In general the tendency of the Scribes in their exposition of Scripture was to sacrifice history to edification. Hence narratives historical in character, or purporting to be such, were frequently allegorized to the neglect of the writer's original intention; and the practice is followed by St. Paul in *Gal.* iv. 22–25.

The Sanhedrin

The term *Sanhedrin* was an Aramaic adaptation of the Greek word *συνέδριον*, meaning a council or assembly. There existed among the Jews more than one body denoted by the word; for there was a great *συνέδριον* and two lesser *συνέδρια*; but the title *Sanhedrin* was applied *par excellence* to the former. The origin of this council is very obscure and both its constitution and its functions seem to have varied at different periods of Jewish history. In the time of the Maccabees mention is made of a *senate* (*γερουσία*) in connection with both Judas and Jonathan (2 *Macc.* i. 10, 1 *Macc.* xii. 6); and Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3, 3) uses the same term in relation to a still earlier period, namely, the reign of the Syrian king Antiochus the Great (224–187). How the powers of such a senate were adjusted to those of the Hasmonæan princes is unknown. When the Romans became masters of Palestine, the authority of the Sanhedrin was curtailed by Gabinius (57–55 B.C.), but his arrangements were afterwards cancelled (p. 44). It continued to exercise jurisdiction until the outbreak of the war against Rome in A.D. 66; and with the conclusion of that war it finally came to an end (A.D. 70).

Its numbers seem to have been 71, the figure reproducing that formed by the association with Moses of 70 elders (as related in *Num.* xi. 16). It was composed in New Testament times of three classes, chief priests, elders, and scribes (cf. *Mk.* xiv. 53, xv. 1, *Mt.* xxvii. 41). The collective council, besides being styled the Sanhedrin, was also known as *τὸ πρεσβυτέριον* (*Acts* xxii. 5); whilst individual councillors were called *βουλευταί* (*Lk.* xxiii. 50). How vacancies in it were filled is not known with certainty. Its place of meeting was the Hall of Hewn Stone within the great (or outer) court of the Temple. The president was the acting High Priest (*Mk.* xiv. 53, *Acts* xxiii. 2, Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9). The members were set apart by a rite of ordination, which was conferred by three persons, one of whom

at least could trace his own ordination back to Moses.[1] Its functions appear to have been partly judicial and partly administrative, the range of its jurisdiction being confined to Jews except where profanation of the Temple was concerned. As the highest court of justice, it decided suits remitted to it when an inferior court failed to reach a decision. It alone was competent to deal with cases affecting a tribe, a false prophet, or the High Priest. In the New Testament several varieties of charges are represented as brought before it for investigation, such as blasphemy (*Mk.* xiv. 55–64, *Acts* vi. 13, 14), false pretensions (*Acts* iv. 7 f.), disloyalty to the Mosaic Law, and profanation of the Temple (*Acts* xxiv. 5, 6). Its authority was not restricted to Jews resident in Judæa, but extended to those dwelling in other countries (*Acts* ix. 2); and the Roman officials could bring accused persons before it (*Acts* xxii. 30). Nevertheless its coercive powers were limited, for (*a*) according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9) it could not be assembled by the High Priest without the consent of the Roman procurator, and after 30 A.D. could not of itself execute a death sentence [2]; (*b*) it had no authority to proceed against Roman citizens except in regard to the offence of trespassing upon the inner courts of the Temple (p. 90). Twenty-three members out of the seventy-one formed a quorum; and whilst a majority of one sufficed for an acquittal, a majority of two was required for conviction.

(*b*) *Religious Sects*

It was not until late in the Greek period that religious differences, turning upon the attitude deemed desirable towards Gentile peoples and their practices, manifested themselves among the Jews (p. 30) and eventually resulted in the formation of two religious parties, the Sadducees and the Pharisees. Some light upon the origin of these parties is furnished by the books of the *Maccabees*, and further knowledge about their distinctive characteristics is afforded by the references to them in the New Testament; but the principal sources of information concerning them are the writings of Josephus.

The Sadducees

The sect of the Sadducees (though the word "sect" in this connection does not connote severance from the religious unity of the nation) represented, with some modification, the party which in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes sympathized with that king's endeavour to introduce among the Jews the usages of Greece (p. 30). It seems to have consisted mainly of the high priestly houses and their supporters, for the members of it are described as few in number but men of wealth and distinction,[3] such

[1] Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, II. 554.

[2] See *Joh.* xviii. 31. The execution of Stephen must have been in defiance of the Law, which the Jews, in their exasperation at his speech, disregarded (*Acts* vii. 57 f.).

[3] Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1, 4; cf. xiii. 10, 6.

language suiting those who possessed the means, and enjoyed the rank, that pertained to the priestly order.[1] The appellation *Sadducees* is of doubtful origin. It is most plausibly derived from *Zadok*, who was made High Priest by Solomon (1 *Kg.* ii. 35), and to whose posterity the priesthood was limited by the legislation proposed in the writings of *Ezekiel* (xl. 46, xliii. 19, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11); but it is some objection to this derivation of the name that the *d* is doubled (though see *Neh.* iii. 29, xi. 11 LXX). Another suggestion is that it represents *Zaddikim*, the righteous,[2] though in this etymology the substitution of *u* for *i* is a difficulty.

Since among the post-exilic Jews (deprived, as they were, of political independence) it was the priests who came to enjoy a monopoly of civil and religious authority, it was inevitable that the Sadducean party, which included most of the priestly houses, should be infected with a worldly spirit. They were naturally brought into closer contact than the majority of their countrymen with Gentile peoples; and were in consequence inclined to subordinate religious to political questions (cf. *Joh.* xi. 48), valuing the priesthood chiefly for the secular power which it conferred. Even in the time of Nehemiah the family of the contemporary high priest entered into alliance with the families of Tobiah the Ammonite and Sanballat, an official in Samaria[3]; and during the reign of Antiochus IV the high priest Jason co-operated with the king's desire to Hellenize Jerusalem (p. 30). The later Sadducees, indeed, warned by the outbreak of popular indignation headed by the Maccabees, did not, in the pursuit of their political interests, show any unfaithfulness to the letter of the Mosaic law. But they lacked the enthusiastic devotion to it which caused others of their countrymen to supplement its requirements by a number of traditional rules; and they kept to the written enactments (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, 6) without seeking, at least to the same extent as the Pharisees (p. 102), to guard against possible infractions of them by the help of the oral exposition of the Scribes (p. 97).[4] The worldliness which characterized them made them unsympathetic towards outbursts of patriotic feeling; and the fact that they attached little importance to any part of the Old Testament Scriptures except the Law indisposed them to share the Messianic expectations based on the writings of the prophets.

In their attitude to religious speculation the Sadducees were conservative. The principal points of difference between them and the rival sect of the Pharisees were the following. (*a*) They did not share the belief that there would be after death a second life and a discrimination between the just and the unjust according to their deserts (cf. *Mk.* xii. 18, *Lk.* xx. 27, *Acts* xxiii. 8). The belief in question found no expression in

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[1] For the connection between the Priesthood and the Sadducees cf. *Acts* iv. 1, v. 17.

[2] See Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., i. p. 323. It is implied that the Sadducees were content to call themselves "the righteous" in contrast to their rivals, who might be regarded as the "unco guid."

[3] Cf. *Neh.* xiii. 4, 28, *Ez.* ix. 2.

[4] When in office, however, they conformed to the practice of the Pharisees: see Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., I. p. 313.

the Law, and to men devoid of religious fervour and spiritual feeling it naturally made little appeal. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, 4) their own conviction was that the soul perished with the body ; and though the correctness of this statement is disputed,[1] it is generally agreed that they did not accept the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead (cf. *Acts* iv. 2, v. 17, xxiii. 6). (*b*) They are represented as disbelieving in the existence of angels and spirits, though it is not clear how they reconciled such disbelief with the repeated allusions to angels in the Pentateuch. Possibly it was to the later developments of angelology only (p. 42) that they were opposed. (*c*) They denied the absolute pre-ordination of human fate by God, holding that good and evil were within man's own choice. Their hostility to new departures in theological thought was probably due in large measure to their absorption in secular affairs, which led them to despise the imaginative elements entering into the beliefs and hopes of religious enthusiasts.

The Pharisees

Just as the sympathizers with Hellenism in the age of Epiphanes had their later representatives in the Sadducees, so the spirit of the pietists (the Asidæans), who under that king were rigidly loyal to the Law, was reproduced subsequently in the Pharisees. Their name (Heb. *Perushim*), which appears first in the time of John Hyrcanus (p. 36), and means " those who separate themselves from others " (through conviction of their superiority in sanctity) was probably bestowed upon them as a reproach by their opponents, though it eventually became accepted by themselves.[2] Such separation did not involve withdrawal from the mass of their countrymen in worship, but only aloofness from social intercourse with such as would not, or could not, avoid ceremonial defilement. Their characteristics were an intense zeal for the strict maintenance of the Law, and a profound contempt for all who had less knowledge of, or less concern for, its requirements than themselves (*Joh.* vii. 49). They shunned association not only with the Gentiles but likewise with those of their own race who might have been contaminated through contact with them or in other ways (see *Lk.* v. 30, xv. 2, and cf. p. 384). Yet notwithstanding the scorn which the Pharisees felt for the bulk of their less scrupulous compatriots, they enjoyed among them much esteem ; and in their rivalry to the Sadducees, they had the support of most of the people (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, 5).

In order to preserve themselves from violating the Law unwittingly even in the slightest degree, the Pharisees reinforced its regulations by those contained in the traditions of the Scribes (p. 97) ; and since those who originated and developed the system of oral traditions and those who put it into practice were commonly of the same way of thinking, the most influential of the Scribes belonged to the party of the Pharisees (cf. *Mk.* ii. 16, *Lk.* v. 30). With the new developments in theological speculation

[1] See Edersheim, *op. cit.* i. p. 315.

[2] The title which they preferred to apply to themselves was *Habērim* (" companions " or " associates ").

which the Sadducees rejected the Pharisees were in sympathy. (*a*) They believed souls to be imperishable, and held that after death a judgment was in store for the righteous and the wicked, and that the souls of the former would receive back their bodies, in which they would enjoy felicity, whilst the souls of the latter would be eternally punished. The righteous were expected to enjoy their merited happiness in a kingdom established on earth by the Messiah, who would expel all sinners from it, and would reduce the Gentiles to subjection. (*b*) They acknowledged the existence of angels and spirits, attributed many maladies to the activity of demons, and practised exorcism. (*c*) They conceded that men enjoyed a certain measure of free will and so were responsible for their actions, but they also maintained that Divine pre-determination was a factor in human conduct. In regard to the questions of Free Will and Determinism the divergence between them and the Sadducees was probably not really so great as it seems, and amounted to a difference of emphasis rather than of substance.[1]

In contrast with their rivals the Pharisees made, not political power, but religion their first interest, however formal and external their conception of religion was; and their zeal for spreading their faith was intense. Their attitude to political issues was governed by the religious aspect of the latter. It was because their race was the chosen of God that they resented the supremacy of a heathen power over the land and people of JEHOVAH, and waited expectantly for some act of Divine intervention which would put an end to such usurpation.

By a small section who were impatient of delay the overthrow of Roman rule was sought through force, and these came to be called *Zealots*. They did not enter into existence as a distinct party until the date of the enrolment instituted in A.D. 6 (when Quirinius was *legatus* of Syria), which had as its object the direct taxation of the Jewish people by the Romans. This proceeding met with great opposition, which was headed by Judas of Gamala (*Acts* v. 37), aided by a Pharisee called Sadduc (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1, 1). Their example of armed resistance to Roman authority was followed in the rebellion of A.D. 66; and a conspicuous part was taken by the Zealots in the war that ended in the siege and destruction of Jerusalem (cf. p. 58). An extreme wing of this party was known as the *Sicarii* (cf. *Acts* xxi. 38), who practised secret assassination, and derived their title from the daggers (*sicæ*) with which they accomplished their murders.

The Essenes

Some notice is desirable of a small religious sect, or rather order, of Jews, to which no allusion, indeed, occurs in the New Testament, but with which the early Christians have been often compared, whilst its tenets are of interest in connection with St. Paul's Epistle to the *Colossians*. This order was known as the *Essenes*[2] (*Ἐσσηνοί, Ἐσσαῖοι, Ὀσσαῖοι*), and is

[1] Cf. Morrison, *The Jews under the Romans*, p. 322.

[2] See Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9, xviii. 1, 5, *B.J.* II. 8, 2–13, Schürer, *Jewish People*, II. ii, 188 f., Lightfoot, *Colossians* (1886), p 347 f., Edersheim, *Life and Times*, I. 324 f., Morrison, *Jews under the Romans*, p. 323 f.

estimated by Josephus to have consisted of no more than 4,000 persons. They are first mentioned, by the writer just named, in relation with the history of Jonathan the Maccabee (161–142 B.C.); but the date of their origin is quite obscure. Their name perhaps is most plausibly regarded (on the assumption that it was conferred upon them by others than themselves) as a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew *Hitsonim*," outsiders," since they stood outside the religious system of their countrymen,[1] though it has also been traced to a place called Essa, on the shore of the Dead Sea, near which they were principally found. They constituted a very close society, and imposed a period of probation upon all who sought to join them. They were governed by certain officials (*ἐπιμεληταί*), a hundred in number, elected by themselves; and were under an obligation to conceal nothing from one another; to divulge none of their peculiar doctrines to the outer world; and to transmit them to posterity in the exact form in which they had received them. In their habits they were ascetic, being extremely abstemious in regard to food, and averse to marriage, preferring to adopt as their own the children of others. Many of them were credited with remarkable prophetic powers, and great skill in the interpretation of dreams (see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, 2, xvii. 13, 3).

In certain respects the Essenes resembled the Pharisees. Like them they entertained the greatest reverence for Moses and the Hebrew Scriptures; observed the Sabbath with the utmost strictness; were exceedingly earnest in the pursuit of ceremonial purity, through the constant use of lustrations; and believed in the existence of angels. But in other respects they diverged widely from them. They offered no animal sacrifices, did not recognize the Aaronic priesthood, denied human free will altogether, and held that, though the soul was immortal, there was no resurrection of the body, which was the prison of the soul and perished at death. Certain of their principles of conduct present a likeness to Christianity. Their rules pledged them to the practice of obedience, piety, justice, and veracity; the avoidance of all oaths (except on the occasion when first admitted into the society); the promotion of peace; and the assistance of all needing succour. Still more notable features of resemblance to the early Church were their communism in respect of property, and their participation in common meals. They kept no slaves; private possessions were disallowed among them; and whatever they earned by their labours (their sole occupation being agriculture) was put into a common purse. Their meals, taken together, began and ended with prayer; and the meal of which they partook at midday seems to have been regarded as a religious function. But the features of contrast between them and the early Christians are no less striking. Members of the primitive Church were not recluses or ascetics, but mixed freely in the society around them, and at least one of the Apostles was married. Jesus, so far from being careful to avoid ceremonial defilement, exposed Himself to adverse comment by consorting with tax-gatherers and

[1] Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., I. p. 332, who compares the Greek Ἀσιδαῖοι as the equivalent of the Hebrew *Hasidim*.

" sinners " (*Mk.* ii. 15, 16) ; and both He and His disciples frequented the Temple where worship centred in the sacrificial system (*Mk.* xi. 15, *Acts* ii. 46, iii. 1). Finally there prevailed widely in the Church a belief in the resurrection of the body.

By one curious characteristic the Essenes were distinguished from Pharisees and Christians alike. This was the custom of addressing prayers towards the sun, which they possibly regarded as a symbol of God (the Source of spiritual illumination). This peculiarity has been variously ascribed to the influence of Pythagoreanism (which, like other Greek philosophies, entered Asia in the wake of Alexander's conquests), of Zoroastrianism, and of Buddhism. As there is no evidence that the Essenes shared the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis, and as reverence for the sun was much more distinctive of the followers of Zoroaster than of those of Pythagoras or of Buddha, a connection between Essenism and Persia seems most plausible.

V

PREVAILING IDEAS AND METHODS OF JEWISH HISTORIANS

IN view of the discussion in subsequent chapters of the historical value of the New Testament documents, it is desirable to consider the psychological conditions of historical writing during New Testament times, the pre-suppositions with which the New Testament historians approached the tasks they set themselves, the conceptions which they entertained about the natural world and its processes, and the literary usages of their race. This can best be done by reviewing briefly the governing ideas and the traditional methods of composition characteristic of the authors of the Hebrew Scriptures, for the Old Testament constituted the most potent influence, both spiritual and intellectual, to which the New Testament writers were subject. Some of the facts here surveyed have come under notice previously, but it will be an advantage to regard them again from a special standpoint.

Ruling Convictions, Beliefs, and Mental Habits

1. The dominant feature of the writings of the Old Testament is the teleological view held by their authors about human history. They believed that the processes of nature and the incidents of human life were alike directly controlled by God, whose purposes they both subserved. In order to exhibit this conviction in concrete form, and to illustrate it by conspicuous examples, it was obviously expedient to show that events, specially if of a striking character, had been predicted or foreshadowed before their occurrence, so that the coincidence between the prior announcements (through various agencies) and the subsequent fulfilments in experience might leave no doubt that the events had been designed and regulated by a Divine Power. Intimations about the future, illustrative of the Divine government of the world, were most commonly represented as conveyed through *prophets*; but other means by which God's control of human fortunes was evinced were *angelic visits*, *dreams*, and *voices from heaven*.

That there existed among the Hebrew people, though doubtless not among them exclusively, persons gifted with an exceptional power of foresight is beyond dispute. A *prophet*, indeed, was not primarily a

fore-teller of the future, but a spokesman *for* God, revealing to the mass of those who were less well endowed with spiritual insight the Divine will. Knowledge of God's will, however, necessarily involved some measure of prevision into the future, if events were really designed by Him, and if it entered into the scheme of His Providence that men, for the guidance of their conduct, should have some understanding of His plans (cf. *Am.* iii. 7). Prediction, through human agents, of future events is specially adduced in 2 *Is.* xl.–lv. as evidence that Jehovah, the God of Israel, was the Author of all that happens (see 2 *Is.* xli. 21–29, xliii. 9–13); and as instances of remarkable foresight exhibited by the prophets of Israel there may be cited the prophecy of Amos respecting the deportation of the Ten tribes (*Am.* v. 27, cf. 2 *Kg.* xvii. 6), that of Isaiah concerning, first, the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, and next, the deliverance of the city from him (*Is.* xxxvii. and cf. 2 *Kg.* xix. 35, 36), and those of Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah relating to the restoration of the Jewish exiles from the Babylonian captivity (*Jer.* xxix. 10–14, 2 *Is.* xliv. 26–28, and cf. *Ez.* i.). The faculty of prediction manifest in these and many other passages seems, so far as it admits of explanation, to be based on the strong faith which the prophets had in the government of the universe by a righteous God, united with an acute perception of the political forces in operation around them, so that they did not hesitate to predict confidently the issues to which contemporary movements seemed to be trending. But their anticipations about even the near future were not always exactly verified [1]; whilst their prophecies relating to God's designs for His people at a more distant date, though often substantially realized, were yet not seldom realized in a manner very unlike their expectations. Of the habit shown by Hebrew historians of drawing attention to such marks of Divine purpose as were manifested by the agreement of events with prior predictions examples occur in 1 *Kg.* xiv. 18, xv. 29, xvi. 34, 2 *Kg.* vii. 17, ix. 25, and various other places. It is obvious that the impression made upon the bulk of their readers would be the deeper in proportion to the closeness of the correspondence between prophecy and fulfilment; and consequently both the compilers of the historical books and subsequent copyists of them would be tempted to adjust to a prediction the account of the event believed to have fulfilled it, so that the agreement between them might appear as detailed as possible. And that this was sometimes done can be shown to be probable by one or two instances. Thus in 2 *Kg.* xvi. 9, where it is stated that the king of Assyria deported the inhabitants of Damascus to Kir, the words *to Kir* are absent from the LXX, which suggests that they were inserted in the Hebrew in order to make the incident fulfil exactly the prophecy of *Amos* i. 5. Similarly in 2 *Kg.* xxiii. 16–20 [2] it may be suspected

[1] For instance, Isaiah at one time seems to have expected that the Assyrian army, which he regarded as designed by God to chastise Judah, would approach Jerusalem from the north (x. 28–32) instead of from the south-west, as was actually the case.

[2] This passage is itself of late origin; note the anachronistic allusion to the "cities of Samaria" which did not become a province until after 722; see Burney, *Notes on Kings*, p. 179.

that the statement that Josiah burnt the bones of the dead on the altar at Bethel is an addition introduced to bring the king's action into accord with the prediction related in 1 *Kg.* xiii. 2: at least in the preceding *v.* 15, the altar is said to have been destroyed. Conversely there also appear to be cases where the account of the prophecy has been adapted to the event; in *Is.* xxxix. 6, 7, for example, the prediction that the possessions and posterity of Hezekiah should be carried away to *Babylon*, not to Assyria (which in the eighth century was the power that menaced Judah) looks like a modification of Isaiah's actual prophecy by a later writer who was acquainted with the deportation of the Jews to Babylon by the Babylonian Nebuchadrezzar.

Of the several ways by which the predetermination of history by God is illustrated in the Old Testament the following are examples:—

(*a*) *Revelations of the future through prophets.* The instances already cited (p. 107) may be supplemented by *Jud.* iv. 7, 1 *Kg.* xvii. 1, xx. 13, xxi. 19, xxii. 17, etc.[1]

(*b*) *Predictions conveyed through angels.* The visits of angels communicating information about the future can scarcely be regarded as anything but an impressive method of giving objective expression to the Divine resolves of which the events foretold are held to be a realization. Instances occur in *Jud.* vi. 12, xiii. 3.

(*c*) *Announcements of the future through dreams.* Examples are found in *Gen.* xxxvii. 5–11, xli. 1–32, 1 *Kg.* iii. 5, *Dan.* iv., vii., viii.[1]

(*d*) *Voices from heaven.* The disclosure of a Divine decision through a voice from heaven is not so common a representation in the Old Testament as the methods just enumerated, but an explicit instance occurs in *Dan.* iv. 31, and possibly 1 *Kg.* xix. 12 is meant to be regarded as such.

(*e*) The belief that everything in human history pre-existed in the Divine mind likewise occasionally took shape in the representation that the plan of an earthly institution or building was stored with God in heaven: see *Ex.* xxv. 40, *Num.* viii. 4 (the Tabernacle), 1 *Ch.* xxviii. 19 (the Temple).

In one at least of the Old Testament books an effort has been made to accredit prophecies about the future by blending with them statements purporting to be predictions about an earlier future, but being (it would seem) really descriptions of the past, in order that the known agreement of past history with the alleged prophecies of it might create confidence in the fresh predictions put forth concerning the actual future. This has occurred in the book of *Daniel*, written probably about 165 B.C. In it the experiences of Israel during the period between its subjugation by the Babylonians and the outrages committed upon its religion by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168–165 (p. 31) are represented as predicted by Daniel (portrayed as one of the Jewish exiles in Babylon in the sixth century B.C.), in order that certain prophecies relating to a time which was still future to the author of the work might win credence from his contemporaries. What distinguishes such *vaticinia post eventus* from genuine prophecies is,

[1] Prophets and dreams were channels of revelation among the Greeks; see Æsch. *Theb.* 611, Hom. *Il.* v. 148–151.

in general, the greater minuteness of detail marking the supposed predictions. Prophecy that relates to the real future is commonly rather general and indefinite in its terms (cf. p. 107), whereas history presented in the guise of prophecy is characterized by much precision and circumstantiality; so that where in *Daniel* exactness of definition gives place to vagueness, it may be suspected that the writer is passing from an account (however disguised) of the *known past* to a forecast of the unknown future. The transition from exactness to vagueness occurs where the narrator proceeds to deal with events subsequent to Antiochus' persecution of the Jews, with which the author of the work was almost certainly contemporary.[1]

2. A characteristic of the Hebrew mind was the tendency to invest with sensible qualities, realities which can only be considered by us to be purely spiritual and imperceptible to the senses. Even in post-exilic times religious thinkers, whose conception of God's spiritual nature was exceptionally elevated, found a difficulty in realizing His Presence with His people, save through some manifestation appealing to the senses. Fire is one of the most usual tokens of the Divine Presence in the Old Testament (*Gen.* xv. 17, *Ex.* iii. 2, xiii. 21, *Dt.* iv. 12[2]); whilst another is the cloud, in which Jehovah is represented as descending from heaven (*Ex.* xix. 9) and filling the sanctuary of the Tabernacle and of the Temple (*Ex.* xl. 34, 1 *Kg.* viii. 10). No doubt both of these signs were invested by the best minds of the nation with symbolic significance, the first indicating the destruction awaiting everything that was inimical or offensive to so holy a God (cf. *Dt.* iv. 24, *Is.* xxxiii. 14, *Num.* xvi. 35, *Heb.* xii. 29), and the second suggestive of the mystery enshrouding His Nature and Personality. Nevertheless the circumstance that the Deity was thus considered to be in a sense *visibly* present among His people, shows how hard it was for the Hebrews to detach the notion of Spirit or a Spiritual Being from materialistic conceptions.

Akin to the habit of thought just noticed is the tendency to represent occasions when the Almighty was believed to be operative or active in an exceptional degree, as marked by the occurrence of physical disturbances, such as storm and earthquakes (*Ex.* xix. 18, *Ps.* xviii. 7, cxiv. 7, *Joel* iii. 16, and cf. *Mt.* xxvii. 51, xxviii. 2).[3]

3. A further feature of much importance in Hebrew ways of thinking was the absence, at least in comparatively early times, of any rigid separation in idea between the human and the Divine. It was customary for a Semitic people to regard the national God as the Author and Father of the race, the director of its policy, and the controller of its destinies; and as the Divinity exercised His authority and enforced His will through the agency of human delegates, Divine titles and designations were ascribed to these as being His representatives and vicegerents. Thus the term

[1] See Driver, *Dan.* p. lxvi.

[2] It was a symbol of divinity in other religions: cf. Verg. *A.* ii. 682 f., and see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 193.

[3] Cf. Verg. *A.* iii. 90–92.

El (God) is applied to Nebuchadrezzar by Ezekiel (xxxi. 11, xxxii. 21); and an ideal King who was expected to arise and safeguard Israel against both the sins that provoked Jehovah's anger, and the calamities with which they were punished, was called by Isaiah *El Gibbor* (Divine Warrior). Similarly the title *Elohim* (God) is used of the judicial authorities of the Jewish nation in *Ps.* lxxxii. 1, 6 (cf. *Joh.* x. 34, 35), of a royal personage in *Ps.* xlv. 6, and of the shade of the deceased prophet Samuel in 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 13. Inasmuch as a national king was the representative of his people, he was thought to stand in the same relation to the national divinity as that occupied, according to Semitic ideas, by the people themselves; and hence, since the Israelites were regarded as the sons and daughters of Jehovah (2 *Is.* xliii. 6), just as the Moabites were termed the sons and daughters of Chemosh (*Num.* xxi. 29), and since Israel as a unit could be styled Jehovah's son or first-born (*Ex.* iv. 22, *Hos.* xi. 1), the same title could be applied in a still more intimate and personal degree to the sovereign, and he, like his collective subjects, could be designated God's son (2 *Sam.* vii. 14, *Ps.* lxxxix. 26, 27). The same title or an equivalent was also applied to individuals other than the king, who by reason of their character appeared to resemble God, or to be in an exceptional degree deserving of His care (*Wisd.* ii. 18).[1]

(4) Another influential idea current in the ancient world and shared by the Hebrew race was the belief in the existence of a multitude of superhuman agencies, which at first, perhaps, were not clearly distinguished from gods, but which eventually came to be regarded as inferior to gods, though superior in power to men. The idea had its origin in primitive animism. Early man, being conscious that he was subject to various external forces, interpreted them as proceeding from a source analogous to himself; so that everything which happened, and which he could not put down to any visible cause, he ascribed to the agency of unseen personal spirits. Occurrences of a fortunate character were attributed to beneficent spirits, and those of a calamitous kind to malignant spirits. By the Hebrews, in consequence of the development among them of a belief in the existence of one supreme God, these spirits were conceived, at least in historic times, to be powers not independent of, but subordinate to, Jehovah, constituting His court, His messengers, or His armies (*Ps.* ciii. 20, 21, cxlviii. 2, *Joel* ii. 11). They were generally described as "angels" (*Gen.* xvi. 7, xxxii. 1, *Jud.* xiii. 3), "holy ones" (*Dt.* xxxiii. 2, *Zech.* xiv. 5), or "sons of God" (*Gen.* vi. 2, *Job* i. 6, *Ps.* lxxxix. 6); and were imagined after the likeness of men (*Gen.* xviii. 2, xix. 1, xxxii. 24, *Josh.* v. 13). They not only fulfilled God's benevolent designs towards men (*Gen.* xlviii. 16, *Ex.* xxiii. 20, *Num.* xx. 16, 3, *Is.* lxiii. 9, *Ps.* xxxiv. 7), but also carried out His destructive judgments (2 *Sam.* xxiv. 16, 17, 2 *Kg.* xix. 35). All

[1] The Hebrew terms for "God" (*El, Elohim*) when applied to human beings seem to have signified what in Greek and Latin might have been expressed by the adjectives *θεῖος* and *divinus*, implying in them supernatural excellence of various kinds. *θεῖος* is rarely found in the LXX, occurring only in *Ex.* xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31, *Job* xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 4, *Prov.* ii. 17, *Ecclus.* vi. 35. It is even rarer in the New Testament (*Acts* xvii. 29, 2 *Pet.* i. 3, 4).

through the Old Testament angels figure as the Divine agents; but some difference is observable in this respect between the earlier and the later books. In the earlier writings revelations are commonly represented as imparted by God to His prophets directly, but in consequence of the increasing sense of the distance separating God from His creatures (p. 21), communications from Him to them came, in books of exilic and post-exilic date, to be described as made through angelic intermediaries (*Ezek.* xl. 3, *Zech.* i. 9, 11, 12, iv. 4, 10, etc., *Dan.* x. 5 f., xii. 6). At a later period even the Law, recorded in the Old Testament to have been imparted to Moses directly, was represented as mediated through angels (*Acts* vii. 53 mg., *Gal.* iii. 19).

But though the Hebrew writers certainly believed in the existence of a host of spirits subordinate to God, the ascription of various events and occurrences to angelic agency often does not mean more than that the incidents in question were providential. This is obviously the case in *Gen.* xxiv. 40, *Ex.* xxxiii. 2, *Ps.* xxxv. 5; and it is tolerably clear that in some of the instances quoted above, where angels are represented as preserving, destroying, or otherwise influencing, the lives of men, the mention of them is only a dramatic way of implying that what happened was due to Divine Providence (see 2 *Kg.* xix. 35, *Dan.* vi. 22). In *Daniel* angels are associated with the fortunes of nations; and in the Apocalyptic writings attributed to Enoch (*e.g.* lxxi. 10) are depicted as having charge over the elements (the sea, frost, hail, rain, snow, etc., cf. *Rev.* vii. 1, xiv. 18).

By the side of the view that angels were sometimes God's agents for inflicting evil upon men by way of punishment (cf. *Ps.* lxxviii. 49), there survived a belief in spirits or demons essentially evil, inhabiting solitary or desert places, and having sometimes the form of beasts, such as satyrs or he-goats (*Is.* xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14, *Lev.* xvii. 7, 2 *Ch.* xi. 15), to which propitiatory sacrifices must have been occasionally offered (since such a practice was expressly forbidden). A generic term for these demons seems to have been *Shedim* (*Dt.* xxxii. 17, *Ps.* cvi. 37); but individual names or titles were given to some among them, such as Azazel (*Lev.* xvi. 10, 22). But with this belief in the demons of the deserts there came to be blended another of different origin. It has been shown that there grew up a conviction that there was a supreme spirit of evil (once conceived to be an attendant upon God in heaven but sceptical of human virtue), for whom a proper name was coined by converting the descriptive epithet "the Satan" (*i.e.* "the adversary") into the personal appellation "Satan" (see p. 21). Under this powerful Spirit all the other spirits of ill were ranged. In Greek an equivalent for "the adversary" was found in ὁ διάβολος, "the slanderer" (the rendering employed by the LXX in *Job* i. 6, etc.), whence the English word "Devil."

In later Judaism, as in the contemporary world at large, the malignant activity of demons, who had their abode principally in the air and acted at the instigation of Satan (who was called "the prince of the power of the air," *Eph.* ii. 2), was held to be the source of most of the worst ills, both moral and physical, that afflict mankind. They prompted men to all kinds of wickedness, inciting them to idolatry and inspiring them with

malicious and evil thoughts (cf. *Joh.* xiii. 2, 1 *Cor.* ii. 6, 8). Human bodies as well as human minds were exposed to their influence. To their agency were ascribed various illnesses (cf. 1 *Cor.* v. 4, 5, 2 *Cor.* xii. 7, 1 *Tim.* i. 20), more especially those maladies of which the origin was more than usually obscure, and which were attended by convulsions, violent screaming, or other alarming symptoms. Most afflictions, in fact, which made the sufferers appear very different from their ordinary selves (so as to suggest that they had come under the control of some alien power), were explained as due to the action of demons. Insanity and epilepsy, in particular, were put down to "possession" by demons; and even infirmities of a more common kind, if marked by exceptional features, were accounted for in the same way.[1] The expulsion of a demon from a possessed man could be accomplished (it was thought) by several methods. Amongst them was the pronunciation over the afflicted individual of the name of a personality more potent than the demon; for since a name and the personality designated by the name were very imperfectly distinguished in antiquity, the mention of the former was supposed to put into operation the powers inherent in the latter. Resultant cures are explicable as the consequence of "suggestion," the remedial effects of which are well known in modern science. If a "possessed" person could be induced to believe that the personality whose name was uttered over him was superior to the demon in himself, the mention or invocation of the name was calculated to tranquillize him, and so give the recuperative capacity of nature scope to assert itself.

(5) A circumstance that affected deeply the view of human history taken by the writers of the Old Testament was the conviction that marvels of an extraordinary character were repeatedly wrought by the immediate act of God, or through the agency of men specially commissioned and abnormally empowered by Him. The Old Testament historians lived in a pre-scientific age, when there was little notion of physical law; so that the tendency of a religious people to discover in any impressive experience proof of God's direct volition and operation was unregulated by any adequate acquaintance with the methods of the Divine activity as we have learnt them. Any theistic explanation of the universe, of course, recognizes that everything that happens has its ultimate origin in the will of God, and since He (so far as we are aware) is able to do as He pleases without external restriction, and since human personalities are known to be endowed by Him with delegated powers of initiative, the possibility of occurrences of an extremely abnormal character unparalleled by previous experience must be admitted by all theists. "Laws of nature" are nothing but generalizations from experience, and those which are based on the most extensive series of observed occurrences are only "justifiable expectations, that is, very high probabilities."[2] The only

[1] As far back as Homer's time a victim of a wasting sickness was described as one whom "a hateful demon assailed" (*Od.* v. 395–6); whilst anyone whose conduct was difficult to account for, or who appeared to be infatuated, was addressed as δαιμόνιε (*Il.* ii. 200).

[2] Huxley, *Science and Christian Tradition*, p. 205.

"impossibility" is the self-contradictory, and the "possibilities" are likely to exceed rather than come short of anticipation. Nevertheless experience has made it increasingly probable that the Divine modes of working in the physical world are constant; so that both our practical enterprises and our scientific reasoning presuppose the prevalence of such regular sequences as are styled natural laws.[1] Hence there is a strong presumption against the truth of reports of departures from well-established laws of nature, and the evidence adduced for such departures must be proportionately strong. So firmly grounded, indeed, is our belief in the regularity of nature that, if there is good evidence for some abnormal occurrence, it is attributed to the action of some physical law not yet detected, and is not put down to the unaccountable will of God. And though a real capacity of initiative has been bestowed by God on man, so that human volition can interfere with the otherwise unvarying sequence of one physical event upon another, yet the control which the human will can exercise over the natural world is usually confined within narrow limits. And if our acquaintance with the whole sphere of nature and consequently of the Divine laws governing it is so imperfect that much that is now regarded as incredible may become in the future worthy of credence, yet scientific inquiry is sufficiently comprehensive and minute as to render reported occurrences contravening well-established generalizations more questionable than they have appeared to be in the past, though the relations of mind to matter are no doubt still inadequately explored. But among the Semitic peoples in primitive times the scientific investigation of nature scarcely existed at all, so that the imagination had free play in picturing the method of God's activity in the universe, and in estimating the range of the control over the external world conceded by Him to particular individuals. In the prevalent ignorance of physical law, it was inevitable that anything which excited surprise or awe should be explained as due to God's immediate agency, or the agency of human beings supernaturally endowed by Him. And though God's activity was recognized in the ordinary operations of nature, yet it was the exceptional and unusual in natural phenomena or in human history that seemed in that age to manifest His control over the world most clearly. This habit of mind could hardly fail to produce a readiness to put a supernatural construction upon any startling experiences suggestive of Divine Providence, without inquiring whether they admitted of a natural explanation. The stronger the religious faith of the Hebrew historians, the more uncritical would their attitude tend to be towards anything witnessed or reported which appeared to illustrate the Divine power or goodness. Their dominant interest was not historical accuracy but religious edification. Accordingly, in regard to occasions on which God is represented to have departed from His customary methods in the natural world (as ascertained by us not merely through common experience but through scientific research), or to have invested chosen individuals with an abnormal measure of control over nature, we have to decide whether it is more probable that

[1] Cf. Rashdall, *Philosophy and Religion*, p. 158.

the incidents happened as described, or whether the records are inexact or fallacious. On the one hand, there is considerable evidence that the influence of personality is much greater than is commonly supposed, and that surprising power can be exerted by exceptional individuals over the minds, and through them over the bodies, of other human beings. On the other hand, there seems to be much less satisfactory evidence for the direct influence of psychic forces over inanimate nature; whilst it is a matter of common knowledge that reports of occurrences by actual spectators are liable to be inaccurate, and the transmission of such reports to become distorted and exaggerated. The evidence of witnesses, however honest they are, may at all times mislead, unless they are also acute and cautious observers; for every account of an event involves not only the witness's perceptions, but likewise his inferences, which are guided by his past experience, and depend upon his range of knowledge, his faculty of judgment, and other qualities; so that a spectator requires to exercise much circumspection lest he should imagine he sees what he expects to see. And if first-hand evidence of the original witnesses may thus be inaccurate, further error is likely to be introduced when their testimony is handed down through a series of subsequent retailers of it, whose narratives are readily affected by imperfections of memory, looseness of description, or the play of fancy. The variations which occur in versions of events transmitted by word of mouth are notorious, so that even after a very short interval, it is frequently impossible to recover the actual details; and in such variations any features of the original account appealing to the sense of wonder are generally enhanced by the successive narrators, for as Aristotle observes, "the wonderful gives pleasure."[1] Facts such as these are bound to affect our estimate of the accounts of the marvellous proceeding from ancient times; and from the tendencies marking writers of antiquity in general, the authors of the Biblical records were not exempt.

Of the attitude of the latter towards the miraculous illustrations are afforded by a number of narratives in the Old Testament of which Moses and the prophets Elijah and Elisha are the central figures, though some of a remarkable character fall outside these groups of narratives. The ascription of so many miracles to these three figures exemplifies the proneness for stories of a marvellous character to gather round personalities to whom great religious significance had become attached. How all the records of wonder associated with Moses and the other conspicuous personalities named originated—how much substantial fact they contain, and how far fancy has embroidered this particular or created that, it is, of course, impossible to decide with certainty. The age which witnessed their origin was one which was sure to invent stories of marvels, if none were already current, about the characters which it held in admiration. But in regard to a certain number of miracles it seems possible to arrive at some probable conclusions as to the way in which they came into existence. Of some the origin must (in all probability) be sought in

[1] Arist. *Poet.* xxiv. § 17, *τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἡδύ.*

various natural phenomena of an unusual kind, which were imagined to be the result of supernatural agency. Of others an explanation appears to be furnished by the prosaic interpretation of figures of speech, metaphors being construed as descriptions of matters of fact. It is only a limited number which can with some confidence be accounted for in this way; but the circumstance that in such cases good reasons are forthcoming for the explanation offered, suggests that the conclusions reached admit of a wider application, although specific evidence may be wanting.

(i) The narrative of the Plagues of Egypt represented in *Exod.* vii.–xi. as brought about by Moses' rod, which he was directed to wield at Jehovah's command, seems to have taken rise in accounts of various natural inflictions to which Egypt is exposed, and which, coinciding with a demand from the Israelites for a release from bondage, were attributed to the intervention of Israel's God. The first plague may be explained by the reddish discolouration of the Nile either by mineral matter brought down when its level rises, or to minute organisms of which it is sometimes full. If the latter explanation be adopted the presence in the water of so much organic matter would lead to the multiplication of frogs; and heaps of the latter, when dead and decaying, would breed flies and other insects. Flies are notoriously disseminators of diseases, such as constituted the fifth and sixth plagues. The occurrence of both thunderstorms and swarms of locusts, though not common in Egypt, is not unknown. The darkness represented as the ninth plague may have been caused by the *Hamsin* wind, which, blowing from the south or south-west, fills the air with blinding sand and dust. The tenth plague is explicable by some fatal epidemic. The amplification of incidents such as these, with adjustment of the details so as to make them befall the Egyptians only (as the objects of Jehovah's anger) or correspond more exactly to the offence committed, would easily result in descriptions such as are preserved in *Exodus*. In the case of the eighth plague the invasion of the land by swarms of locusts is expressly ascribed to a natural agency—an east wind blowing from Syria (where locusts are commoner than in Egypt); and their removal is similarly accounted for by a veering of the wind to the west. The enhancement of the marvellous features in process of time is visible when the account of the first plague in J E is compared with that in P; thus in J E the conversion of water into blood is confined to the Nile (vii. 17, 24), whereas in P it affects all receptacles of water throughout the land (vii. 19).

Similarly the narrative of the Passage of the Red Sea appears to describe an event which can be explained likewise by the operation of natural causes, but which, viewed in the light of religious belief, has been imaginatively embellished and expanded into a miracle. The site of the Israelites' passage is doubtful; it may have been at the northern end of the Gulf of Suez or the southern end of the shallow Bitter Lakes, though the conditions implied in the record seem best suited by the latter. The narrative itself represents that the immediate agency which rendered a passage through either practicable was a strong wind, and if this, designated as an east wind, really blew from the south-east, it would have driven the waters of the lake in a north-westerly direction, enabling the southerly

end to be crossed without danger. A sudden change in the course of the wind would allow the waters to be restored to their previous level, with fatal results to any pursuers that had ventured to follow in the Israelites' tracks. If this reconstruction of what happened is approximately correct,[1] the incident was providential (as viewed from the Hebrews' standpoint), not miraculous, but could not fail to be magnified into a wonderful marvel in subsequent narratives (*Ex.* xiv. 29).

It may also be reasonably suspected that the narrative of the parting of the Jordan when touched by the feet of the priests bearing Jehovah's Ark (*Josh.* iii.) originated in some surprising but natural event. The river near Jericho was fordable (*Josh.* ii. 1, 2 *Sam.* xv. 28) ; but the passage would have been greatly facilitated if, just before the Israelite host had approached the banks, the river's course had been temporarily dammed by a landslip at some spot above the fords,[2] and the level of the water below them had been consequently lowered. Such an occurrence would readily be converted into a story of miracle.

The narrative of the floating axe-head, related in 2 *Kg.* vi. 1–7, may have been suggested by the circumstance that in the excessively salt Dead Sea many things float that elsewhere sink. If some heavy object liable to sink in the fresh waters of the Jordan was seen to float in the lake near the river's mouth on some occasion when a prophet was present, the experience might be explained as due to his wonder-working power.[3]

(ii) Though probably the most fruitful source of miracle stories in the Old Testament is the expansion and embellishment of impressive but natural incidents, yet some narratives of the miraculous appear to have originated from a prosaic interpretation of metaphorical language. Thus in a passage of the book of Jashar (a poetical record of Israelite achievements to which a few allusions are found in the Biblical writers), Joshua was described as commanding the sun and the moon to stand still, the one on Gibeon, and the other in the Valley of Aijalon, till the nation should avenge itself upon its foes. The poet's words are obviously imaginative ; but by the historian who wrote *Josh.* x. 12–14 they were taken in a matter-of-fact spirit and understood literally, and the sun is declared to have stayed in the midst of heaven, and to have hasted not to go down about a whole day. No other example is quite so clear as this ; but there are several miracles of which some misinterpreted poetical phrase offers a more or less plausible explanation, among them being those related in *Num.* xx. 8 f. (cf. *Num.* xxi. 17, 18), *Josh.* vi. (cf. the Greek phrase *αὐτοβοεὶ πόλιν ἑλεῖν*, *Thuc.* ii. 81, iii. 113), and *Is.* xxxviii. 7.

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[1] See McNeile, *Exodus*, pp. xcvii., xcviii. Another explanation of what occurred is that the Israelites, escaping in the direction of the Mediterranean coast towards Canaan, dammed back the eastern (Pelusiac) branch of the Nile, and so caused the lower part of the channel to become a swamp ; that the Egyptians entered the boggy ground ; and that the Israelites then cut the dam, allowing the waters to return, and so overwhelmed them (see Willcocks, *From the Garden of Eden to the Crossing of the Jordan*, p. 67).

[2] This happened, according to Arabic historians, in A.D. 1267 (Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, p. 249).

[3] Cf. Sanday, *Divine Over-ruling*, pp. 72–4.

A certain number of Old Testament miracles offer parallels to some of those which are recounted in the New Testament; and the most conspicuous (including some already referred to) may be enumerated here :—

(*a*) The change of water into some other fluid (*Ex.* vii. 20).

(*b*) The instantaneous cure of leprosy, or the equally speedy production of the same disease (*Ex.* iv. 6, 7, 2 *Kg.* v. 27).

(*c*) The multiplication of food (1 *Kg.* xvii. 14–16, 2 *Kg.* iv. 1–7).

(*d*) The restoration of the dead to life (1 *Kg.* xvii. 22, 2 *Kg.* iv. 18–37).

(*e*) The conception and bearing of a child by a woman of advanced age (*Gen.* xviii. 11, xxi. 1, 2).

(*f*) The ascent of a human body into heaven (2 *Kg.* ii. 1–11).

It is convenient to append here an account of two cures related by Tacitus to have been wrought upon sick and infirm persons by the Emperor Vespasian (reigned A.D. 68–79). At Alexandria the Emperor's aid was sought by two men, one blind, and the other crippled in his hand. The former begged him to moisten his eyeballs with saliva, and the other desired him to tread with his foot upon the maimed hand. The Emperor at first hesitated, but eventually consented, and at once (according to the historian) the cripple recovered the use of his hand, and the blind received his sight (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 81). The same miracles (with some variation) are reported by Suetonius (*Vesp.* 7). Tacitus wrote his *Histories* during the reign of Trajan (98–117); so that he was separated from the incident recorded by only some twenty-five or thirty years. If the cures were examples of faith-healing it may be suspected that the account (especially as regards the rapidity of the recovery) has lost nothing by repetition.

Literary Methods

From this review of the dominant ideas prevailing among the Biblical historians transition may be made to a consideration of their literary aims and methods. The difference between their usages and those followed by responsible modern historians is so great that, unless it is recognized that each age must be judged by its own standards, there is a likelihood on the one hand of the historical value of some of the Biblical writings being overrated and on the other of serious injustice being done to the motives of their authors.

1. A general characteristic of Semitic writers, in making use of earlier authorities, was the habit of reproducing not only the substance, but even the actual wording, of such authorities without any indication of indebtedness. At the present time literary honesty requires that an author, whilst assimilating the information of previous writers, should not appropriate their actual words on any substantial scale without some acknowledgment of the debt; but no sense of any obligation to do this was felt by the Hebrew historians. There existed among them no notion of property in literary compositions; authors rarely appended their names to anything which they wrote; and the important consideration for them was the utility and value of a work, not the interest or reputation of its writer; and if a book could be improved by being copied

with expansions, omissions, or other modifications in various places, large sections of it would be embodied *verbatim* in a new work by a subsequent writer without any sense that plagiarism (as it would be now considered) was thereby committed. It was on this principle that the author of the books of *Chronicles* proceeded in his use of the works of his predecessors (the writers of *Samuel* and *Kings*) as appears from a comparison of passages where the few verbal divergences are marked by italics.[1]

1 *Sam.* xxxi. 1–4

Now the Philistines fought against Israel: and the men of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and fell down slain in mount Gilboa. And the Philistines followed hard *upon* Saul and *upon* his sons; and the Philistines slew Jonathan and Abinadab and Malchi-shua, the sons of Saul. And the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers overtook him; and he was *greatly* distressed by reason of the archers.

1 *Chron.* x. 1–4

Now the Philistines fought against Israel: and the men of Israel fled from before the Philistines and fell down slain in mount Gilboa. And the Philistines followed hard *after* Saul and *after* his sons; and the Philistines slew Jonathan and Abinadab and Malchi-shua, the sons of Saul. And the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers overtook him; and he was distressed by reason of the archers.

In the following parallel the Chronicler has handled his source more freely, giving his own version of what is related; but, through misunderstanding a phrase in the source, he has been betrayed into a blunder, for *ships of Tarshish*, which probably describes a *class* of vessels, has been interpreted by him to mean ships voyaging to Tarshish (in Spain), although the port of departure was Ezion-geber (on the Red Sea).

1 *Kg.* xxii. 48, 49

Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold; but they went not; for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber. Then said Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, unto Jehoshaphat, Let my servants go with thy servants in the ships. But Jehoshaphat would not.

2 *Chron.* xx. 35–7

And after this did Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, join himself with Ahaziah, king of Israel; the same did very wickedly, and he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish, and they made the ships in Ezion-geber. Then Eliezer the son of Dodavahu of Mareshah prophesied against Jehoshaphat saying, Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the Lord hath destroyed thy works. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tarshish.

2. Hebrew historians, when reconstructing past history, were frequently in the habit of transferring to earlier times the conditions obtaining in their own. It was thought that principles and observances which they themselves were familiar with and valued must have been practised by the great characters whom they venerated; and so their origin was antedated. Thus the Chronicler, familiar with institutions and ritual which were not developed until after the Exile, represents them as existing in the time of David and other early Hebrew sovereigns; whilst the author of the Priestly code attributes the legislation enjoining them to Moses.

[1] Slight differences in the Hebrew, which are not easily represented in English, are ignored.

It is impossible in the space here available to prove by examples the statements just made [1]; but the Priestly writer's habit of ascribing to Moses usages which originated later may be illustrated by the fact that he carries back to Moses' time the custom of dividing war booty equally between the fighting and the non-fighting men (*Num.* xxxi. 26, 27), which is expressly asserted in 1 *Sam.* xxx. 24, 25 to have been initiated by David.

3. A preference for the concrete over the abstract led the Hebrew writers to represent rules which they desired to enforce, or principles which they sought to affirm, as arising out of particular occasions, which, as far as can be judged, were the inventions of the narrators. Names and other details were introduced, which give the appearance of historical reality to the incidents described, but are no guarantee that what is stated is actual history. Thus the punishment appropriate for one who blasphemed the Name of Jehovah is described in *Lev.* xxiv. 10-23 as being determined in the instance of a man who was the son of an Egyptian father by an Israelite mother, the mother's name being given as Shelomith, daughter of Dibri, a Danite. In spite of the circumstantiality of this account, it is practically certain that in so late a document as the Priestly code the name must be fictitious. Again, the legislation respecting the right of daughters to inherit their father's property in the event of his dying without a male heir is related to have arisen out of a claim made by the daughters of a certain Zelophehad, a Manassite (*Num.* xxvii. 1–11). The names of the daughters are recorded as though they were historic persons; but the fact that they are almost or altogether identical with the appellations of certain towns or clans renders it extremely probable that in this case, too, the occasion is imaginary, and the recital of it is only a method of illustrating a legal issue.[2] The same fondness for thus investing with an air of reality the imaginative reconstructions of the past has led the author or authors of this document to give names to the tribal representatives described as assisting Moses and Aaron in taking a census of the people, and to furnish precise figures of the numbers included in each tribe (*Num.* i.). In reality, the names are largely of a late, and not an early type, and the figures are inconsistent and impossible,[3] so that they can have no ancient documentary authority behind them, but must be the arbitrary choice of the compiler of the list. The presence of other details in a record is as little a guarantee of its historical value as the occurrence in it of personal names: for instance, the minuteness of description marking the book of *Esther* does not justify the conclusion that its contents are a trustworthy transcript of events.

4. In Hebrew historical writing a large place is occupied by *speeches* for which in many cases the historian himself must be responsible, as regards not only the wording but even the substance. This practice was not peculiar to Hebrew writers, but was followed also by those of Greece and Rome. For example, Thucydides, whilst claiming to have tried

[1] See Driver, *L.O.T.* pp. 129 f., 500, 501.
[2] See Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 392, 398.
[3] Id. *ib.* pp. 6, 11, 12.

to give the general tenor of what was actually said, admits that he put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments which he deemed appropriate to the several occasions (i. 22); and the admission is confirmed by the fact that, though they are uttered by very different persons, they are nevertheless all alike distinctly Thucydidean in style.[1] Again, the method pursued by Tacitus in recording speeches can be ascertained by a comparison of his reproduction of one delivered by the Emperor Claudius to certain leading Gauls (*Ann.* xi. 24), with a fragment of the actual address preserved on a bronze tablet found at Lyons. The historian, though he retains the substance of the oration, condenses it to a considerable extent, departs from the order of the topics treated, and recasts the whole in his own peculiar diction.[2] And that the custom of Hebrew writers was similar is proved by the speeches put into the mouth of David or of his successors by the writer of *Chronicles*, for these contain idioms that are distinctive of the Hebrew of the Chronicler's own age (fourth century B.C.).[3] In view of this it seems reasonable to suppose that the same thing has been done by others whose special phraseology is not so easily detected, and that many of the speeches which their narratives contain are their own compositions, representing their ideas of what the situations in question required.

5. Another feature marking the Hebrew historians which may be noticed here is the frequent absence of any sense of proportion in dealing with numbers and quantities; so that they often mention figures which must be greatly in excess of the reality which they purport to describe. Noteworthy instances of exaggeration occur in connexion with the Israelites who departed from Egypt at the Exodus (*Ex.* xii. 37, cf. xxxviii. 26), the men fit for military service in David's reign (2 *Sam.* xxiv. 9, 1 *Ch.* xxi. 5), the silver and gold amassed by the same king for the building of the Temple (1 *Ch.* xxii. 14), and the sacrifices offered by Solomon at its consecration (2 *Ch.* vii. 5). Such figures suggest caution in the acceptance elsewhere of large numbers as accurate, even though they are of more moderate proportions than these.

6. It has been already noticed that Hebrew writers took extremely little care to connect their own names with the products of their pens. Considerable as is the number of historical books included in the Old Testament, yet in the case of only one is the title which it bears the name of the author of the whole, or of the greater part, of the work; all the others are really anonymous. The same is true of some of the poetical books, including the poem of *Job*. In consequence of this indifference on the part of writers to the preservation of their memories, the recollection of the real authorship of a book speedily became altogether lost; so that when subsequent generations sought to associate a book with a person, they had no trustworthy historic clue, and accordingly ascribed it to some distinguished personality who happened to fill a conspicuous

[1] Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians*, p. 109. Jebb (*Hellenica*, p. 286) observes that in the speeches contained in Livy the rhetorical colour is uniform.

[2] See Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, ii. pp. 208–14.

[3] See Driver, *Expositor*, April, 1895, p. 241.

place in the history contained in it, even though his responsibility for it, in any full measure, is clearly out of the question. Thus, for example, the book of *Samuel* was attributed to the prophet Samuel, although the prophet's death is related in the first half of the work (represented now by the first book).[1] In a similar way the origin of the Pentateuch was connected with Moses, although of the laws which it comprises a large number can only have come into existence after his death.

The slight interest felt in the origin of literary productions sometimes seems to have caused works that almost certainly proceed from different authors to be ascribed to a single writer, error being specially easy if they happened to bear the same name. Such confusion may have occurred in connexion with sections of the books of *Isaiah* and *Zechariah*.

Quite different from the attribution of books to the wrong authors through ignorance is the deliberate adoption by a writer of another and a greater name than his own in order to secure for his work more authority than it would otherwise command. Of such pseudonymous works the Old Testament contains two examples. One is the book of *Ecclesiastes*, purporting to proceed from Solomon (eleventh or tenth century B.C.), but probably not of earlier date than the fourth century[2]; the other is the book of *Daniel*, professing to contain the visions seen and related by a Jew in Babylon in the sixth century B.C., but being almost certainly the production of a writer in the second century B.C.[3] Outside the Hebrew canon of Scripture there are numerous books bearing the names of characters famous in Israel's history, such as Enoch, Moses, Solomon, Isaiah, Baruch and Ezra, which appear to date from the first century B.C. or later. This pseudonymity was rendered almost inevitable through the reverence paid to the conspicuous personalities of antiquity, which unduly depreciated the inspiration of writers living in more recent times.

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[1] By the Jews *Samuel* was originally regarded as a single book; and it is enumerated as such by Origen, following Jewish usage (see Eus. *H.E.* vi. 25).

[2] Driver, *L.O.T.* p. 446.

[3] Driver, *ib.* p. 467.

PART II

A HISTORY depends for its essential value upon the truth and fidelity of its representations; and to ascertain the facts, if any, lying behind a professedly historical narrative is the ultimate aim of historical criticism. But before this end can be reached, various preliminary inquiries are often indispensable. When a history relates to ancient times, the preliminary work generally includes more than one stage. (1) When an account is preserved not in the original manuscript of the author but in several copies presenting numerous textual variations, it is necessary to compare and appraise the different MSS. in order to discover which among them is the least corrupted and best transmits the authentic words of the author. (2) When there exist several records purporting to relate the same series of events, but manifesting substantial discrepancies, it is needful to estimate, if possible, their respective values as historical authorities by considering what relation they bear to one another, what special sources of information may have been used by the several authors, and what aims and methods each pursued in his work. It is only when these investigations have been undertaken that it becomes possible to attempt to produce a narrative that may claim to be a fairly trustworthy version of the events which it is desired to recount, so far as the facts are recoverable.

Of these processes the first, distinguished as Textual Criticism, is, in connexion with the New Testament, of much less moment than the second. Though it is a matter of extreme interest to try to ascertain the actual words penned by the authors of the New Testament books, issues of material importance rarely hinge upon variations between MSS. But upon the second process, known as Documentary Criticism, grave consequences turn. For since between the Four Gospels which profess to give an account of one and the same Life there are certain divergences, the tenor of the history that is to be constructed from them is bound to be influenced by the conclusion reached as to which of the conflicting narratives is most authoritative. Documents which are not primarily historical but didactic or homiletic, like the Epistles, furnish, of course, decisive evidence for the teaching of their writers; but inasmuch as one is anonymous, and several raise doubts as to the correctness of their traditional origin, there is need of criticism in regard to these also, with a view to determining their authenticity and the value of such parts of their contents as depend upon this.

VI

TEXTUAL CRITICISM

(*a*) *Early Writing Materials*

THE commonest and cheapest material for writing purposes in ancient times was papyrus (*πάπῡρος*, called also *βύβλος*, whence *βίβλος* and *βιβλίον* [1]). This was obtained from the pith of a plant (*cyperus papyrus*), then found chiefly in Egypt and still occurring in Nubia and Abyssinia, which grows in shallow water, and is about 6 feet in height with a tufted head. The stem of the plant, which contains a cellular pith, was cut into longitudinal strips (*philyræ*) and these were then laid side by side, whilst other strips were placed transversely across them; and the sheet thus formed, after being moistened with water and paste, was pressed, dried, and smoothed. A number of such sheets, varying in size but measuring on an average about 5 inches by 10 inches, were then attached to one another by their longer edges, to constitute a roll (*volumen*), the usual number of sheets used in Pliny's time being twenty, though this figure was not constant. The writing as a rule was arranged in columns from 2 to 3 inches wide (*σελίδες*) [2], usually on one side only, the lines in the columns being parallel with the long edge of the roll. Rolls which had both their sides covered with writing (cf. *Ezek.* ii. 10) were called *biblia opisthographa*, but these would rarely be intended for sale, though authors sometimes saved material by writing on the back of a roll already filled (cf. Juv. *Sat.* i. 4–6).[3] The length of a roll was quite arbitrary, but since a long and heavy roll must have been very troublesome to handle, there was probably a demand for a convenient length. It has been calculated that the Gospel of St. Luke would require a roll measuring 31 or 32 feet; and inasmuch as *Acts* is about as long as the Third Gospel, it has been inferred that when these works were written the measurement named was that of a normal roll to which a writer

[1] Similarly the Latin *liber* primarily means the bark of a tree. The English *book*, on the other hand, comes from the A.S. *bóc*, "a beech tree," beechen wood being an early writing material.

[2] The Hebrew term was *dēlāthōth* (mistranslated "leaves" in *Jer.* xxxvi. 23, see mg.), a word which means literally "doors"; columns of writing were so called from their shape.

[3] It seems probable that the *sealed* volume referred to in *Rev.* v. 1 was a book or codex, not a roll, and that the passage should run a *book written within, and on the back* (or *outside*) *close sealed with seven seals.*

adjusted his matter if he did not wish to occupy two or more rolls. St. Mark's Gospel, which is the shortest of the four, would need a roll of 19 feet in length ; for the Epistle to the *Romans* one of 11½ feet would be necessary ; and for 2 *Thessalonians* one measuring 1¼ feet, with the contents arranged in five columns. For small works, or subdivisions of large works, there could be cut off from rolls of average length sections of suitable size, such sections being termed *tomes* (τόμοι). When a roll, called κεφαλίς (*Ezek.* iii. 3) or κεφαλὶς βιβλίου (*Ps.* xl. 7), was filled with writing, it was wound (cf. *Lk.* iv. 20, πτύξας) either upon itself, or upon a stick or two sticks (ὀμφαλός, *umbilicus* [1]), fastened to one or both of its shorter edges. In the last case it could be wound round one of the sticks as it was unwound from the other. The application of papyrus to writing purposes goes back to a remote antiquity. The earliest papyrus roll now existing, which contains a portion of a work written in the Egyptian hieratic script, has been assigned to about 2500 B.C.[2] The same material was employed for brief letters as well as for larger writings ; for instance in 2 *Joh.* 12 χάρτης doubtless means papyrus.

Papyrus was not the only material employed for writing ; more lasting but more expensive materials were the skins of sheep or goats or other small animals (διφθέραι, *membranæ*). Skins specially prepared in such a way that both sides could be used were known as *membranæ Pergamenæ* (whence the French *parchemin* and our *parchment*) since they were produced chiefly at Pergamum in Asia Minor, though they could be imitated elsewhere. The best parchment was made from the skins of very young calves, and was called in consequence "vellum" (*vitulinum* or *pellis vitulina*). The employment of skins as writing material is very early, one in the British Museum going back to the year 2000 B.C. Reference is made to μεμβράναι in 2 *Tim.* iv. 13 (where the Latin term appears in a Greek dress), and these may have been parchments, though the actual term *membrana Pergamena* is said not to appear in use until the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Probably all the original autographs of the New Testament books, as well as the earliest copies of them, were on papyrus.[3] It was plentiful at Rome and probably elsewhere under the Empire, whereas vellum was not a common writing material in the time of the early Emperors. The latter took its place from the fourth century to the fourteenth, and in turn was gradually superseded after the fourteenth century by paper. There was, of course, some overlapping, the papyrus period in the case of the New Testament lasting as late as the seventh century.[4] When vellum was employed, it was often coloured purple or some other bright tint, and purple vellum *codices* (p. 126) occur among extant MSS., one of them obtaining its name from its colouring (*Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*).

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[1] These terms probably denote the projecting horns at the extremities of a stick or cylinder.

[2] Papyrus rolls have been found not only in Egypt but in Italy at Herculaneum.

[3] Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 26.

[4] Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, p. 5.

For writing on papyrus the ordinary implement was a reed (*κάλαμος* (3 *Joh.* 13), *calamus*) ; but for writing on the harder surface of parchment a quill could be used. In early times the ink (*μέλαν*, *μελάνιον*) commonly employed was composed of water mixed with soot and rendered adhesive with gum, whilst other ingredients for ink were gall apples and the liquid of the cuttle-fish (*sepia*). What was written could be blotted out (cf. *Ex.* xxxii. 33), or, if on parchment, could be washed off (*Num.* v. 23). Coloured inks, especially red, were used in the Middle Ages, chiefly for ornamental purposes (examples of such being found in existing MSS.), whilst other materials both for writing and for decoration were silver and gold. There exist no manuscripts of the New Testament inscribed with gold lettering, but several are written in silver letters on a purple ground. These purple codices are supposed to have originated at Constantinople.

A roll, when completed, was tied, wrapped up in a cover (often of coloured vellum) called *φαινόλης* or *φαιλόνης*, labelled, and then placed for safe keeping in a circular box or canister (*κιβωτός*, *κίστη*, *cista*, *capsa*, *scrinium*). If the matter inscribed on the manuscript was intended to be protected against perusal by unauthorized persons, the edge of the roll might be sealed. The trouble involved in continually taking out a roll from its receptacle, unfolding it, and keeping it open for the purpose of copying a statement was enhanced by the fact that ancient writers did not use writing-desks large enough to accommodate an open roll, but unfolded it upon their knees. The inconvenience of consulting documents of this nature helps to explain the inexactness with which a writer sometimes reproduced the authorities which he followed, preferring after the perusal of a passage to draw upon his recollection of it, when committing it to writing, rather than go to the trouble of inspecting the original repeatedly. Works produced under such circumstances could scarcely fail to exhibit departures from the authorities transcribed ; and many of the divergences manifest in those Gospels which seem to be directly dependent upon an earlier document are readily explained by failures of memory occurring in the process of transcription. As rolls made of papyrus must have been frail, the fact accounts for the non-survival of any MSS. of the New Testament written on that material except the merest fragments (p. 128). The process of frequently unfolding and refolding rolls of papyrus was especially calculated to cause harm to them at the ends ; and probably the mutilation which the final chapter of St. Mark's Gospel has apparently undergone finds in this its explanation.

Both papyrus and parchment, when intended for writings of considerable length, could be used in another form beside that of the roll—viz. the *codex*. This was a collection of sheets of either of the two materials named, which, folded down the middle and placed inside one another, were then stitched or otherwise fastened at the crease. Owing to the convenience of this arrangement for lengthy works by (1) affording ease in handling, (2) facilitating the finding of references, (3) enabling both sides of the material to be utilized, (4) admitting a number of separate writings to be united in a single volume, the employment of codices made

of papyrus began as early as the third century A.D., and possibly earlier (cf. p. 124).

The fact that codices are later than rolls is incidentally shown by the circumstance that in the case of the earliest surviving, the contents of each page are arranged in several narrow columns, though there was obviously not the same necessity for such an arrangement in the case of a page as in the case of a roll. The Sinaitic and the Vatican MSS., which are the oldest (p. 142), have respectively four and three columns on a page; whereas those of a slightly later date, including the Alexandrian MS., have only two. This last was the commonest number, though the Paris and Bezan MSS. have only one. The circumstance that in the case of many MSS. each page contained several columns conduced to the liability of passages becoming misplaced; for if one or more verses happened to be accidentally omitted by a copyist, who then inserted in the space between two columns the passage which he had overlooked, the marginal insertion might by a subsequent copyist be introduced into the wrong column. In the codex, as in the roll, clauses were not regularly separated by punctuation, or words accented, until about the ninth century A.D. The number of lines in the columns of a codex usually remained fairly constant, though the figure varied somewhat. In the New Testament the Vatican MS. (B) has from forty to forty-four lines in a column, the Sinaitic MS (ℵ) has forty-eight, and Codex Claromontanus has twenty-one. As parchment or vellum would allow the ink of a writing to be washed or scraped off, codices of this material (which was not always easy to procure) were sometimes used twice over, the earlier writing being more or less thoroughly erased. Such codices are known as *palimpsests* (of which the Paris MS. symbolized by C is a conspicuous example), and others are those known as P, Q, R, Z and Ξ.

In connexion with the subject of ancient writing materials and the impediments which their clumsy nature threw in the way of historical and literary researches, attention may be called to the absence in antiquity of many of the facilities which in modern times are at the disposal of investigators and writers, and enable them to attain a degree of accuracy and precision which was impossible in the past.

1. There did not exist in ancient times anything equivalent to the encyclopædias and other books of reference which in the present day so greatly aid inquiry. There were libraries in various places, the best-known and most important being those at Alexandria, founded and enlarged by various Ptolemies; whilst two were established at Rome by Augustus. But a visit to such collections was not within reach of all; and it is not likely that their treasures could be as easily consulted as are those of modern libraries.

2. A great drawback to accuracy of description was the absence of maps. Without such helps statements as to distances and directions, at least in connexion with unfamiliar regions, can scarcely fail to be vague; so that it is not surprising that ancient writers were often loose and misleading in their references to the position of places and their relation to other localities.

3. A still more serious obstacle to exactness in the writing of history was the lack of a recognized chronological era. Early historians made shift to date events by various devices, one of the commonest being to fix the time when notable occurrences happened by reference to contemporary kings or magistrates (like the archons at Athens or the consuls at Rome). But this method furnished no clear historical perspective, and, in the absence of a system of synchronisms, could only be of limited value. (In the books of 1, 2 *Maccabees* years are reckoned from the Seleucid era, which began in 312 B.C. (see 1 *Macc.* i. 10, etc.)).

(*b*) *Manuscripts and Versions*

As none of the autographs of the several writers whose works compose the New Testament have survived, the original text of their writings, from which the multitude of existing MSS. have descended through a series of intermediate MSS. (likewise lost), has to be reconstructed so far as possible by a process of inference from its present-day representatives. It is the task of textual criticism to determine, with a view to this, the value of the different authorities which are available.

The principal authorities are four:—(1) Fragments of Greek *papyri*, containing merely short portions of the New Testament; (2) *Greek vellum MSS.*, divided into (*a*) *Uncials*, (*b*) *Minuscules* or *Cursives*; (3) *Versions* (in various languages); (4) *Quotations in Patristic writers.* Of these the most important and valuable are the Greek MSS., for they were written in order to reproduce accurately the original autographs of the New Testament books. Versions were likewise designed to represent the original text; but they cannot do this with the precision of Greek MSS. owing to inexactness in the equivalence of words belonging to distinct languages, and differences between linguistic idioms, which often made it necessary for a sense-translation to be substituted for a word-for-word rendering (cf. p. 133).

(1) *Papyri*

Of these there are nearly twenty fragments. They date from the third to the sixth century, and are usually denoted by an antique $\mathfrak{p}$ and a distinguishing numeral. They are preserved in various places, including London, Paris, Berlin, Philadelphia, Cambridge (U.S.A.), etc., and seldom contain more than a very few verses. The earliest are $\mathfrak{p}^1$ and $\mathfrak{p}^5$ of the third century; the most considerable in point of size is $\mathfrak{p}^{13}$ (fourth century).[1]

(2) *Greek Manuscripts*

Of the two classes into which Greek manuscripts are divided, *Uncials* and *Cursives*, the former are the most important because the earlier in origin. Uncial MSS. or *majuscules* (as they are also called) are written

[1] Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 19, 20.

in characters resembling capitals, each letter being separate.[1] *Minuscules* or *cursives* are written in a running hand, the letters in each word being connected together. The term *cursive*, in strictness, describes a careless running hand used in private writings (generally on papyrus), whilst *minuscule* denotes a literary hand, in which the letters, though connected, are carefully formed.

The uncial manuscripts of the New Testament date from the fourth to the ninth century; whereas the minuscules vary in date from the ninth to the sixteenth; the oldest of which the exact age is known goes back to the year A.D. 835. There is (as might be expected) some overlapping in the use of uncial and cursive hands; and an uncial at Oxford really forms one manuscript with a cursive at Petrograd. The MSS. included in each of these classes are conveniently distinguished by symbols. The uncials, of which there are about 168, and which are usually described by names der ved from the places whence they were obtained, or where they are now preserved, or from persons associated with their history, are denoted by the *capital letters* of the English (or Roman), Greek, and Hebrew alphabets (the letter J being omitted from the first-named alphabet, and all the letters resembling English being omitted from the second). The minuscules, which number about 2,318, are indicated by *Arabic numerals*. In addition to manuscripts, there also exist some other authorities styled *Lectionaries*, which contain passages of Scripture from the New Testament that were read at public worship. These number 1,565.[2]

It will be seen from these statements that the manuscripts available for determining the text of the New Testament are far more numerous than those which are forthcoming in the case of any other ancient writings. For though of the surviving plays of Sophocles there exist about 100 manuscripts, and of those of Æschylus some forty or fifty, yet for the first six books of the *Annals* of Tacitus the sole authority is a single MS. The uncial manuscripts of the New Testament also exceed in age those of most classical books, for the earliest MS. of Sophocles is not older than the eleventh century, the two earliest MSS. of Lucretius date from the tenth and the ninth centuries, and only in the case of Vergil are there MSS. nearly as old as the earliest New Testament codices.

Since of the uncials there are more manuscripts than there are letters of the three alphabets named above, it has been deemed expedient, in order that the letters may suffice for all, to divide the books of the New Testament into four groups, namely (1) the Gospels, (2) *Acts* and the Catholic Epistles, (3) the Pauline Epistles, (4) *Revelation*; and to distribute the successive letters to the several MSS. of each group separately. Hence the same symbol may denote different MSS., according as it is employed in connexion with one group or another. For example, H represents three distinct uncials, Codex Seidelianus II, Mutinensis, and Coislinianus,

[1] The term *litteræ unciales* is thought to mean "letters an inch high." No existing MSS. have letters of this size, but some are written in characters $\frac{2}{3}$ of an inch high, with initials nearly twice as large.

[2] The figures are taken from Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 129.

according as the Gospels, *Acts*, and Pauline Epistles are under consideration. The same system has been extended to the figures designating minuscules, so that, since there are more minuscule MSS. of the Gospels than of the Epistles, the same codex is indicated by 33 in connexion with the Gospels and by 17 in connexion with the Pauline Epistles. But since this method is apt to cause confusion to those who are not experts, some textual critics wisely differentiate between the ambiguous symbols either by placing distinguishing abbreviations over or beside these (H^{ev}, H^{act}, H^{paul}, evan 2, act 2), or distinguishing numerals under these (H_1, H_2, H_3).

The date of a manuscript is, for the most part, determined by palæographical indications, such as the style of the letters and the presence or absence of punctuation (the earliest lacking punctuation marks), though it is occasionally fixed by a note in it stating the year when it was produced (*e.g.* the cursive 481 bears the date May 7th, A.D. 835). The oldest uncials, which are the most valuable, differ widely in their readings from one another, whereas the minuscules, which are generally of later date than the leading uncials, mostly present the same type of text. Some codices are bilingual (Greek and Latin, Greek and Egyptian, Latin and Gothic, etc.), the two languages being commonly written side by side on opposite pages (as in Codex Bezæ) ; though occasionally a Greek manuscript has an interlinear translation (*e.g.* Codex Boernerianus). Corrections of the original text are often introduced by later hands ; in such cases the original reading is marked in textual notes by an asterisk, and the corrections by a small letter ($^{a, b, c}$) attached to the symbol of the MS. In some codices alterations have been made by a series of correctors, Codex Sinaiticus having had eight correctors, and Codex Bezæ more than a dozen. It was by such later hands that the breathings, accents, and punctuation marks absent from the earliest text were commonly supplied.

The following is a list of the principal uncials (classified according as they contain the groups of New Testament books mentioned above), with the symbols, character, and date of each, and the places where they are severally preserved. The most important are marked by an asterisk.

(*a*) *Manuscripts of the Gospels*

Name.	*Symbol.*	*Character.*	*Date.*	*Place.*
*Sinaiticus	ℵ	complete	iv cent. or begin. of v	Petrograd
*Alexandrinus	A	almost complete	middle or end of v	London
*Vaticanus 1209	B	complete	iv	Rome
*Ephraemi	C	incomplete	v	Paris
*Bezæ (Gk. and Lat.)	D	almost complete	v or vi	Cambridge
Basiliensis	E	almost complete	viii	Basel
Boreelianus	F	incomplete	ix	Utrecht
Seidelianus I (or Wolfii A)	G	incomplete	x	London and Cambridge
Seidelianus II (or Wolfii B)	H	incomplete	ix	Hamburg
Cyprius	K	complete	ix	Paris
Regius	L	almost complete	viii	Paris
Campianus	M	complete	ix	Paris
*Purpureus Petropolitanus	N	incomplete	end of vi	Rome
*Sinopensis	O	fragmentary	vi	Paris

Name.	*Symbol.*	*Character.*	*Date.*	*Place.*
*Guelpherbytanus I	P	fragmentary	vi	Wolfenbüttel
*Guelpherbytanus II	Q	fragmentary	v	Wolfenbüttel
*Nitriensis	R	fragmentary	vi	London
Vaticanus 354	S	complete	A.D. 949	Rome
*Borgianus (Gk. and Lat.)	T	fragmentary	v	Rome
Nanianus	U	complete	ix or x	Venice
Mosquensis	V	incomplete	ix	Moscow
*Freer or Washington	W	complete ?	v	Detroit
Monacensis	X	incomplete	ix or x	Munich
Barberini	Y [1]	incomplete	viii or ix	Rome
*Dublinensis	Z	incomplete	v or vi	Dublin
Tischendorfianus IV	Γ	incomplete	ix	Oxford and Petrograd
Sangallensis (Gk. and Lat.)	Δ	almost complete	ix–x	St. Gall
Tischendorfianus III	Λ	incomplete	ix	Oxford
*Zacynthius	Ξ	incomplete	viii	London
Petropolitanus	Π	almost complete	ix	Petrograd
*Rossanensis	Σ	incomplete	vi	Rossano
*Beratinus	Φ	incomplete	v or vi	Berat
	Ψ	incomplete	viii or ix	Athos
	Ω	complete	viii or ix	Athos

(*b*) *Manuscripts of Acts and the Catholic Epistles*

Name.	*Symbol.*	*Character.*	*Date.*	*Place.*
*Sinaiticus	ℵ	complete	iv or v	Petrograd
*Alexandrinus	A	complete	v	London
*Vaticanus 1209	B	complete	iv	Rome
*Ephraemi	C	incomplete	v	Paris
*Bezæ	D	Acts only, nearly complete	vi	Cambridge
*Laudianus (Gk. and Lat.)	E_2	Acts only, nearly complete	vi	Oxford
Mutinensis	H_2	Acts only, nearly complete	ix	Modena
Mosquensis	K_2	nearly complete	ix	Moscow
Angelicus	L_2	Acts incomplete, Epp. complete	ix	Rome
Porphyrianus	P_2	incomplete	ix	Petrograd
	Ψ	complete	viii or ix	Athos

(*c*) *Manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles*

Name.	*Symbol.*	*Character.*	*Date.*	*Place.*
*Sinaiticus	ℵ	complete	iv or v	Petrograd
*Alexandrinus	A	incomplete	v	London
*Vaticanus 1209	B	incomplete	iv	Rome
*Ephraemi	C	incomplete	v	Paris
*Claromontanus (Gk.and Lat.)	D_2	nearly complete	vi	Paris
Sangermanensis (Gk.and Lat.)	E_3	incomplete	ix	Petrograd [2]
Augiensis (Gk. and Lat.)	F_2	incomplete	ix	Cambridge
Boernerianus (Gk. and Lat.)	G_3	almost complete	ix	Dresden [3]

[1] This symbol has been given by some New Testament Textual critics to a MS. of ninth century date preserved at Banbury.

[2] This is said to be only a faulty copy of D_2. It is sometimes styled *Petropolitanus.*

[3] By some authorities G_3 is held to be a copy, by others to be the original, of F_2. It is said to have once formed part of Codex Sangallensis (Δ).

Name.	*Symbol.*	*Character.*	*Date.*	*Place.*
*Coislinianus 202	H_3	incomplete	vi	Paris, Athens, Petrograd, Moscow, Turin, Kief
*Freer	W	complete ?	v	Detroit
Mosquensis	K_2	almost complete	ix	Moscow
Angelicus	L_2	almost complete	ix	Rome
Porphyrianus	P_2	incomplete	ix	Petrograd
	Ψ	almost complete	viii or ix	Athos

(*d*) *Manuscripts of Revelation*

Name.	*Symbol.*	*Character.*	*Date.*	*Place.*
*Sinaiticus	ℵ	complete	iv or v	Petrograd
*Alexandrinus	A	complete	v	London
Vaticanus 2066 [1]	B_2	complete	viii	Rome
*Ephraemi	C	incomplete	v	Paris
Porphyrianus	P_2	incomplete	ix	Petrograd

The following is a short list of the most valuable minuscules :—

Symbols.	*Contents.*	*Date.*	*Place.*
1	ev. act. paul	xii	Basel
13	ev.	xiii	Paris
28	ev.	xi	Paris
33	ev. act (13), paul (17)	ix–x	Paris
61	ev. act (34), paul (41), rev. (92)	xvi	Dublin
69	ev. act (31), paul (37), rev. (14)	xv	Leicester
118	ev.	xiii	Oxford
124	ev.	xii	Vienna
131	ev. act (70), paul (77)	xiv	Rome
157	ev.	xii	Rome
209	ev. act (95), paul (108), rev. (46)	xiv	Venice
346	ev.	xii	Milan
614	act. paul	xiii?	Milan

Of these 13, 69, 124, 346, with some others, are derived from a common archetype, as proved by Ferrar, and are known as the Ferrar group. They are remarkable for placing the section about the adulterous woman, which is ordinarily found in *Joh.* vii. 53–viii. 11, after *Lk.* xxi. 38 (see p. 233). Another group, which also originated from a common archetype, consists of 1, 33, 118, 131, 157, 209 and one or two besides. The cursive 33 is the most valuable of its class, and another very interesting one is 614.

(3) *Versions*

Versions are translations of the New Testament into the various languages which were spoken in those parts of the Roman world into which Christianity spread in the second and following centuries. They became necessary as soon as the new Faith was diffused among classes of people who were not familiar with Greek. It is probable that they first originated in glosses written in Greek manuscripts underneath the words of which they were the equivalent. Such interlinear glosses, if afterwards collected

[1] Sometimes denoted by Q (Swete, *Apoc.* p. clxxxii.).

and copied into a separate volume, would furnish a continuous translation, which could be used with most facility if it were transcribed on to pages opposite the original. This seems to have been done in the case of the uncial D, wherein each page of the Greek is faced by a rendering of its contents into Latin. The countries in which versions were earliest made were Syria, Italy (with Roman Africa) and Egypt. Other lands in which versions of less importance for critical purposes were produced include Armenia, Ethiopia, and Moesia (the last being occupied by the Goths, for whom a translation in the fourth century was made by Ulfilas). The value of versions in textual criticism turns upon the closeness wherewith they represent the original of which they are renderings. If a translation is made with care and accuracy, it becomes comparatively easy to reconstruct the Greek text from which it has been derived, and this reconstruction adds to the existing Greek MSS. the equivalent of another. And in the case of certain versions, the date at which they were made is prior to that of the very oldest of surviving Greek MSS., the earliest Syriac and Latin translations having been produced in the second century, and the earliest Egyptian in the third, whereas the Vatican MS. B1209 belongs to the fourth century. Hence these translations are evidence for a Greek text which was current at a date not very far removed from the age when many of the original writings of the New Testament were composed. Various causes, however, inevitably prevent a translation from being a sure clue to the exact wording of the original. Among them are the differences of idiom between one language and another, the fact that the words of one language which are roughly equivalent to those of another are rarely quite synonymous with them (making it impossible to infer with certainty from a particular rendering which of two or more synonyms was used in the original), the absence in one language of distinctions (*e.g.* gender) exhibited by another, and fluctuations in the translator's skill and consistency.[1] Nor again is it always possible to discover the date of a version, and so to ascertain whether it is likely to have been made from early or late Greek MSS. Moreover, the autographs of the versions have disappeared like the originals of which they are renderings, and the copies of the autographs have sustained textual corruptions. Sometimes the original renderings have been deliberately corrected by reference to those of other authorities, and sometimes unintentional errors have been introduced in the mere process of copying. It is, however, obvious that accidental errors of transcription will seldom coincide in the Greek and in a translation : consequently when the quality and character of a version have been ascertained and chance mistakes have been eliminated, it becomes extremely useful for determining the original text amongst a number of variants. The maker of a translation is less likely to have departed purposely from the original than the copyist of a Greek MS. ;

[1] The lack of uniformity sometimes shown in rendering the same word, even in contiguous verses, may be illustrated from the Vulgate, where in 1 *Joh.* ii. 3–5 τηρῶμεν τηρῶν, and τηρῇ are represented by *observemus, custodit* and *servat,* whilst in *Jas.* iv. 4, τοῦ κόσμου is translated by both *mundi* and *sæculi.* So κεράμιον is rendered in *Mk.* **xiv. 13** by *lagenam* but in *Lk.* xxii. 10 by *amphoram.*

and if two or more versions, produced in places widely separate, agree, there is strong probability that the reading which they have in common goes back to the autograph. And in particular the evidence of a version is of great value in connexion with questions of additions or omissions, where accuracy of rendering is of no moment.

The different versions are about nine in all, but, as will be gathered from what has already been said, the most important are the *Latin*, the *Syriac*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Gothic*. In the case of Latin and Syriac, there are early versions and later revised versions. Thus the Latin versions are divided into the *Old Latin*, which dates from the second century, and of which the various MSS. differ widely from one another, and the *Vulgate*, a revision of the Old Latin, which was made (A.D. 384–5), by St. Jerome. Of the Old Latin version there existed three types, styled respectively, the African (the most primitive), the European, and the Italian. Of the MSS. of this version enumerated below *k*, *e* and *h* are African, *a*, *b* and *ff* are European, whilst *d*, *f*, *gig*. are Italian. Of the *Vulgate* the best MSS. are *am*, *dun*, *ful*, and *lind*. Of the *Syriac* there are similarly an *Old Syriac* (third century) represented by two MSS. known as the *Sinaitic* and the *Curetonian*; a revision of this, called the *Peshitto* (fifth century); a revision of the Peshitto, of a somewhat free character, made for Philoxenus, a bishop of Hierapolis in 508 and called the *Philoxenian*; a revision of this (in the direction of greater literalness) produced in 616 by Thomas of Harkel (Heraclea) and called after him the *Harkleian*; and an independent version, existing only in fragments, which is assigned to the sixth century, and known as the *Palestinian* (or *Jerusalem*) version. The *Egyptian* or *Coptic* versions are distinguished, according to the dialect in which they are written, as the *Sahidic* (sometimes cited as the *Thebaic*), composed in the speech of southern (or Upper) Egypt in the third century, and the *Bohairic* (sometimes called the *Memphitic*) and composed in the speech of northern (or Lower) Egypt in the third or fourth century.[1] The *Gothic* version was made in the fourth century, and exists only in fragments. All the preceding versions were made directly from the Greek; but there are some versions of later date, which are translations not of the Greek original, but of some other version. Among these are the Armenian, made from the Syriac and Latin; the Ethiopian (Abyssinian) from the Syriac; the Georgian from the Syriac and Egyptian; and the Arabic partly from the original Greek, partly from the Syriac and Egyptian.

The following is a list of the Versions, with some of the principal MSS., their dates, and the localities where they are preserved :—

Version.	*MSS.*	*Symbol.*	*Date.*	*Place.*
**Latin*				
Vetus		Lat. vet	ii cent.	
	Vercellensis (ev.)	a	iv	Vercelli
	Veronensis (ev.)	b	iv–v	Verona
	Colbertinus (ev. act. paul)	c	xii	Paris
	Bezæ (ev. act. paul)	d	vi	Cambridge

[1] Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 185. But by other scholars this version is assigned to the sixth or seventh century.

Version.	*MSS.*	*Symbol.*	*Date.*	*Place.*
	Palatinus (ev.)	e	iv or v	Vienna, Dublin
	Brixianus (ev.)	f	vi	Brescia
	Corbeiensis (ev.)	ff_1	x	Petrograd
	Corbeiensis (ev.)	ff_2	v	Paris
	Gigas (act. rev.)	g, gig	xii	Stockholm
	Claromontanus (ev. act.)	h [1]	v	Rome
	Vindobonensis (ev.)	i	v–vi	Vienna
	Bobiensis (ev.)	k	iv	Turin
Vulgate		Lat. vg	iv	
	Amiatinus	am	viii	Florence
	Cavensis	cav.	ix	La Cava, nr Salerno
	Dublinensis	dub.	viii or ix	Dublin
	Dunelmensis	dun.	vii or viii	Durham
	Fuldensis	fuld	vi	Fulda
	Toletanus	tol	viii	Madrid
	Lindisfarnensis	lind.	vii or viii	London
**Syriac*		Syr.	ii	
Vetus		Syr. vet	ii–iii	
	Curetonian	Syr. cur	v	London
	Sinaitic	Syr. sin.	iv–v	Sinai
Peshitto	[numerous]	Syr. pesh	v & foll. cent.	London and elsewhere
Philoxenian		Syr. phil	vi	Oxford, America
Harkleian	[several]	Syr. hl	vii	London, Cambridge, Rome
Palestinian	[fragments]	Syr. pal	vi	London, Petrograd, Oxford
**Egyptian*		Eg.	iii	
Sahidic	[fragments]	Eg. sah (th)	iii	Paris
Bohairic	[numerous]	Eg. boh (me)	iii–iv or vi–vii	Oxford, Paris, London
Armenian				
Vetus	[several]	Arm. vet	v	various places
Vulgate		Arm. vg.	xii	
Ethiopic	[several]	Eth.	v–vi	Paris and elsewhere
Gothic	[several]	Goth. (Go)	iv	Upsala and elsewhere
Arabic				
Georgian				
Persian				

(4) *Patristic Quotations.*

The assistance contributed to the Textual criticism of the New Testament by Patristic quotations is qualified by considerations affecting both the original writers and later copyists.[2] (1) A Patristic writer usually quotes only isolated and comparatively short passages from the New Testament books, unless he happens to be a commentator. (2) In an age when writings existed only in manuscript, and consequently were difficult to consult (p. 126), quotations would naturally be often made from memory instead of being verified by reference to documents, the

[1] The symbol *h* is also used in connexion with *Acts* and the Catholic Epp. to denote the *Codex Floriacensis*, a fragmentary palimpsest of the sixth century, now at Paris, which is also occasionally represented by *Fl.*

[2] See *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 195 foll. (Bebb).

tendency to trust to the memory being greatest in the case of homiletic writings, where various passages were often combined. (3) The original text of a Patristic work has often to be reconstructed from corrupt MSS. before it can be used as evidence in textual criticism, and such reconstruction has been only partially accomplished. Copyists were inclined to assimilate to the text current in their own time, and consequently familiar to them, any divergences occurring in the works they were reproducing. In the case of the Latin Fathers in particular, the monks, to whom the multiplication of manuscripts was often committed, and who were well acquainted with the Vulgate, were prone to substitute for the readings of the manuscript they were copying, the readings of the Vulgate text. If, however, the possibility of errors arising from these sources is kept in view, the quotations found in the writings of various Fathers are of much value as confirming or discounting the readings of MSS.; and since the approximate dates of the Patristic writers are known, they throw much light upon the text prevailing at a definite date. Further, as it can generally be ascertained in what country the several Patristic writers lived, the quotations in their works are also evidence for the type of text used in certain parts of the world (e.g. Clement of Alexandria and Origen for Egypt, Irenæus for Gaul, Tertullian for Carthage); and may help to indicate the locality whence the readings characterizing certain MSS. originated.

A brief list of important Patristic writings and writers is subjoined; of the dates many are only approximate and some uncertain:—

Clement of Rome, d. 95 or 100 ?
Epistle of Barnabas, 70–100 ?
Teaching of XII Apostles, "before rather than after 100" ? [1]
Ignatius, d. 107 or 117
Hermas, d. early second century
Aristides, d. after 133
Marcion, d. after 138
Justin Martyr, d. after 145
Polycarp, d. 156 [2]
Papias, d. 156 ?
Tatian, d. 172
Muratorian Canon, 170–180
Athenagoras, d. after 176
Hegesippus, d. after 180
Irenæus, d. 202
Clement of Alexandria, d. after 203
Hippolytus, d. after 217
Tertullian, d. 220–240
Origen, d. 253
Cyprian, d. 258
Dionysius of Alexandria, d. 265
Methodius, d. 311
Eusebius of Cæsarea, d. 340
Athanasius, d. 373
Basil, d. 379
Gregory of Nazianzus, d. 389
Gregory of Nyssa, d. 396
Ambrose, d. 397
Epiphanius, d. 403
Chrysostom, d. 407
Jerome, d. 420
Augustine, d. 430

(c) *Principles of Textual Criticism*

As has been already said, the object of textual criticism is to produce a text approximating to the original autographs by inferences based on a

[1] J. A. Robinson places it later. [2] *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 105 f. (Turner).

comparative valuation of the variant readings presented by existing MSS. and the other authorities just reviewed. The divergences that mark these authorities are due to two sources. One is the occurrence of *errors of transcription*, which are almost inevitable whenever a writing of any length is copied by hand. The likeness to one another of various letters, words, or sentences within the same line or neighbouring lines is apt to occasion the eye of the copyist to pass insensibly from one to the other and lead to the omission of all that intervenes. If the copyist is writing from dictation he may mistake one word for another similarly pronounced. Injury to a manuscript (and to accidental injury papyrus rolls, owing to the fragility of their material, must have been peculiarly exposed) is liable to cause words to be misread, and so reproduced incorrectly. Such errors as these are mechanical and inadvertent. And since every transcription involves the possibility of mistakes, the chances of such happening are increased indefinitely when a MS. becomes the ancestor of a long line of later MSS., inasmuch as in every additional copy most of the earlier mistakes will be repeated and fresh errors made. The second source is the introduction of *intentional changes* due to various causes, such as the desire to correct real or seeming faults in the text copied, to render obscure passages more lucid, to supply from another quarter additional matter, and the like. Changes of this kind, arising from the copyist's wish to replace what he has before him by what in his opinion the original author wrote or ought to have written, are more difficult to deal with than the changes resulting from mere accidental mistakes in transcription. A constant motive for intentional changes in the Gospels was the desire to assimilate the text of one Gospel to the text of another, the shorter of the two texts being expanded by the insertion of words occurring only in the longer, so as to remove divergences between them, and thus to preclude sources of perplexity. Thus in *Mk.* xiii. 18, where the best MSS. have *προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται χειμῶνος*, some introduce after *γένηται* the words *ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν* from *Mt.* xxiv. 20. It was some time before the books of the New Testament were placed on the same footing as those of the Old Testament, so that the temptation to alter the original text of them by additions or other modifications calculated to explain or improve the sense was not counteracted by any feeling of their exceptional sacredness, such as that which safeguarded in the age of the Massoretes the text of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The occurrence of transcriptional errors was facilitated by the presence of contractions ; for instance $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$ was used for *ΘΕΟΣ*, $\overline{K\Sigma}$ for *ΚΥΡΙΟΣ*, $\overline{Y\Sigma}$ for *ΥΙΟΣ*, $\overline{\Pi\Pi}$ for *ΠΑΤΗΡ*, $\overline{I\Sigma}$ for *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ*, and such abbreviations were liable to be expanded differently. The varieties of mechanical, or undesigned, changes are too numerous to be illustrated thoroughly ; but some of the commonest may be briefly enumerated and exemplified. They are :—

1. Confusion of letters formed similarly—2 *Pet.* ii. 13 *ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ* and *ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ* ; *Rom.* v. 1 *ΕΧΟΜΕΝ* and *ΕΧΩΜΕΝ* ; 2 *Cor.* i. 15 *ΧΑΡΙΝ* and *ΧΑΡΑΝ* ; *Acts* xii. 25 *ΕΙΣ* and *ΕΞ* ; perhaps 1 *Tim.* iii. 16 *ΟΣ* and $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$(= *θεός*) ; 1 *Tim.* i. 4 *ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΝ* and *ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΝ*.

2. Confusion of letters similarly pronounced—*Acts* xxvii. 39 *ἐξῶσαι* and *ἐκσῶσαι*; *Rev.* i. 5 *λύσαντι* and *λούσαντι*; xvii. 8 *καίπερ ἐστί* and *καὶ πάρεσται*; *Mk.* ix. 40 *ἡμῶν* and *ὑμῶν*.[1]

3. Repetition or omission of neighbouring syllables or letters (identical or similar)—*Acts* xxviii. 1 *ΜΕΛΙΤΗΝΗ Η ΝΙΣΟΣ* and *ΜΕΛΙΤΗ Η ΝΗΣΟΣ*; xxviii. 13 *ΠΕΡΙΕΛΟΝΤΕΣ* and *ΠΕΡΙΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ*; 1 *Th.* ii. 7, *ἐγενήθημεν ἤπιοι* and *ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι*; *Tit.* ii. 5. *οἰκουργούς* and *οἰκουρούς*; *Lk.* vi. 35 *μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες* and *μηδένα ἀπελπίζοντες*,

4. Transposition of letters or syllables—*Mk.* xiv. 65 *ἔλαβον* and *ἔβαλλον* (*ἔβαλον*); *Acts* xxiii. 23 *δεξιολάβους* and *δεξιοβόλους*.

5. Different division of adjoining words—1 *Tim.* iii. 16 *ὁμολογουμένως* and *ὁμολογοῦμεν ὡς*; *Mk.* xv. 6 *ὃν παρῃτοῦντο* and *ὅνπερ ᾐτοῦντο*; 2 *Th.* ii. 13 *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* and *ἀπαρχήν*.

6. Misinterpretation of abbreviations—*Acts* vii. 46 *τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰακώβ* (mistaken expansion of *τῷ κῷ (=κυρίῳ) Ἰακώβ*; *Joh.* i. 18 *μονογενὴς θεός* (mistaken expansion of *μονογενὴς υ̅ς̅ (=υἱός)*).

7. Confusion of letters and numerals—*Acts* xxvii. 37 *ΠΛΟΙΩ C̄ (=πλοίῳ διακόσιαι)* and *ΠΛΟΙΩ ΩC (=πλοίῳ ὡς)*.

8. Absence of punctuation and other diacritic marks—*Jas.* v. 6 *οὐκ ἀντιτάσσεται ὑμῖν* (affirmatively or interrogatively); 1 *Cor.* vi. 4 *καθίζετε* (imperatively or interrogatively); 1 *Cor.* xvi. 3 (comma before or after *διʼ ἐπιστολῶν*); *Mk.* iv. 20 *ἐν τριάκοντα* and *ἓν τριάκοντα*.

9. Incorporation of words supplied in the margin or otherwise to complete the sense—1 *Cor.* iv. 6 *μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται*, with or without a following *φρονεῖν*; 1 *Tim.* vi. 7, *ὅτι* or *δῆλον ὅτι*; *Mk.* xii. 32 *εἷς ἔστιν* or *εἷς ἔστιν θεός*; *Mt.* x. 42 *ψυχροῦ* or *ψυχροῦ ὕδατος*.

In the correction of accidental errors of transcription it is a sound principle, in cases where two alternative readings are equally plausible, to prefer that which, if original, accounts best for the existence of the other. The abundance of textual authorities (manuscripts and versions) for the New Testament renders it seldom necessary to have recourse to conjecture; but in a few instances it seems probable that some errors (transcriptional or otherwise) have occurred for which no surviving authority affords a means of correction, so that conjectural emendation seems unavoidable. Examples of such are *Mk.* iv. 29 *ὁ καρπός*, conj. *ὁ καιρός*; v. 20 *ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΔΕΚΑΠΟΛΕΙ*, conj. *ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΟΛΕΙ* (cf. *Lk.* viii. 39), the I of THI having been taken for the numeral "ten"; *Rev.* xviii. 17 *ΤΟΠΟΝ*, conj. *ΠΟΝΤΟΝ*; *Acts* ii. 9 *Ἰουδαίαν*, conj. *Γορδυαίαν*; xx. 28 *τοῦ ἰδίου*, conj. addition of *υἱοῦ*; *Col.* ii. 18 *ἃ ἑόρακεν ἐμβατεύων*, conj. *ἀέρα κενεμβατεύων*; *Heb.* xi. 37 *ἐπειράσθησαν*, conj. *ἐπρήσθησαν*; 1 *Tim.* vi. 19, *θεμέλιον*, conj. *θέμα λίαν*.

But errors of transcription such as those illustrated are much less important than the alterations of the text that have been made by copyists purposely. Intentional changes owe their origin, as has been said, to various motives; and copyists, in making them, sought among other things:

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[1] Probably there was little distinction in the pronunciation of these pronouns, and they seem often to have been confused: cf. 1 *Cor.* xv. 14, 1 *Th.* i. 9.

(i) to replace a rare or unfamiliar word by one more readily intelligible (*e.g.* 1 *Cor.* ix. 9 *κημώσεις* and *φιμώσεις* [1]).

(ii) to substitute for a word which might be misunderstood another more explicit and unambiguous (*e.g.* 1 *Cor.* vii. 39 *κοιμηθῇ* and *ἀποθάνῃ*).

(iii) to correct a real or supposed error (*e.g. Lk.* iv. 44 *τῆς Ἰουδαίας* and *τῆς Γαλιλαίας*).

(iv) to harmonize discrepant statements in parallel passages (*e.g.* 1 *Cor.* xi. 24, the addition after *εἶπεν* of *Λάβετε, φάγετε*, cf. *Mt.* xxvi. 26).

It is to this class, consisting of deliberate alterations, that most of the variant readings occurring in the different authorities belong, and it is the chief task of textual criticism to endeavour to distinguish among such those readings which reproduce the original, and those which have been designedly introduced by some later copyist. The most obvious test to apply is that of *intrinsic probability*, it being assumed that the reading which yields the best sense is likely to be the text which the author wrote. Under certain circumstances this is decisive ; but in general, and when applied in isolation, it is untrustworthy, since the author may have expressed his meaning badly, and a copyist, improving upon him, may be responsible for the more plausible reading. The test that suggests itself next is that which is afforded by the mere process of counting the *number of manuscripts* supporting the conflicting readings, and adopting that which has the majority of authorities in its favour. This, however, may also be misleading, for it assumes that of two MSS. one containing a genuine and the other a corrupted text, the former would be reproduced on a larger scale than the latter, whereas a great demand for copies in one locality may have caused a bad MS., if the only one available, to be multiplied frequently, whilst the absence of any such demand in another locality may have prevented the multiplication of copies of a much better MS. there procurable. A more satisfactory, though, if taken by itself, still a fallacious, test is the *age of the manuscripts* that can be cited in favour of one or other of the variants. There is a presumption that the more ancient a MS. is, the less corrupt it is likely to be. Nevertheless there is no certainty that this is so, for of two MSS. which differ in respect of a particular passage, the older may have been copied from another of only a little earlier date than itself, whereas the younger may have been copied from a very ancient MS. ; so that the relative age of the two surviving MSS. is no sure clue to the antiquity of the readings contained in them. More reliable evidence for the age of a particular reading is in some cases afforded by the *earliest versions* (if the dates of these can be ascertained with fair precision and by the quotations in the *earliest Patristic writers* (whose dates are known). As has been seen, the chief versions that can be dated with approximate exactness are the Latin Vulgate, the Gothic and the Harkleian Syriac versions ; the dates of the others are inferential. But it seems generally agreed that the Old Latin, the Old Syriac and the Egyptian

[1] The various readings noted in the course of the following pages render the multiplication of examples here unnecessary.

Sahidic versions are the earliest, and go back to the beginning of the third or even the end of the second century. These, therefore, must have behind them better Greek manuscripts than any now existing; and subject to the qualifications previously mentioned (p. 133) they are themselves practically equivalent to very early Greek MSS. The same is true of the Fathers. Various cautions have to be observed in appealing to the evidence which their writings afford (see p. 155); but when it is sufficiently clear that the text of these works has not been corrupted, and that their writers, in quoting particular passages, were using a manuscript and not drawing upon their memory, they are for those passages as good as dated MSS. and show when and where a particular type of text prevailed. Readings, then, which have the combined support of the earliest extant Greek MSS., the oldest versions, and quotations from the most ancient of the Fathers, especially if the evidence comes from widely-severed regions, have strong claims to be original as compared with readings which have in their favour the large majority of the remaining Greek MSS. but lack attestation from the earliest versions and Fathers.

The agreement of the early versions and Fathers with certain MSS. or groups of MSS. (if it is tolerably constant) accredit such MSS. as being good ones, so that they have some claim to be trusted even in cases where on grounds of intrinsic probability the readings of other MSS. seem to deserve the preference. The *prima facie* plausibility of particular readings can then be re-considered in the light of the value of the documents containing them; and the latter factor may turn the balance against a reading which at first sight appears to be better than its rival. The MSS. which are thus recommended in consequence of the support which their peculiar readings receive from versions and Fathers will best be shown by examining the evidence for the various readings in a few selected passages.[1]

1. *Mk.* ix. 38.

(i) *ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκωλύσαμεν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν* A E F G H K M N, etc., most minuscules, Syr. (hl.), Go.

(ii) *καὶ ἐκωλύομεν* (or *ἐκωλύσαμεν*) *αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν* (or *μεθ' ἡμῶν)* ℵ B C L Δ Ψ, a few min., Lat. (vet. *f*), Syr. (vet.$^{sin.}$, pesh., pal.), Eg. (sah., boh.), Eth.

(iii) *ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν* (or *μεθ' ἡμῶν*) *καὶ ἐκωλύομεν* (or *ἐκολύσαμεν*) *αὐτόν.* D X, a few min., Lat. (vet. *a k*), Syr. (hl. mg.).

2. *Mk.* ix. 49.

(i) *πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται.*
A C E F G H K M N, etc., most min., Lat. (vulg.), Syr. (hl. pesh.), Arm., Go., Eth.

(ii) *πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται.*
ℵ B L Δ, some min., Eg. Lat. (vet. *k*), Syr. (vet.$^{sin.}$).

(iii) *πᾶσα γὰρ θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται.*
D, two min., Lat. (vet.).

[1] Cf. Westcott and Hort, *New Testament, Introd.*, pp. 100–104; Souter, *Novum Testamentum Græce.*

3. *Lk.* xxiv. 46.

(i) *οὕτως γέγραπται καὶ οὕτως ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν.*

A N X Γ Δ Λ Π, other late uncials, Lat. (vulg.), Syr. (pesh. hl.), Eg. (sah., some codd.).

(ii) *οὕτως γέγραπται παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν.*

ℵ B C D L, Lat. (vet.), Syr. (pal.), Eg., Eth.

(iii) *οὕτως ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν.* Some min., Syr. (vet.$^{\text{sin.}}$), Arm.

4. *Lk.* xxiv. 53.

(i) *αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεόν.*

A F H K M, all min., Lat. (vulg.), Syr. (pesh. hl.), Arm., Eth.

(ii) *εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεόν.*

ℵ B C L. Syr. (vet.$^{\text{sin.}}$ pal.), Eg.

(iii) *αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεόν.*

D, Lat. (vet.).

An examination of the above passages shows that the readings under (i) are much fuller than those under (ii) and (iii) and virtually include them; and the fact can be explained by one of two hypotheses. Either the reading in (i) is the original in each case, and those in (ii) and (iii) have been abbreviated from it; or else the original reading is found in either (ii) or (iii), whilst (i) has arisen from a combination of these (a process known as "conflation"). Which of these explanations is the more plausible may antecedently be a matter of opinion, though probably to the majority of minds it will seem more likely that a copyist expanded by inclusion of variants than shortened by omissions, and that consequently the readings in (i) are conflate, combining those in (ii) and (iii) instead of these latter being independent abbreviations of the more extensive texts in (i). But a conclusion may be reached of a less subjective character if it is observed that the readings marked (i) are attested mostly by late versions, like the Gothic (fourth century), the Vulgate (fourth century), the Peshitto and Harkleian Syriac (fifth and seventh century), the Armenian (fifth century), and the Ethiopian (fifth or sixth century), whereas those marked (ii) and (iii) have together the support in general of the Old Syriac (third century), the Old Latin (second or third century), and the Egyptian versions; though this support is distributed between them. The two latter groups of readings, therefore, appear to be earlier than the first group, so that in spite of the numerical preponderance of manuscript authority which can be cited in favour of the first group, this group is less likely to be original than its rivals, and the readings included in it really seem to have been formed by uniting the shorter readings in the other groups. If this is so, then a clue is afforded to the relative authority of different MSS.; so that in judging of the support forthcoming for alternative readings in various passages, the MSS. which attest each have to be valued as well as counted, their value depending upon the proof previously obtained that they are in the habit of preserving readings of early date. Such proof is furnished partly, as has been seen, by the evidence of the earliest versions, and partly by the readings that occur in quotations by the earliest Fathers. Now, in the case of the numerous MSS. which agree in having the readings

distinguished as (i), this proof seems to be lacking ; the supporting versions are comparatively late, and the Fathers that quote their readings did not live before the fourth century. Accordingly where they conflict with MSS. which, though fewer, can be shown in crucial instances to possess early readings, as tested by Versions and Fathers, they must be judged to be of inferior worth. Their greater numbers cannot outweigh the testimony of those whose value has been established in the way described. Though it is by no means intrinsically incredible that late MSS. should possess an early text, through being copied from an early parent MS. (p. 139), yet these, in reality, seem to be derived from a comparatively late parent MS., the scribe of which aimed at producing as full a text as possible by incorporating all or most of the variations which he found in the manuscripts before him, instead of adopting those only which rested on the earliest and best authority. The mere numerical preponderance of the codices which reproduce the readings of this hypothetical late document is for critical purposes a matter of indifference. For if by some fortunate chance the immediate ancestor of a group of MSS. should be found, it is plain that the derivative MSS. could be disregarded ; and the same is also true, if the existence of such an ancestor is not established by actual discovery but only inferred on good grounds from a study of existing MSS. A group of MSS. which share some peculiarity must have been copied from a single MS. which was marked by it ; and if that peculiarity is judged, by comparison with the readings of another group of MSS., to be an error, any disproportion in the number of MSS. included in the two groups is of no account. Thus the genealogy of MSS., if ascertainable, nullifies the value which would otherwise attach to numerical superiority of MSS. Participation in erroneous readings points to derivation from a corrupted source, and a thousand copies of a corrupted MS. are of no more worth than one.

The choice between the readings grouped under (ii) and (iii) on the score of antiquity is difficult to decide. Those marked (ii) are supported by the two oldest extant Greek MSS. ℵ and B ; and the *primâ facie* value attaching to the readings of these MSS. by reason of their age is confirmed by the corroboration which they receive from the early versions. But the readings arranged under (iii) are also bound to be ancient, for though D, the only uncial that generally supports them, is a MS. of later origin than ℵ and B, its text often has the corroboration not only of the Old Latin version, but of the Old Syriac versions, and so is both early and widely attested. Hence in deciding between them the appeal in the last resort has to be made to the intrinsic probability of particular readings. As compared with the text of ℵ and B, the text of D and its supporters is often marked by additions, of which some are certainly interpolations, whilst others have all the appearance of being original, so that the question of the exact value of this text in general is a subject of much discussion.

An extensive comparison of existing MSS. and versions on the lines just illustrated has caused them to be divided into three groups, exhibiting different types of text, though many MSS. have a mixed text (see below, p. 147).

The first type corresponding to that which is exemplified by the readings

marked (i) above is conveniently known as the *Syrian*, or preferably the *Antiochene* text, and has been designated by the symbol *a*. It is called Antiochene because its readings coincide with those found in the writings of St. Chrysostom (d. A.D. 407) and other Fathers connected with Antioch. Its most striking characteristics are smoothness of diction and fullness of matter, results attained by the conflation of readings occurring in MSS. of the other two types of text; and where it has not combined the readings of both, it reproduces first those of one and then those of the other, sometimes with and sometimes without modification. These facts imply that the writer or writers who originated this type of text had documents belonging to the other groups before them, so that it must be later in date than the rest. The inference as to its comparative lateness is confirmed by the fact that readings marked by the features just described are not found in any Fathers "before the middle of the third century at the very earliest,"[1] and occur chiefly in Patristic writings from the time of Chrysostom onwards. The formation of this text is considered by Westcott and Hort, on the strength of the marked consistency of method observable in it, to be the result of deliberate editing, it being supposed that a revision of the text previously current in the Church took place at Antioch about the middle of the fourth century, though there exists no direct evidence of such a revision in any ecclesiastical historian. This text is virtually identical with the so-called *textus receptus*,[2] which prevailed in the Church for nearly fifteen centuries, and is represented by the Authorized Version.

The Uncial MSS. which in general exhibit this type of text are:

In the Gospels A E F G H K M N (generally) S U V $\Gamma\Delta$ (except in *Mk.*) $\Lambda\Pi\Phi$ and most cursives.

In *Acts* and the Catholic Epistles H_2 K_2 L_2 P_2.

In the Pauline Epistles K_2 L_2.

In *Revelation* B_2 (= Q).

Among the versions the Peshitto Syriac sometimes supports it.

The second type of text, illustrated by the readings marked (ii) occurs in the two most ancient of our existing Greek MSS. (viz. ℵ and B) and in some of the earliest versions. By Westcott and Hort it is regarded as the residual text which remains when all readings are eliminated which for various reasons (such as paraphrase, assimilation, interpolation, omission or stylistic improvement) may be deemed corrupt. Hence, as being free from the tendencies manifested by other types of text towards the deliberate modification of the original in divergent directions, it has been termed by them the *Neutral* text, though, as its value is disputed by some textual critics, it is best styled the β text. Its readings are found in the writings of the Alexandrian Fathers Clement and Origen as well as in the later writers Eusebius and Cyril, so that it might be called the *Alexandrian* text, if this term had not been given by Westcott and Hort to another, differing

[1] Westcott and Hort, *New Testament, Int.*, p. 114.

[2] A term derived from a phrase occurring in the preface of an edition of the New Testament published by the Elzevirs in 1633, "*Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum.*" This edition was practically identical with those of Stephanus (1546, 1549 and 1550) and of Erasmus (1516–1535).

slightly from the β text and conveniently symbolized by γ, which will be noticed below. The β text has decidedly earlier attestation among Patristic writers than the α text, the date of Clement being the end of the second century, and that of Origen the first half of the third century. It is because the MSS. ℵ and B (if purely transcriptional errors on the part of the copyists who wrote them be allowed for) approach most nearly to this type of text that they are rated so highly by Westcott and Hort. Of the two B is considered by these scholars as the more authoritative when they come into conflict with one another; and though it is by no means exempt from careless mistakes of transcription, it has been pronounced by another scholar [1] to be the only MS. of the New Testament which preserves a text free from any signs of deliberate revision. When ℵ and B are in agreement, their authority is held by their defenders to outweigh, generally speaking, that of any other combination of MSS. Thus in *Mt.* xi. 19 these two MSS. are the only uncials that have *καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς*, though they are supported by Syr.^{pesh}, Eg.^{boh}, and some Armenian and Ethiopic manuscripts; and their combined authority is held to outweigh that of C D E F G K L M N Σ, supported by almost all cursives, the Old Latin version, the Vulg. and the Syr.$^{cur\ and\ sin}$, which instead of *ἔργων* have *τέκνων*. Their preponderant value, however, when united as witnesses to the original text of the New Testament, or to such approximation to it as is now attainable, is conditional upon their complete independence of one another; and some critics doubt this, though the fact that there are no fewer than 3,000 differences between them in the Gospels alone[2] seems to dispose of the doubt. In some cases, however, both B and ℵ, the chief authorities for the β text, seem, as compared with the δ text or even the α text, to contain readings which are almost certainly erroneous (*e.g. Mk.* iv. 21, *ὑπὸ τὴν λυχνίαν*, others, *ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν*; *Acts* xi. 20, *Ἑλληνιστάς*, A D *Ἕλληνας*; *Acts* xii. 25, *εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ*, A *ἐξ Ἰερ.*, D E *ἀπὸ Ἰερ.*

The principal MSS. (including the two just named) which support the β type of text are:

In the Gospels ℵ B L C (less regularly) T X (both these sometimes) *Y* and *Δ* (in *Mk.*).

In *Acts* and the Catholic Epistles ℵ B A C (generally).

In the Pauline Epistles ℵ B A C P_2.

In *Revelation* (which is lacking in B) ℵ C (generally).

Of the cursives 33 and 81 frequently exhibit readings of the β type. Among the versions that countenance it are the Egyptian (especially the Bohairic) and some form of the Old Syriac.

The subdivision of the β text which is denoted by γ is not a very important variety. Its peculiar readings appear to be deliberate improvements of the style and diction, but are not in substance of great moment. They are not found as a whole in any single MS., but they are thought to be discernible in ℵ C L X and the cursive 33 where these are not supported by B.

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[1] B. Weiss (see Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 309).

[2] Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*, p. 600 (J. O. F. Murray).

The third distinctive type of text is customarily known as the *Western* Text, though it is also called the *Syro-Latin*, and is best designated as the δ text. The most important uncial that commonly, but not invariably, exhibits it is D ; but it is also found in two of the oldest versions, the Old Latin and the Old Syriac. It occurs in the quotations of Justin Martyr (d. middle of second century), Irenæus (fl. *circ.* 180), Tertullian (fl. *circ.* 200), and Cyprian (fl. *circ.* 240) ; so it is quite as old as, if not older than, the β text. But though, as has been already said, it contains some peculiar readings which seem to be authentic, yet in general in this variety of text the original appears to have been treated with exceptional freedom, so that one textual critic has pronounced it " by far the most depraved text." It is characterized by paraphrastic interpretations, harmonistic assimilations, the substitution of synonyms, remarkable omissions, and even more remarkable additions, instances of the last occurring in *Mt.* xx. 28, *Lk.* vi. 4, xxiii. 53, and in numerous passages in *Acts* (see p. 252 f.). The general prevalence of additions in the δ text makes its occasional *omission of passages occurring in the β text* all the more noteworthy ; so that Westcott and Hort in such cases give preference to its readings, holding that in these instances the MSS. B and ℵ, which are the main supports of the β text, have been interpolated. The passages in the δ text from which such interpolated matter is absent are styled by them " Western non-Interpolations." Striking instances occur in *Mt.* xxi. 44, *Lk.* xxii. 19ᵇ, 20, xxiv. 6, 12, 40.

The principal authorities for this text, *viz.* D, Latin vet. and Syr. sin., vary a great deal among themselves ; of these D seems the most arbitrary in its readings, and some scholars think that a consensus of Lat. vet. and Syr. sin. may yield a really primitive text even when unsupported by the great uncials.[1]

The uncials that preserve the δ text more or less uniformly are :

In the Gospels and *Acts* D.

In the Pauline Epistles (lacking in D) D_2 E_3 F_2 G_3.

In *Revelation* P_2.

Among the versions that display this type of text are, as has been said, the Old Latin and the Old Syriac, the most valuable manuscript of the former being *k* (p. 134). The Sahidic Egyptian version also often agrees with this text.

In connection with the reasoning by which it has been sought to establish the relative lateness and inferior value of the α text one argument requires some qualification. It has been shown that a feature of the α text is that its readings are usually the longest ; this feature, however, is not confined to it, but occurs occasionally in some forms of the δ text, and even of the β text. A couple of examples will suffice :

(1) *Joh.* ix. 8.

α text, τυφλὸς ἦν.

β text, προσαίτης ἦν.

δ text, τυφλὸς καὶ προσαίτης ἦν.

[1] Lake, *Text of New Testament*, p. 91.

(2) *Lk.* x. 42.

α text, *ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία.*

β text, *ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνὸς*

Instances like these may seem at first sight to destroy the claim to superior antiquity made on behalf of the *β* and *δ* texts. But length is only *suggestive* of lateness; the substantial evidence for the antiquity of these texts, as compared with the *α* text, really comes from their occurrence in the earliest versions and Fathers.

If the *β* text is held to be the one that represents most nearly the original autographs of the New Testament writers, the history of the divergences from it has been thus described.[1] Corruption began at a very early date. Absolute accuracy of transcription was little prized, and copyists freely amended or extended the text before them by additions or supposed corrections. They did this especially with regard to the Gospels, since they were tempted both to incorporate incidents in our Lord's life which were recorded in other writings, or in oral tradition, and to correct one Evangelist by another. Hence as early as the second century there came into existence, first in the East and then, by transfer, in the West, a type of text characterized by very wide departures from the original. This was the *δ* text.[2] Meanwhile at Alexandria another kind of modification was introduced. There copyists, who were accustomed to literary Greek, made alterations of a verbal character in order to improve the style of the original, whilst not seriously affecting its substance. Thus arose the *γ* text. At a later stage, as copies multiplied and textual divergences became more marked, it was sought to provide a remedy by an authoritative revision. The principles regulating it were: (1) the combination, where possible, of variant readings; (2) the removal of roughnesses and obscurities. The first resulted in the production of conflate readings, the second in the insertion of names instead of pronouns, of conjunctions to avoid asyndeton, and of familiar phrases in the place of unusual ones. These changes issued in the *α* text. The supposed revision is thought to have been effected in two stages, the first being preserved in the Peshitto Syriac, which is intermediate between the more ancient texts and that represented by the fully developed *α* text, as seen in E F N. and the bulk of the later uncials and cursives.

The relative excellence of the leading MSS. is generally estimated by the character which they present in the Gospels. But they are not homogeneous throughout, so that the one which is of the highest merit in the Gospels may not be equally good elsewhere. One cause of this was doubtless the transition from rolls to codices as documentary materials. Only small portions of the New Testament could be contained on a single

[1] The description is taken with some abbreviation from Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 300 f.

[2] *I.e.* as represented by D; the Sinaitic Syriac has a text free from some of the unfavourable characteristics of D. It has been suggested by some textual critics that the *δ* text includes a number of second century texts, varying among themselves, which were current in different places; and that the *β* and *α* texts represent successive revisions of these local texts (see *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 534).

roll ; so that when rolls were replaced by codices (which were larger) the contents of a codex would be drawn from several rolls, and these might represent different types of text. Thus A, a MS. of the four Gospels, in three out of the four has the α text ; but in *St. Mark* it has readings that agree with the β text, so that in that Gospel it must have been copied from a different original. Similarly the Vatican MS. B, which in the Gospels is the best representative of the β text, is stated to have a distinctly Western, or δ, type of text in the Pauline Epistles. A certain number of MSS. have a mixed text throughout. Thus C belongs consistently neither to the α type nor to the β type, and this prevents it from being as valuable a witness to particular readings as might be expected from its age. Other MSS. which have a mixed text are the purple manuscripts (p. 126) ℵ O Σ and Φ.

In the last resort when documentary authorities, appraised and classified in the way described, are equally divided, recourse, in the choice of particular readings, must be had to intrinsic probability, but to this only when reviewed in the light of considerations likely to have influenced a copyist, so as to account for the origin of variants. In general, where of conflicting readings one or more must be due to deliberate alteration, it is a sound principle to prefer (*a*) the harder reading, since a copyist is more likely to substitute for a word which he does not understand another which he does, than to replace a common or intelligible expression by one that is less familiar or comprehensible ; (*b*) the shorter reading, for copyists in the case of valued documents are more prone to enlarge than to reduce ; (*c*) the reading which most easily explains the existence of its rivals.

VII

DOCUMENTARY CRITICISM

(*a*) *The Synoptic Gospels*

A CURSORY perusal of the New Testament is sufficient to shew that the first three Gospels form a group which is distinguished from the Fourth Gospel by peculiarities alike of contents, arrangement, and style. A more careful reading reveals that the three Gospels thus grouped together display remarkable resemblances to one another, which are not sufficiently explained by the fact that they are occupied with the same theme. Though two of them include a number of passages which are not found in the remaining Gospel, there is nevertheless a great quantity of matter common to all three, and following for the most part the same sequence; and, in addition, whilst much of this common matter is described in variant terms by each, there occur in numerous places identical phrases. The likeness, indeed, between them is so great that for the purpose of more exact comparison Griesbach found it desirable to place them in parallel columns, so as to form what he called a *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, and in consequence they have since been known as the Synoptic Gospels. Inasmuch as very important consequences turn upon this combination of resemblances and differences, it is desirable that it should be considered further.

The extent to which the three Synoptic Gospels not only cover the same ground but also observe the same order in the arrangement of the subjects treated will be apparent from the following table, which, though not carried out into great detail, will suffice for the purpose desired. For convenience *Mark*, which is the shortest of the three, is placed in the first column; and parallel passages in *all three* or in *Mk. and Mt. together*, or in *Mk. and Lk. together*, have the same Arabic numeral prefixed, whilst parallels in *Mt. and Lk. together* apart from *Mk.* are jointly distinguished by Roman figures, so that they can be readily identified, notwithstanding any difference in the sequence in which they occur. Passages found in only one Gospel are marked by italics.

Mk.	*Mt.*	*Lk.*
	(i) [Genealogy of Jesus]	*Birth of John.*
	(ii) [Birth of Jesus].	(ii) [Birth of Jesus].
	Visit of the Magi.	*Circumcision and Presentation.*
	Flight into Egypt.	*Finding in the Temple.*

Mk.	*Mt.*	*Lk.*
1. Preaching of John in the wilderness of Judæa.	1. Preaching of John in the wilderness of Judæa.	1. Preaching of John in the wilderness of Judæa.
	(iii) Substance of John's preaching.	(iii) Substance of John's preaching.
		26. John's imprisonment.
2. Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan.	2. Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan.	2. Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan.
		(i) [Genealogy of Jesus].
3. Temptation of Jesus.	3. Temptation of Jesus.	3. Temptation of Jesus.
	(iv) Details of Temptation.	(iv) Details of Temptation.
4*a*. Departure to Galilee.	4*a*. Departure to Galilee.	4*a*. Departure to Galilee.
4*b*. Preaching there.		4*b*. Preaching there.
		Preaching at Nazareth.
		24. "Is not this Joseph's son?"
5. Call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John in Galilee.	5. Call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John in Galilee.	
6. Healing of Possessed at Capernaum.		6. Healing of Possessed at Capernaum.
	4*b*. Preaching in Galilee.	
	(v) Sermon on the Mount.	
7. Healing of Peter's mother-in-law.	9. Healing of leper.	7. Healing of Peter's mother-in-law.
8. Healing of many sick.	(vi) Healing of Centurion's servant.	8. Healing of many sick.
	7. Healing of Peter's mother-in-law.	5. Call of Peter, James, and John in Galilee.
	8. Healing of many sick.	*Miracle of the Fishes.*
9. Healing of leper.	(vii) Offers of Discipleship.	9. Healing of leper.
10. Healing of paralytic at Capernaum.	20. Stilling of the storm.	10. Healing of paralytic at Capernaum.
11. Call of Levi (Matthew)	21. Healing of *two* demoniacs.	11. Call of Levi (Matthew).
12. Debate about fasting.	10. Healing of paralytic at Capernaum.	12. Debate about fasting.
13. Plucking ears of corn on Sabbath.	11. Call of Matthew (Levi).	13. Plucking ears of corn on Sabbath.
14. Healing of withered hand.	12. Debate about fasting.	14. Healing of withered hand.
15. Appointment of the XII.	22. Healing of Jairus' daughter.	15. Appointment of the XII.
His friends think Him mad.		(v) Sermon on the Mount (part).
16. Controversy about Beelzebul.	23. Healing of woman with issue.	(vi) Healing of Centurion's servant.
17. His Mother and His Brethren.	*Healing of two blind men.*	*Raising of widow's son.*
	Healing of dumb man.	(viii) Message of John.
	15. Appointment of the XII.	*A sinful woman anoints Him.*
18. Parable of the Sower.	25. Directions to the XII.	18. Parable of the Sower.
Parable of seed growing secretly.		17. His Mother and His Brethren.
	(viii) Message of John.	
	(ix) "Woe to the cities."	
	(x) "None knoweth the Father save the Son."	

Mk.	*Mt.*	*Lk.*
19. Parable of Mustard Seed.	13. Plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath.	
20. Stilling of the Storm.	14. Healing of withered hand.	20. Stilling of the Storm.
	(xi) Healing of blind and dumb man.	
21. Healing of a demoniac.	16. "Beelzebul."	21. Healing of a demoniac.
22. Healing of Jairus' daughter.	17. His Mother and His Brethren.	22. Healing of Jairus' daughter.
23. Healing of woman with issue.	18 Parable of the Sower.	23. Healing of woman with issue.
24. "Is not this the carpenter?"	*Parable of the Tares.*	
	19. Parable of the Mustard Seed.	
25. Directions to the XII.		25. Directions to the XII.
	(xii) Parable of the Leaven.	
	Parable of the Treasure.	
	Parable of the Pearl.	
	Parable of the Drag-net.	
	24. "Is not this the carpenter?"	
26. John's imprisonment and death.	26. John's imprisonment and death.	
27. Feeding of 5,000.	27. Feeding of 5,000.	27. Feeding of 5,000.
28. Jesus' walking on the sea.	28. Jesus' walking on the sea.	
	Peter's walking on the sea.	
29. Dispute about eating with unwashen hands.	29. Dispute about eating with unwashen hands.	
30. Healing of daughter of Syrophœnician woman.	30. Healing of daughter of Syrophœnician woman.	
Healing of deaf-dumb man.		
31. Feeding of 4,000.	31. Feeding of 4,000.	
Healing of blind man.		
32. Peter's confession.	32. Peter's confession.	32. Peter's confession.
33. The Transfiguration.	33. The Transfiguration.	33. The Transfiguration.
34. Healing of afflicted boy.	34. Healing of afflicted boy.	34. Healing of afflicted boy.
	Finding of Stater in fish.	
35. "Who shall be greatest?"	35. "Who shall be greatest?"	35. "Who shall be greatest?"
36. Forbidding one casting out devils.		36. Forbidding one casting out devils.
37. Destruction of offending member.	37. Destruction of offending member.	*Rejection by Samaritans.*
	(xiii) Parable of Lost Sheep.	(vii) Offers of Discipleship.
	(xiv) Forgiveness of Offenders.	*Mission of the Seventy.*
38*a*. Departure to Judæa.	38*a*. Departure to Judæa.	
38*b*. Question about Divorce.	38*b*. Question about Divorce.	(ix) "Woe to the cities."
		(x) "None knoweth the Father save the Son."
		49. Question about the greatest commandment.
		Parable of Good Samaritan.

Mk.	*Mt.*	*Lk.*
		Martha and Mary.
		(v) Sermon on the Mount (part).
		(xi) Healing of dumb man.
		16. Controversy about Beelzebul.
		(xvii) Denunciation of Pharisees and Lawyers.
		Parable of Rich Fool.
		(v) Sermon on the Mount (part).
		Parable of the Fig Tree.
		Healing of an infirm woman.
		19. Parable of the Mustard Seed.
		(xii) Parable of the Leaven.
		38*a*. Departure towards Judæa.
		(v) Sermon on the Mount (part).
		(xv) Lament over Jerusalem.
		Healing of dropsical man.
		(xvi) Parable of the Great Supper.
		Counting the cost.
		(xiii) Parable of Lost Sheep.
		Parable of lost Piece of Silver.
		Parable of the Prodigal Son.
		Parable of the Unjust Steward.
		Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus.
		(xiv) Forgiveness of Offenders.
		Healing of Ten Lepers.
		Parable of Importunate widow.
		Parable of the Pharisee and Publican.
39. Blessing little children.	39. Blessing little children.	39. Blessing little children.
40. The great refusal.	40. The great refusal.	40. The great refusal.
	Parable of the Labourers.	
41. Request of the sons of Zebedee.	41. Request of the sons of Zebedee.	
42. Healing of blind Bartimæus at Jericho.	42. Healing of *two* blind men at Jericho.	42. Healing of blind man at Jericho.
		Zacchæus.
		Parable of the Pounds.
43. Entry into Jerusalem.	43. Entry into Jerusalem.	43. Entry into Jerusalem.
44. Cursing of the Fig-tree.	45. Cleansing of the Temple.	

Mk.	*Mt.*	*Lk.*
45. Cleansing of the Temple.	44. Cursing of the Fig-tree.	45. Cleansing of the Temple.
	Parable of the Two Sons.	
46. Parable of the Vineyard.	46. Parable of the Vineyard.	46. Parable of the Vineyard.
	(xvi) Parable of the Marriage Feast.	
47. Question about tribute.	47. Question about tribute.	47. Question about tribute.
48. Question about resurrection.	48. Question about resurrection.	48. Question about resurrection.
49. Question about the greatest commandment.	49. Question about the greatest commandment.	
50. Question about David's son.	50. Question about David's son.	50. Question about David's son.
51. The widow's mite.	(xvii) Denunciation of Pharisees and Lawyers.	51. The widow's mite.
52. Prediction of the end.	52. Prediction of the end.	52. Prediction of the end.
	Parable of the foolish Virgins.	
	Parable of the Talents.	
	The Sheep and the Goats.	
53. The Anointing at Bethany.	53. The Anointing at Bethany.	
54. Judas agrees to betray Him.	54. Judas agrees to betray Him.	54. Judas agrees to betray Him.
55. The Last Supper.	55. The Last Supper.	55. The Last Supper.
56. Prediction of Betrayal.	56. Prediction of Betrayal.	57. The Eucharist.
57. The Eucharist.	57. The Eucharist.	56. Prediction of Betrayal.
58. Prediction of Denial.	58. Prediction of Denial.	58. Prediction of Denial.
59. Gethsemane.	59. Gethsemane.	59. Gethsemane.
60. The Arrest.	60. The Arrest.	60. The Arrest.
61. *Young Man with linen cloth.*		
62. Trial before the High Priest.	62. Trial before Caiaphas.	63. Denial by Peter.
63. Denial by Peter.	63. Denial by Peter.	62. Trial before the High Priest.
64. Trial before Pilate.	64. Trial before Pilate.	64. Trial before Pilate.
	Suicide of Judas.	*Trial before Herod.*
65. Simon of Cyrene.	65. Simon of Cyrene.	65. Simon of Cyrene.
		Address to the women.
66. The Crucifixion.	66. The Crucifixion.	66. The Crucifixion.
	Resurrection of Saints.	*The Penitent Thief.*
67. The Burial.	67. The Burial.	67. The Burial.
	Sealing of the Tomb.	
68. Appearance of an angel to the women.	68. Appearance of an angel to the women.	68. Appearance of *two* angels to the women.
	Appearance of Jesus to the women.	*Visit of Peter to the Tomb.*
[Account is not taken of the Appendix, *Mk.* xvi. 9–20, as being probably unauthentic.]	*Assertion that the body was stolen.*	*Appearance of Jesus on the way to Emmaus.*
	Appearance to the disciples in Galilee.	*Appearance of Jesus to the Apostles at Jerusalem.*
		The Ascension.

Even from a brief examination of the preceding table a few salient facts at once emerge: (i) Although nearly all of the sections into which *Mk.* is divided are included in *Mt.*, the *order* of them, in the earlier part of the narrative, varies in the two Gospels. (ii) A small *group* of *Mk.'s* sections (as distinct from isolated sections) though comprised in *Mt.*, is absent from *Lk.* (iii) The number of sections which *Mt.* and *Lk.* have in common but which do not occur in *Mk.* is considerable. (iv) Though each of the Gospels has certain sections peculiar to itself, the number of such sections is largest in *Lk.* But closer consideration will reveal other facts of greater significance on which it is desirable to concentrate attention for the present. (I) Though each of the two longer Gospels contains at its beginning and end matters not recorded in *Mk.* (each differing from the other in respect of this additional matter), yet they both include the beginning and the end of *Mk.* (II) Whilst (as has been noticed) the arrangement of *Mk.* is considerably altered by *Mt.*, and is not uniformly maintained even by *Lk.*, yet with very insignificant exceptions the relative order of *Mk.'s* sections is preserved in one or other of the companion Gospels. These two facts suggest that behind all three Gospels there is a common written ground-work, for otherwise the sequence of the separate incidents might be expected to vary more than it does, inasmuch as the succession of a number of events becomes very easily confused if the memory is unaided by a document. But before coming to any conclusion respecting the nature of the ground-work to which both the range and the order of the common subject-matter point it is expedient to examine in detail the phraseology employed in parallel accounts of the same topics, with a view to observing again the features of both likeness and unlikeness that are presented. It will conduce to clearness if some accounts are placed side by side for comparison :—

(*a*) *Mk.* ix. 17, 18	*Mt.* xvii. 15, 16	*Lk.* ix. 38–40
Teacher, I brought unto thee my son, which hath a dumb spirit, and wheresoever it seizeth him, it dasheth him down, and he foameth, and grindeth his teeth, and pineth away; and I spake to thy disciples that they should cast it out; and they were not able.	Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is epileptic, and suffereth grievously; for oft times he falleth into the fire, and oft times into the water. And I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him.	Teacher, I beseech thee to look upon my son; for he is mine only child, and behold a spirit taketh him and he suddenly crieth out; and it teareth him that he foameth, and it hardly departeth from him, bruising him sorely. And I besought thy disciples that they should cast it out; and they could not.
(*b*) *Mk.* x. 13, 14	*Mt.* xix. 13, 14	*Lk.* xviii. 15, 16
And they brought unto him little children, that he should touch them; and the disciples rebuked them. But when Jesus saw it, he was moved with indignation and said unto them, Suffer the little	Then were brought unto him little children that he should lay his hands on them and pray; and the disciples rebuked them. But Jesus said, Suffer the little children, and forbid them not, to come unto	And they brought unto him also their babes, that he should touch them; and when the disciples saw it, they were rebuking them. But Jesus called them unto him, saying, Suffer the little children

children to come unto me; forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.	me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven.	to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.
(*c*) *Mk.* xi. 28	*Mt.* xxi. 23	*Lk.* xx. 2
And they said unto him, By what authority doest thou these things? or who gave thee this authority to do these things?	And (they) said, By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority?	And they spake, saying unto him, Tell us; by what authority doest thou these things? or who is he that gave thee this authority?
(*d*) *Mk.* ii. 9–12	*Mt.* ix. 5–7	*Lk.* v. 23–25
Whether is easier, to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins are forgiven; or to say, Rouse thyself and take up thy pallet and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power to forgive sins on earth (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy pallet and go unto thy house. And he arose, and straightway took up the pallet and went forth before them all.	For whether is easier to say, Thy sins are forgiven; or to say, Arise and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (then saith he to the sick of the palsy), Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thy house. And having arisen he departed to his house.	Whether is easier to say, Thy sins have been forgiven thee; or to say, Arise and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he said unto him that was palsied), I say unto thee, Arise and take up thy couch and proceed to thy house. And at once he stood up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed to his house, glorifying God.

In the passage marked (*a*) the three narratives obviously relate to the same occasion, but the differences in them are very considerable, being just such variations as might occur in independent accounts of the same incident transmitted by hearsay. In (*b*) the resemblance between the three reports is quite close, and though our Lord's utterance, as being an impressive one, might be handed down orally with exactness, yet the fact that all three accounts use *in the introductory narrative*, the same verbs *brought* (προσφέρειν) and *rebuked* (ἐπιτιμᾶν) is noteworthy. But in (*c*) the speech quoted is not our Lord's, but that of the ecclesiastical authorities who interrogated Him; nevertheless, in all the accounts the same questions are couched in virtually identical words. And, lastly, in (*d*) all three writers not only reproduce Jesus' address to the bystanders and to the paralytic man in almost the very same terms, but insert a parenthesis in the same place.

The facts that here emerge about the diction of the first three Gospels point in the same direction as those already ascertained about their arrangement. The previous comparison of the Synoptists in respect of the scope and order of their contents has afforded reason for thinking that they are constructed on a common ground-plan. And the comparison just instituted between the *wording* of the three Synoptic Gospels in various parallel passages renders still more inadequate the hypothesis that they represent merely oral tradition. Such an hypothesis, though

sufficient to explain the substantial agreement in matters of fact combined with great verbal divergences, observable in the passages marked (*a*) above, does not account for the degree of verbal similarity in the passages marked (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*). In these the resemblance in phraseology is so close, amounting in places to identity, that it appears incompatible with their complete independence of one another. It is true that the *same* narrator often tells a story in a stereotyped way; but it is difficult to think that so much agreement in phrase would mark an oral story transmitted by a number of *different* narrators, separated in respect of locality and surroundings. As has been shown, identical expressions are found not alone in the speeches of our Lord, but also in the utterances of other persons, and in connexion with unimportant particulars. The only adequate explanation of such identity of phraseology is that it is derived from a written source; and that the original document, whatever it was, though reproduced in some places with great looseness, has in others been copied with precision.

The hypothesis of a written source as the best explanation of the features just described can take more than one form. (*a*) It is conceivable that the written source was in Hebrew or Aramaic, so that the common element in the three Synoptists represents a rendering of it into Greek by different translators. But the verbal agreements are too numerous and striking to be accounted for by chance coincidences between separate translations of the same non-Greek original. For instance, it is eminently improbable that the three Evangelists would each have used the rare word *πρωτοκαθεδρία* (*Mk.* xii. 39, *Mt.* xxiii. 6, *Lk.* xi. 43) as a translation of a particular Aramaic term, or would have employed the verb *ἀπαίρω* for "to take away" (as they do in *Mk.* ii. 20, *Mt.* ix. 15, *Lk.* v. 35), or the words *ὥρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ* (as in *Mk.* v. 13, *Mt.* viii. 32, *Lk.* viii. 33), or the noun *κόφινοι* in the account of the Feeding of the 5,000, or the adverb *δυσκόλως* [1] for "hardly" (as in *Mk.* x. 23, *Mt.* xix. 23, *Lk.* xviii. 24), had not the written source before them been in Greek. (*b*) It may be suggested that a narrative in Greek, now lost, was followed independently by the individual authors of the three Synoptic Gospels. (*c*) One of the three Gospels may be dependent upon the other two, or they upon it. Consideration of the second alternative may prove superfluous, if the third be examined first and found to explain the facts adequately. Now, from the table of parallel passages given on p. 148 f. it will be perceived that practically the whole of *Mk.*—610 out of 661 verses [2]—is included in one or other of the two remaining Synoptists, or in both of them together. This circumstance at once renders it probable that *Mk.* has been used by the other two Evangelists. It is conceivable, indeed, that *Mk.* has been compiled out of *Mt.* and *Lk.* by a process of selection, but three general considerations render this decidedly unlikely.

[1] This adverb does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament, and is not found in the LXX.

[2] The verses omitted in the R.V. and the last fourteen verses of ch. xvi. are not included.

For (i) since *Mk.* is the shortest of the Gospels and lacks so much that the others contain, and adds so little to what they supply, it is difficult to understand why it should have been written at all, if it was composed after them : it lacks a *raison d'être*. It is true that there are also absent from *Lk.* several sections which occur in *Mk.*, but in point of fact, *Lk.'s* omissions may be accounted for by want of space (p. 159), since, even if it is assumed that the writer of *Lk.* was acquainted with *Mk.* in its present form, his failure to include the whole of it can be explained by the desire to incorporate additional matter which would else be crowded out. On the other hand, the contents of *Mk.* are much less considerable than those of *Lk.*, so that if it were the latest of the three, the writer would not have had the same motive for borrowing so sparingly from his sources. (ii) The circumstance that when either *Mt.* or *Lk.* departs from *Mk.'s* order of events, the latter almost invariably has the support of the other, points to the arrangement in *Mk.* as being the original, from which both the First and the Third Evangelist have occasionally diverged separately, but have seldom chanced to do so together. (iii) Since it is probable that of two writings, one of which has been used in the composition of the other, the later is that in which broken constructions occurring in one of them are corrected, monotonous expressions are varied, and the style generally improved, this test also indicates that *Mt.* and *Lk.* are later than *Mk.*, for in these Gospels certain roughnesses discernible in *Mk.* are absent, as will be seen from the following examples :—

(*a*) *Mk.* iv. 30, 31, 32.	*Mt.* xiii. 31, 32.	*Lk.* xiii. 18, 19.
(*b*) *Mk.* v. 22, 23.	*Mt.* ix. 18.	*Lk.* viii. 41, 42.

Comparison of these passages in the Greek will show that, whereas some of *Mk.'s* sentences are irregular and clumsy, *Mt.* has effected some amendment, whilst *Lk.* has reconstructed them altogether.

(*c*) *Mk.* vi. 8, 9.	*Mt.* x. 9, 10.	*Lk.* ix. 3.
(*d*) *Mk.* viii. 27, 28.	*Mt.* xvi. 13, 14.	*Lk.* ix. 18, 19.

Here improvement in *Mk.'s* Greek is produced best by *Mt.*, for *Lk.*, though he has abbreviated, is not quite grammatical.

(*e*) *Mk.* iii. 31–35.	*Mt.* xii. 46–50.	*Lk.* viii. 19–21.

If these passages are examined it will be seen that, whereas *Mk.* has (*α*) six consecutive sentences introduced by *καί*, (*β*) four historic presents, the other Evangelists are more varied in their connectives and more idiomatic in their tenses, for *Mt.* has (*α*) one sentence introduced by *ἰδού*, two by *δέ*, and one by *καί*, (*β*) three past tenses ; and *Lk.* (who is briefer than the rest) has (*α*) three sentences introduced by *δέ* and one by *καί*, (*β*) four past tenses.

Against the inference here drawn in favour of the priority of *Mk.* to the other Synoptists, the weightiest considerations seem to be the following :—

(1) In certain passages *Mt.* and *Lk.* use single phrases which in *Mk.* are combined, a fact that suggests conflation by *Mk.*, who therefore must be later :—

(*a*) *Mk.* i. 32 At even, when the sun did set	*Mt.* viii. 16 And when even was come	*Lk.* iv. 40 And when the sun was setting
(*b*) *Mk.* i. 42 And straightway the leprosy departed from him and he was made clean	*Mt.* viii. 3 And immediately his leprosy was cleansed	*Lk.* v. 13 And immediately the leprosy departed from him
(*c*) *Mk.* xiv. 30 To-day, this night	*Mt.* xxvi. 34 This night	*Lk.* xxii. 34 To-day

(2) In several parallel narratives *Mt.* and *Lk.* are less detailed than *Mk.*, who therefore may be suspected of having in these cases expanded the accounts of the other Synoptists.

(*a*) *Mk.* i. 35–39 (note *vv.* 36, 37) = *Mt.* iv. 23 = *Lk.* iv. 42–44
(*b*) *Mk.* iv. 37–41 (note *v.* 38) = *Mt.* viii. 24–27 = *Lk.* viii. 23–25
(*c*) *Mk.* v. 1–17 (note *vv.* 5, 13) = *Mt.* viii. 28–34 = *Lk.* viii. 26–37
(*d*) *Mk.* vi. 35–44 (note *v.* 39) = *Mt.* xiv. 15–21 = *Lk.* ix. 12–17

But these features admit of a different explanation, and the comparative brevity of the First and Third Evangelists in the parallels just cited may be accounted for by the desire to save space, whilst in regard to what is exemplified under (1), *Mt.* and *Lk* may have simply chanced to select for inclusion in these instances different parts of *Mk.'s* redundant phrases, just as in other instances they have selected the same part (*Mk.* ii. 25 " when he had need and was a hungered," *Mt* xii. 3 and *Lk.* vi. 3 " when he was a hungered "). The preponderant evidence thus seems to support the conclusion that *Mk.* is the earliest of the Synoptic Gospels, and is, for the sections that are common to all, the primary authority upon which *Mt.* and *Lk.* have drawn.

Hitherto it has been assumed that the Second Gospel as we possess it was in the hands of both the First and the Third Evangelist, but it is now desirable to consider whether this was really the case. The facts which cause the question to be raised are of the following nature :—

(i) A few narratives, short sayings, circumstantial details, and comments found in *Mk.* are absent altogether from both *Mt.* and *Lk.* Of the narratives the principal are :—

(*a*) The attempt of Jesus' friends to seize Him because they deemed Him mad (iii. 20, 21).
(*b*) The parable of the seed growing secretly (iv. 26–29).
(*c*) The healing of a deaf and dumb man (vii. 32–37).
(*d*) The healing of a blind man (viii. 22–26).
(*e*) The incident of the young man wearing a linen cloth (xiv. 51, 52).

Of the sayings and details the most conspicuous are :—

(*a*) The note of time (ii. 26) *when Abiathar was high priest.*
(*b*) The saying about the Sabbath (ii. 27).
(*c*) The account (vii. 3, 4) of the Pharisees' habit of washing ceremonially before eating.
(*d*) The saying (ix. 50), *Have salt in yourselves*, etc.

(*e*) The saying (x. 24) about the rich.[1]

(ii) A certain number of phrases in passages derived from *Mk.* are replaced in *Mt.* and *Lk.* by different phrases *in which they both agree.* The most striking are the following:—

Mk.	*Mt.*	*Lk.*
(*a*) iv. 11, *is given the mystery*	xiii. 11,	viii. 10, *is given to know the mysteries*
(*b*) v. 27, *His garment*	ix. 20,	viii. 44, *the border of His garment*
(*c*) vi. 14, *King Herod*	xiv. 1,	ix. 7, *Herod the tetrarch*
(*d*) ix. 19, *O faithless generation*	xvii. 17,	ix. 41, *O faithless and perverse generation*
(*e*) x. 30, *a hundredfold*	xix. 29,	xviii. 30, *manifold*
(*f*) xiv. 72, *and when he thought thereon he wept.*	xxvi. 75,	xxii. 62, *and he went out, and wept bitterly.*

These particular features appear insufficient to justify the hypothesis that *Mt.* and *Lk. together* used *Mk.* in a form rather different from that which we possess. For, firstly in regard to what is *absent from both*, it has already been pointed out that both *Mt.* and *Lk.* include much that is not contained in *Mk.*, so that these writers had a motive for saving space by omitting portions of *Mk.* if there were any parts that seemed relatively unimportant; and in some of the instances cited above, reasons for their suppression readily suggest themselves. Thus, of the two miracles of healing, the second might be passed over because a similar case of the restoration of sight occurs in both the First and Third Gospel; the incident of the young man with the linen cloth might seem trivial; the note of time in ii. 26 is inaccurate. Secondly in respect of the same phrases and expressions *substituted in both* for those of *Mk.* the verbal change in some instances (*c* and *d* above) may have been made independently by both *Mt.* and *Lk.* in the interest of accuracy or for some other reason (Herod was not really king but tetrarch, and *O faithless and perverse generation* is an adaptation to *Dt.* xxxii. 5, LXX), whilst in other cases (*a*, *b*, *e* and *f* above) the substitution may have originated with only one of the Evangelists and then at a later period been transferred to the other by copyists. In regard to this latter explanation, it is known that assimilation of the text of the different Gospels has already taken place in surviving manuscripts[2]; so that it may reasonably be inferred that it has occurred in some that no longer exist, and that the phenomena here considered are the result.

There are, however, more solid grounds for supposing that an earlier form of *Mk.* was used by *St. Luke alone*, from whose Gospel a large pro-

[1] Other instances of less interest will be found in i. 13, 15, 33; ii. 2; iii. 5, 9, 17, 20–21, 30; iv. 34, 36; v. 5, 32; vi. 9, 13, 20, 31, 37, 41; vii. 19, 24; viii. 14; ix. 3, 10, 15, 27, 30, 39, 48–50; x. 16, 38–39, 49; xi. 4, 16; xii. 32; xiii. 36, 37; xiv. 30, 72; xv. 21, 25, 44.

[2] In *Mt.* xiii. 11 the Old Latin and the earliest Syriac version have *the mystery*; in *Lk.* viii. 44 D and some Old Latin MSS. omit *the border of*; in *Lk.* xviii. 30 D and the Old Latin have *sevenfold*; and in xxii. 62 the Old Latin omits *and he went out and wept bitterly*: see Burkitt, *Gospel Hist.*, pp. 42–58.

portion of *Mk.* (as we have it) is missing, though present in *Mt.* It will be seen from the table on p.148 f. that, besides the absence from *Lk.* of the Marcan narratives already noticed, as well as of other isolated sections of *Mk.*, like the account of the Baptist's death (*Mk.* vi. 19–29), the direction to eradicate causes of stumbling (ix. 43–47), the request of the sons of Zebedee (x. 35–40), the anointing at Bethany (xiv. 3–9), and a few short but important sayings, such as those in ix. 41, x. 45, there is also absent a consecutive group of sections in the second Gospel, extending from vi. 45 to viii. 26. This includes, in addition to the healing of the deaf and dumb man and the cure of the blind man (which is omitted also by *Mt.*), the following narratives :—

(*a*) Our Lord's walking on the sea,
(*b*) His dispute with the Pharisees about eating with unwashen hands,
(*c*) The cure wrought upon the daughter of the Syrophœnician woman,
(*d*) The feeding of the 4,000.

This disregard of about one-ninth of the contents of the Second Gospel at one stroke is in glaring contrast to the usage of St. Luke in other parts of his work, wherein he follows *Mk.* closely, with only small omissions here and there. It is true that the author of *Lk.* had a strong motive for economizing space, since he aimed at comprising in the latter half of his Gospel a number of parables and other matter which find no place even in *Mt.*, so that he may have felt compelled to choose between several stores of material at his disposal and may have decided to use none of these exhaustively. And no doubt reasons can be offered for some of the omissions here enumerated. The feeding of the 4,000 may have been ignored because of its likeness to the feeding of the 5,000 [1]; whilst the discussion about eating with unwashen hands and about Pharisaic ceremonialism may have seemed to him superfluous through his inclusion of the incident related in xi. 37–41. But it is difficult to think that the author of this Gospel would have discarded, if he had known them, two such narratives as those of our Lord's walking on the sea and of His healing the Syrophœnician woman's daughter. The first is the story of a very remarkable miracle, quite distinct from that of the Stilling of the storm (*Mk.* iv. 35–41); and the writer of *Lk.* is interested in miracles. The second can scarcely have been passed by (as some have thought) [2] because it was feared that the words of Jesus to the woman (*Mk.* vii. 27) might prove repellent to the Gentiles; on the contrary, the narrative as a whole was calculated to appeal strongly to them. It is possible indeed (as has been suggested) that at first *Lk.* may have omitted the section by accident, being misled by the occurrence of the name *Bethsaida* in vi. 45 and viii. 22, and then, when he discovered the error, deciding that the matter thus passed by was not so necessary or suitable for inclusion as to make it worth while to repair the omission.[3] But it is against this that

[1] Nevertheless the healing of the single leper in v. 12 f. does not lead him to exclude the cure of the ten lepers in xvii. 12 f.
[2] Stanton, *The Gospels as Hist. Doc.*, ii. p. 158.
[3] See *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 66, 74 (Hawkins).

the succeeding section viii. 22–26 is also absent from *Lk.* (as it is from *Mt.* likewise). Accordingly, since the independent reasons advanced to account for the omission of the several successive constituents of the section are in many instances unsatisfactory, the hypothesis of two editions of the Gospel (an earlier one, lacking vi. 46–viii. 26 and some, though not all, of the other Marcan passages absent from *Lk.*, and a later, containing these sections) does not seem too bold a solution of the difficulty. The disappearance of all copies of the first edition (*Proto-Mark*) is not hard to understand. Papyrus is an unsubstantial and perishable material; and copies of the Gospel in its earliest form would depreciate in value as soon as the later and expanded form of the work was procurable, and so would cease to be multiplied. The second edition (*Deutero-Mark*) probably received some small additions at the hand of a reviser or revisers, for it seems to contain a few glosses.[1]

The conclusion just deduced from a comparison of the first three Gospels that the writers of *Mt.* and *Lk.* used *Mk.* in its present or in an earlier form, as a source from which they took large sections and embodied them in their own works is not the only inference to which the study of the Synoptists leads. If, after the discrimination of those parts of *Mt.* and *Lk.* which are derived from *Mk.*, the residue of both Gospels be examined, it will again be found that a number of sections, similar alike in matter and diction, are common to both the First and the Third Gospel. These sections (marked in the table on p. 141 f. by Roman numerals) consist, in the main, though not quite exclusively, of a series of our Lord's Sayings. The close resemblance subsisting in many cases between this class of parallel passages will be best discerned if illustrative instances are arranged (as before) side by side; though the likeness is not uniformly so great as here shown :—

(*a*) *Mt.* vi. 24	(*a*) *Lk.* xvi. 13
No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.	No servant can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.
(*b*) *Mt.* vii. 3–5	(*b*) *Lk.* vi. 41, 42
And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me cast out the mote out of thine eye, and lo! the beam is in thine eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first out of thine eye the beam, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.	And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? How canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me cast out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam that is in thine eye? Thou hypocrite; cast out first the beam out of thine eye, and then thou shalt see clearly the mote that is in thy brother's eye to cast out.

[1] Such may be v. 15 (*even him that had the legion*), xiv. 67 (*even Jesus*).

(*c*) *Mt.* viii. 8, 9

And the centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof, but only speak with a word and my servant shall be healed. For I also am a man under authority, having under myself soldiers ; and I say unto this one, Go, and he goeth, and to another, Come, and he cometh ; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.

(*d*) *Mt.* xi. 21–23

Woe unto thee, Chorazin ! woe unto thee, Bethsaida ! for if the mighty works had been done (*ἐγένοντο*) in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. Howbeit I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you. And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven ? Thou shalt go down unto Hades.

(*c*) *Lk.* vii. 6, 7, 8

The centurion sent friends to him saying, Lord, trouble not thyself, for I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof, but speak with a word and let my servant be healed. For I also am a man set under authority, having under myself soldiers, and I say to this one, Go, and he goeth, and to another, Come, and he cometh ; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.

(*d*) *Lk.* x. 13–15

Woe unto thee, Chorazin ! woe unto thee, Bethsaida ! for if the mighty works had been done (*ἐγενήθησαν*) in Tyre and Sidon, which were done in you, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. Howbeit it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the judgment than for you. And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven ? thou shalt go down unto Hades.

The extremely close verbal resemblance here observed requires an explanation, and to account for it by a common oral tradition is as little adequate as in the preceding case. In the second of the parallel passages quoted the remarkable character of the likeness between the versions in *Mt.* and *Lk.* is more obvious in the Greek even than in the English of the R.V., because both contain the curious constructions *οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἵνα ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς* and *ἀλλ' εἰπὲ λόγῳ*. It is also noteworthy that in (*d*) both Evangelists vary the affirmative sentences in the first two *vv.* by a rhetorical question in the third verse. It is true that the class of parallel passages here under consideration consists mainly of Christ's own utterances, which might be expected to be transmitted with much verbal accuracy ; but they are not exclusively confined to these ; and, as a matter of fact, of the four passages quoted at length one does not contain any words of His. A fully satisfactory explanation of the almost identical phraseology here employed by the two Evangelists can only be found in the assumption of the use, by one or both writers, of a documentary source. It has been shown that, in the case of another set of parallel passages, the hypothesis that both writers have used a common written source, sometimes with great exactness, sometimes with much freedom, best accounts for the facts ; and analogy suggests a like origin for the present set. The conclusion in one respect is not so cogent here as in the former case, for the original document upon which it is inferred that the parallel versions depend cannot be produced. But short of this decisive evidence, the conditions of the problem are much the same as in the previous instance, and are best satisfied by a similar solution.

With regard to the nature of the document which is thus either partially or in its entirety embodied in both *Mt.* and *Lk.* there is room for much difference of opinion ; and in the absence of any general agreement

about it, it has come to be a practice to denote it by the symbol *Q* (standing for the German word *Quelle*, "source"). The most striking feature in it is the number of sayings or groups of sayings which it contains, including various Parables or Similitudes. Nevertheless, its contents are not confined to our Lord's sayings, but comprise a few narratives. The most important of these are the substance of the preaching of John the Baptist, the accounts of our Lord's Temptation, of the healing of the centurion's servant, of the inquiry sent by the Baptist to Christ, of the offer of discipleship made by certain individuals, and of the cure of a demoniac. The prominent place occupied in *Q* by our Lord's Sayings has suggested that it was in reality nothing but a collection of such, the narratives in it being merely intended to explain the circumstances under which certain sayings were uttered, or the occasions which served to elicit them. Thus of the two miracles, the healing of the centurion's servant can be regarded as introduced because of the declaration, *I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel* (*Mt.* viii. 5–10 = *Lk.* vii. 2–9); and the cure of the demoniac as narrated for the sake of the saying, *If I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you* (*Mt.* xii. 22 f., 27, 28 = *Lk.* xi. 14, 19, 20). But it is certainly strange that *Q*, if it is only a collection of our Lord's utterances, should include the preaching of the Baptist, a narrative of our Lord's temptation, and an account of the message of inquiry which the Baptist sent from prison. These narratives seem out of place in a mere compilation of oracular Sayings. Again, it has been suggested that the three narratives mentioned above, together with the two miracles, do not really belong to *Q*, but are taken from *Mk.*, though not from *Mk.* in its present condition (which does not include them) but in a larger form known to, and used by, the authors of the First and Third Gospels, and that from this they were subsequently omitted.[1] This view has the advantage of making *Q* a much more uniform kind of document than it appears at present, for if these narratives are subtracted, the rest of it will consist of Sayings only. But a serious objection to it is the unlikelihood that *Mk.* was ever larger than it is now, since there could have been no sufficient motive for reducing it in size afterwards; so that this solution also of the difficulty presented by the peculiar contents of *Q* seems to require rejection. But the peculiar character of *Q* remains to be explained; and a third suggestion may be hazarded, namely, that *Q*, beginning as it does with the account of John the Baptist's preaching of repentance, and going on to give a symbolic account of Jesus' conquest over the temptations that assailed Him in connexion with His consciousness of Messiahship, was originally designed to be a history of our Lord's ministry, including an account of its relation to that of His predecessor. But the plan of its author, so far as can be judged, was not carried to completion; the work was left a *torso*. There are only two miracles related, and there is no account of the Passion. Consequently it seems best to regard *Q* as a Gospel which was begun but never finished, and which, unlike *Mk.*, included a large number of our Lord's sayings.

[1] See Holdsworth, *Gospel Origins*, pp. 52, 53.

This fragmentary Gospel was used by the authors of both *Mt.* and *Lk.*, whose treatment of it may plausibly be deduced from their handling of the Second Gospel ; and since it seems certain that they did not incorporate the whole of *Mk.*, it may be inferred that they did not embody the whole of *Q*. But whereas we are acquainted with the real extent of *Mk.*, we have no means of estimating the real extent of *Q*, since the only possible reconstruction of it by the extraction of the passages occurring exclusively in *Mt.* and *Lk.* together is liable to mislead as seriously as a reconstruction of *Mk.* from *Mt.* and *Lk.* would do, for such would by no means correspond accurately to the second Gospel as we possess it. It is likewise impossible to determine with certainty whether, in the sequence of the different parts of *Q*, the order of *Mt.* or of *Lk.* is to be preferred, since there is much variation between them, and no independent witness to which appeal can be made.

A review of the Synoptist Gospels shows that each of them has a certain quantity of matter comprised in none of its companions ; but it will be seen from the table which is given on p. 148 f. that the amount of material contained exclusively in the Third Gospel greatly exceeds the material that is found exclusively in each of the other two. *Lk.*, like *Mt.*, has a long narrative relating to the Birth of our Lord, though it is quite distinct from that which occurs in *Mt.* But in addition to this and some other isolated sections in the earlier part of the book, which are peculiar to it, the Third Gospel has a group of passages, occupying rather more than eight chapters (ix. 51–xviii. 14), which, though consisting, to some extent, of matter comprised in *Q*, yet in the main exists nowhere else. This group of passages is inserted between two extracts drawn from *Mk.*, which in that Gospel are in close contiguity though not quite consecutive (occurring respectively in *Mk.* ix. 38–40 and x. 13) ; whilst the intervening Marcan section, which in the original links the sections extracted, is entirely omitted. This insertion (for such it may be termed in respect of its position among the extracts which in *Lk.* have been incorporated from *Mk.*) is sometimes termed St. Luke's Greater Interpolation, in contrast to the group of passages contained in *Lk.* vi. 20–viii. 3, which has been called the Lesser Interpolation. The Greater Interpolation calls for notice here because it is frequently thought to be drawn from a written source. Some scholars, indeed, hold that such written source is simply *Q*, which the Third Evangelist may have used more extensively than the First, or which he may have known and utilized in an expanded form. There are, however, certain features about it which seem to sever it from *Q* (see p. 198), so that another view, which likewise assumes that this special matter had a documentary origin, is that it has been derived from a written source which was not employed by any of the other Synoptists, and which, owing to the occurrence in it of numerous references to our Lord's journey from Galilee to Judæa, has been styled St. Luke's " Travel Document." There are reasons, however, which are adverse to the hypothesis that this portion of the Third Gospel *as a whole* had any documentary origin, and it is more probable that St. Luke has here gathered together a number of traditions transmitted for the most part

orally, though the parables included may have existed previously in an independent collection (p. 198). But whilst the derivation of the contents of *Lk.* ix. 57–xviii. 14 from a "Travel *Document*" does not commend itself, this part of the Third Gospel may conveniently, for the sake of distinction, be termed St. Luke's "Travel Section," though it comprises a few incidents that probably occurred *before* our Lord's departure on His journey to Jerusalem.

The two documents, *Mk.* and *Q*, and possibly a summary of Parables do not exhaust all the written Sources utilized in the composition of the collective Synoptic Gospels, but further consideration of other sources may be deferred here. The acceptance of the theory that such written sources as have just been described underlie the Synoptic Gospels is not, of course, a denial that oral tradition was the earliest means of transmitting the memory of the facts connected with our Lord's ministry, but only denies that it was the stage immediately preceding the independent composition of at least the two longest of these Gospels as we possess them. It maintains that *Mt.* and *Lk.* are both separated from that stage by an intervening documentary stage, which is represented by the shortest of the Gospels and by another written work which has not survived.

The analysis of the Gospels into their sources, so far as these are discoverable, is only a preliminary step to an estimate of the historical worth of their contents. It is clear that as historical authorities for New Testament history, *Mk.* and *Q* must claim first attention. The contents of these documents are not *of necessity* prior in date and superior in value, to every one of those sections which are peculiar to *Mt.* and *Lk.* But whereas in the instance of a passage occurring in only one of these Gospels, it can merely be a matter of conjecture that it is an extract from a document accessible to the authors of both *Mt.* and *Lk.*, but disregarded by one of them, in the instance of a passage appearing in both we know that it must come from a source earlier than either. *Mk.* and *Q* are such sources. They are documents which enjoyed sufficient currency to become known to two different writers (viz. the First and Third Evangelists) working independently; and they had acquired sufficient authority to induce both these authors to borrow from them. They are therefore of primary importance to the historical investigator, and the value of them it is essential to appraise as carefully as possible.

Of these documents *Q* is likely to be the older for two reasons. (1) If in origin it is prior to *Mk.* and was known to the author of the latter, an explanation is afforded of the fact that *Mk.* includes so small a proportion of the Sayings of our Lord. In *Q* it is the teaching of Jesus that occupies most space, whereas in *Mk.* it is the incidents of His life; so that since the two are in this way the complement of one another, and since *Q* is (seemingly) incomplete and fragmentary, it looks as though the writer of *Mk.* was acquainted with the scope of *Q* (so far as it went) and did not wish to cover the same ground. (2) This presumption finds some corroboration from an inspection of the few passages in both which relate to the same occurrence. In regard to these a comparison between *Mk.'s* account and the parallels in *Mt.* and *Lk.* (derived from *Q*) suggest that the

former is abbreviated from the latter. The most conspicuous case where the suspicion is raised is in connexion with the preaching of John the Baptist; and when the corresponding passages are placed side by side the grounds for the inference will become apparent. It will suffice here to reproduce *Lk.*

Mk. i. 7, 8

He preached, saying, There cometh after me he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I baptized you with water, but he shall baptize you with Holy Spirit.

Lk. iii. 7, 16, 17

He said therefore . . . I indeed baptize you with water; but there cometh he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with Holy Spirit and with fire: whose fan is in his hand throughly to cleanse his threshing floor, and to gather the wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.

The resemblance between *Mk.* and *Lk.* (whose narrative together with the parallel in *Mt.* is derived from *Q*) is sufficiently near to suggest that *Mk.* is not independent of *Q*; and if so, there are features in *Mk.* which favour the conclusion that his account is secondary. *Mk.*, for example, contains the statement that John's Successor is to baptize with Holy Spirit, but he has no mention of the baptism with fire. The reference in *Mt.* and *Lk.*, however, to this last must be original since it clearly has in mind the subsequent statement about the unquenchable fire of judgment in store for the unrepentant. A natural explanation of this difference between the Gospels seems to be that *Mk.* was acquainted with, and used, the passage from *Q*, which the other Evangelists have quoted at length but which he has abbreviated; and since he did not intend to include the later mention of the unquenchable fire, he left out also the prior allusion to it occurring in the words "and with fire."

This is perhaps the most striking, though not the only instance where St. Mark seems to show knowledge of *Q*,[1] but it does not appear that he used it at all extensively; and the suggestion has been made that he quoted it from memory. If *Q* was thus prior to *Mk.* and known to the writer of the latter, and if it was an imperfect Gospel, lacking in its unfinished state a number of important details about our Lord, especially those connected with His Passion, a satisfactory motive is found for the scheme followed in *Mk.* The latter seems to have been designed not to supersede but to *supplement Q* by furnishing an adequate account of our Lord's ministry, whilst omitting altogether, or repeating very concisely, matters already contained in *Q*. In particular, the comparatively small amount of discourse in *Mk.* as contrasted with the quantity in *Q*, thus finds a simple explanation; had the writer desired to supersede *Q*, he would probably have preserved a full report of at least some of the discourses which it contained, instead of reproducing so little of them.

It is now expedient to consider some external evidence which may

[1] Another is *Mk.* iii. 22–27 = *Mt.* xii. 24–29 = *Lk.* xi. 15, 17–22. See *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 169 foll. (Streeter).

possibly throw light upon the origin of *Q* or of some of its contents. This evidence consists of certain statements made by the historian Eusebius, which are partly his own and partly preserved by him from earlier authorities. (1) " Matthew, who had at first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other peoples, committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue, and thus compensated those whom he was obliged to leave for the loss of his presence " (*H.E.* iii. 24); (2) " Since Irenæus was one of these (*i.e.* the ancient presbyters and writers of the Church), we will now give his words, and first what he says of the sacred Gospels: ' Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church in Rome ' " (*H.E.* v. 8); (3) " Pantænus was one of these (*i.e.* of many Evangelists), and is said to have gone to India. It is reported that among persons there who knew of Christ, he found the Gospel according to Matthew, which had anticipated his own arrival. For Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached to them, and left with them the writing of Matthew in the Hebrew language, which they had preserved till that time " (*H.E.* v. 10); (4) " [Origen] testifies that he knows only four Gospels, writing as follows: ' Among the four Gospels which are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God under heaven, I have learned by tradition that the first was written by Matthew, who was once a tax-gatherer, but afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and it was prepared for the converts from Judaism, and published in the Hebrew language ' " (*H.E.* vi. 25); (5) " But concerning Matthew [Papias] writes as follows: ' So then Matthew wrote the oracles (*τὰ λόγια*) in the Hebrew language and every one interpreted (*i.e.* translated) them as he was able ' " (*H.E.* iii. 39). The term *Logia* used in this last passage admits of being understood as a description of an historical work, including both narratives and sayings, but the predominant sense in which it is employed in the LXX is that of " Divine utterances " (*Num.* xxiv. 4, *Dt.* xxxiii. 9, *Ps.* xii. (xi.) 6, cxix. 11, 67, *Wisd.* xvi. 11, cf. also *Acts* vii. 38), and it has this meaning in 1 *Pet.* iv. 11, and perhaps in *Rom.* iii. 2.

Now if these statements and the First Gospel be compared together, the following conclusions seem to emerge. (*a*) Our First Gospel cannot be the actual Gospel which St. Matthew is represented to have written, for it is in Greek and not in Hebrew. (*b*) It cannot be a Greek translation made by St. Matthew himself of his alleged Hebrew Gospel, for it has been shown that for a large part of the material embodied in it the writer has been dependent upon *Mk.*, and it is impossible to suppose that one, who, like St. Matthew, was one of the Apostles and therefore a first-hand witness of our Lord's ministry, could have been indebted on so great a scale to the writings of one who was not included in the Twelve. (*c*) Nor can the document used by *Mt.* and *Lk.* in common, which has been denoted by *Q* and which seems to have been begun on the lines of a Gospel, though never finished, have been a Greek rendering of the Gospel ascribed to St. Matthew, partly because it is so incomplete, and partly because it does not appear why, in this case, St. Matthew's name should have been attached to the First Gospel in particular, seeing that *Q* is common to

both the First and the Third. (*d*) The numerous Sayings of our Lord which constitute so large a part of *Q* can with much more plausibility be identified with a Greek translation of the collection of oracles compiled by St. Matthew of which Papias speaks, for though these occur not only in the First but also in the Third Gospel, yet the fact that they are much more impressively arranged in the former than in the latter will account for the name of St. Matthew being associated with it.[1] The conjecture may also be hazarded that the existence of a collection of our Lord's Sayings *in Aramaic* made by St. Matthew and incorporated through the medium of a Greek version, first in *Q* and afterwards, through *Q*, in the First Gospel is the origin of the tradition that St. Matthew wrote a *Gospel in Hebrew* (the term *Hebrew* being employed inaccurately instead of the more correct word *Aramaic*.

It has been seen that Eusebius quotes Irenæus to the effect that Matthew published his Gospel during the period that Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church at Rome. Much uncertainty prevails as to when the two Apostles were together at Rome ; but it seems probable that if they were ever there in company, it was not before 59 or after 64. If, then, reliance be placed on the statement of Irenæus, and if what is described as Matthew's *Gospel* was really his collection of our Lord's Sayings (or *Logia*), the date of the Matthæan compilation will fall between the years just named ; and the date of *Q*, which has drawn material from them, will be later than this. How much later depends upon the date to which the composition of *Mk.* may plausibly be assigned ; and as reasons will be given for thinking that *Mk.* was written before A.D. 70, the origin of *Q*, which is probably earlier than *Mk.*, may be placed conjecturally about A.D. 65.

But it is not likely that Matthew's collection of oracles was the first of its kind. At the date suggested above (59–64) it is most likely to have been composed out of earlier and briefer summaries of our Lord's utterances, such as would almost certainly be called for, and circulated, long before an account of His life was required. The latter would be superfluous for such of the early Christians as had been His personal followers ; but it was of great moment to know exactly what He had said about the Kingdom of God, what His principles of conduct were, and how His teaching and practice differed from the rules laid down by the Scribes

[1] Burkitt (*The Gospel Hist.*, etc., pp. 126, 127) holds that the Matthæan *Logia* were a collection of Proof-texts (or testimonies) from the Old Testament made by the Apostle for comparison with the history and teaching of our Lord. Many of the quotations from the Old Testament that occur in the First Gospel seem to be independent translations from the Hebrew, not taken from the LXX. (see p. 191), but since they do not always agree with the existing Massoretic text, and since there are some curious errors in the designations of the writers from whom the quotations are drawn (a passage from Zechariah, for instance, being assigned to Jeremiah, see xxvii. 9), it has been thought that they cannot be taken *directly* from the Old Testament, but from some intermediate source, such as a collection of texts designed to illustrate the fulfilment of prophecy by Christ. A composite quotation drawn from such a collection might be cited under the name of only one of the prophets referred to, instead of both.

and Pharisees. Of the probable character of the earliest collections of the Lord's memorable sayings or *Logia* a trustworthy idea may perhaps be derived from the small group of sayings, inscribed in Greek on a papyrus leaf, which was found in 1897 at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, and which has been thought to go back at least to the second century. Of these seven or eight sayings some resemble, without being quite identical with, certain that are included in the New Testament, whilst others are altogether different from any previously known; whether the latter are genuine or not need not be considered here. The greater part of it is transcribed in this place merely because it is in all probability *analogous* to the collections which paved the way for the compilation by St. Matthew. A few of the sayings, some of which are only fragments, are as follows :—

1. . . . "And then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye" (cf. *Lk.* vi. 42).

2. "Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God, and except ye keep the Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father."

3. "Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart, and see [not, poor, and know not] their poverty."

4. "Jesus saith, Wherever there are [two, they are not without] God, and [if anywhere one] is alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood and there am I."

Two other sayings resemble in substance *Mk.* vi. 4 and *Mt.* v. 14[b].[1]

It will be observed that in this collection the occasions when the sayings were uttered are not indicated. The document presents just a short series of disconnected aphorisms, each prefaced by *Jesus saith*. A parallel example, more or less close, of seemingly detached sayings, which have been brought together, occurs in *Lk.* vi. 39–45: if they were separated they would appear as follows :—

(*a*) "*Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into a pit?*"

(*b*) "*The disciple is not above his Master; but every one when he is perfected shall be as his Master.*"

(*c*) "*And why beholdest thou the mote, etc.*"

(*d*) "*For there is no good tree that bringeth forth corrupt fruit,* etc."

In *Mt.* these sayings are not arranged as in *Lk.*, but are placed in connexion with different contexts; for (*a*) *Lk.* vi. 39 appears in *Mt.* xv. 14; (*b*) *Lk.* vi. 40 in *Mt.* x. 24; (*c*) *Lk.* vi. 41–42 in *Mt.* vii. 3–5; (*d*) *Lk.* vi. 43–45 in *Mt.* vii. 16–18, 20, xii. 34, 35.

If the larger part of *Q* has been rightly traced to a Greek rendering of the collection of our Lord's sayings attributed to St. Matthew, it follows that much of the contents of *Q* proceeds ultimately from one who was in a good position to authenticate the subject-matter which he reports. St. Matthew was not a conspicuous figure among the Apostles, but he was

[1] See Grenfell and Hunt, *Sayings of our Lord from an early Greek Papyrus.*

probably a man of capacity and experience, since he occupied the position of collector of tolls. And as he had excellent opportunities of hearing our Lord's words, and (so far as can be judged) was well qualified to record them clearly, so he may be credited with a desire to do so faithfully. At the same time it is necessary to remember that the report which we possess is separated from what Christ actually said by two stages, for His words, uttered in Aramaic, have been translated into Greek, and the Greek translation, which does not exist independently, has to be recovered from the reproductions of it preserved in *Mt.* and *Lk.* Moreover, in view of the fact that the disciples occasionally misunderstood their Master during His lifetime, it is possible that some of His utterances have been misapprehended, or that they have been translated unintelligently, and their real significance, in consequence, has been disguised or distorted. Nevertheless, the ethical and spiritual quality of His sayings, as contained in *Q*, seem to warrant that in general His teaching has been recorded and preserved without serious misrepresentation.

An estimate of the date of the composition of *Mk.* is more conveniently deferred for the moment (see p. 171). The need of such a work would not be felt till Christian preachers began to appeal to those who, like the Jews of the Dispersion and the Gentiles among whom they lived, knew nothing about Jesus, and until the number of those who had been of His company began to be thinned by death. But as soon as personal testimony grew deficient, written narratives of our Lord's life would be required, and required, too, in the Greek language, the chief medium of intercourse throughout the Roman Empire (p. 79). There seems to be no sufficient reason to suppose that *Mk.* was originally composed in Aramaic.[1] The features in it which suggest an Aramaic original may be accounted for by the assumption that the writer reproduced in Greek, matter which was orally related to him in Aramaic, or in imperfect Greek contaminated with Aramaic. This assumption appears to be justified by what is reported by Papias about the author of the Second Gospel. St. Mark must have been acquainted with St. Peter at an early date in Jerusalem (see *Acts* xii. 12 and p. 170), and was probably a companion successively of both St. Paul and St. Peter at Rome, and it was doubtless while he was associated with the latter that he obtained the information about our Lord's life which he preserved in his gospel. For Papias (cf. Eus. *H.E.* iii. 39) states that "the presbyter (John ?) [2] related that Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not indeed in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely."

[1] An Aramaic origin for the Second Gospel is advocated by Allen, *St. Mark*, p. vii. foll.

[2] See p. 228.

This statement that St. Mark's Gospel is based on Peter's reminiscences also appears in Justin, who styles it *'Απομνημονεύματα τοῦ Πετροῦ*, and is confirmed by Irenæus (cf. Eus. *H.E.* v. 8), who says that Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, after the departure (*ἔξοδον*) of Peter and Paul at Rome, handed down in writing the preaching of Peter. Tertullian, again, virtually repeats the statement of Irenæus about the derivation of the Second Gospel from the preaching of Peter : " What Mark published may be described as Petrine, for Mark was Peter's interpreter." Lastly, Clement of Alexandria (cf. Eus. *H.E.* vi. 14) adds that Mark was urged to undertake the task of preserving St. Peter's words by others, stating that " as Peter had preached the Word publicly at Rome and declared the Gospel by the Spirit, many who were present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time, and remembered his sayings, should write them out. And having composed the Gospel, he gave it to those who had requested it. When Peter learned of this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it (*i.e.* the request addressed to Mark)." These various pieces of evidence agree in representing that the earliest of the Synoptic Gospels, upon which the other two are so largely dependent, was composed by one who was not an eye-witness of at least the greater part of what he relates, but was indebted for his information to another. St. Peter, however, the informant whose statements he reported, had excellent opportunities of knowing almost all the events and circumstances related in the Second Gospel. He belonged to Galilee, the scene of the earliest incidents of our Lord's ministry ; he was an Apostle, and so a constant companion of Jesus ; and he is one of the three who is recorded to have been present on occasions when most of the other Apostles were absent (v. 37, ix. 2, xiii. 3, xiv. 33). The account of Papias that St. Mark reproduced information derived from St. Peter is confirmed by certain features in the Second Gospel. Its narrative of our Lord's ministry virtually begins with the call of St. Peter and his brother ; and this is followed shortly by an account of a visit by Jesus to St. Peter's house, where the Apostle's mother-in-law was healed of a fever. Moreover, St. Peter is named first in the list of the Twelve (iii. 16), and he generally acts as their spokesman (viii. 32, x. 28, xi. 21), and is addressed as their representative (xiv. 37, xvi. 7). Nevertheless it is probable that St. Peter was not St. Mark's sole authority when he wrote his Gospel. As the latter's home was at Jerusalem, he may have come in contact with others of the Apostles, whose recollections about Jesus he would learn. And it is possible that of certain scenes during the last week of our Saviour's life, which was spent at the Jewish capital, St. Mark was himself a spectator.[1] It has been conjectured with some plausibility that the young man alluded to in *Mk.* xiv. 51, 52, was the writer of the Gospel, for the incident, if a stranger were concerned, seems too unimportant to deserve narration. If the conjecture is well grounded, Mark may have witnessed

[1] It is not unlikely that the opening words of the Muratorian canon, *quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit*, which must relate to the author of the Second Gospel, mean that St. Mark was present on certain occasions in the life of our Lord, *quibus* being a mutilation of *aliquibus*.

what occurred in Gethsemane, whilst Peter and the other disciples slept (*Mk.* xiv. 32–42). It has been objected to this, indeed, that since the Crucifixion probably took place in A.D. 29 (p. 342) St. Mark, a young man then, would have been rather old to act as the attendant (ὑπηρέτης) of St. Paul and St. Barnabas in A.D. 47 (*Acts* xiii. 5, where *John* stands for John Mark). If, however, St. Mark was not more than eighteen at the date of the Crucifixion, he would not have been more than thirty-six in A.D. 47. But be this as it may, the amount of matter in the Second Gospel that depends upon the writer's first-hand evidence can, at most, be very small; the bulk of the statements contained in it may be regarded as derived from the personal recollections of St. Peter (and perhaps others of the Apostles) communicated to St. Mark orally.

The conclusion that, though St. Mark was not an eye-witness of most of the events he records, yet he had access to some one who was, is a fact which justifies, in connexion with his account of our Lord's ministry, a feeling of much greater security than would be reasonable if the source of it were altogether unknown. The value, however, of information resting upon personal recollections communicated by word of mouth to another individual who preserved this in writing naturally depends not only upon the authoritativeness of the ultimate source of it, but also upon the interval elapsing between the occurrence of the incidents related and the time when the narrative of them was drawn up; so that it is necessary to investigate the probable date of *Mk.* It has been seen from the passage quoted from Irenæus (p. 170) that St. Mark is said to have handed down the preaching of Peter "after the departure" (*i.e.* death, cf. 2 *Pet.* i. 15) of St. Peter and St. Paul, which probably implies a date after A.D. 64. Clement, it is true, definitely asserts that St. Mark *wrote* his Gospel at Rome whilst St. Peter was there. But if the *Logia* compiled by St. Matthew were written when St. Peter and St. Paul were together at Rome (p. 166), and time has to be allowed for the composition of *Q* (which probably embodies the *Logia*), and for the use of *Q* by Mark, the date of *Mk.* is pushed towards 70, some years after the death of Peter (probably) in 64. It has, indeed, been contended that the origin of the Second Gospel is much earlier than 64 [1] and that it was composed before 47, St. Peter's recollections of his Lord being communicated to St. Mark before the Apostle was compelled to leave Jerusalem in A.D. 44. But this early date, which disregards the conclusions based on the evidence that the Matthæan *Logia* were composed when St. Peter and St. Paul were "founding" (perhaps in the sense of consolidating) the Roman Church, and the presumption that the *Logia* were used by *Q* and *Q* by *Mk.* is likewise not easily reconciled with the internal evidence of ch. xiii., whether that chapter be the composition of St. Mark himself or incorporates an Apocalyptic document (*vv.* 5–29) previously in circulation. For this seems to contain references to trials in store for Christ's disciples, which

[1] If St. Luke's writings (the Third Gospel and *Acts*) were composed, as some contend, before 62 (see p. 252) an early date (somewhile before 60) is required for St. Mark's Gospel (see Harnack, *Date of Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, p. 126).

are so circumstantial that they appear to reproduce the experiences undergone by St. Paul in 56–59 and the persecution of the Christians at Rome in the time of Nero, there being a strong temptation, after such had occurred, to make the language of prediction fit the event accurately (p. 108). A date decidedly later than 47 is thus suggested for the book that includes this chapter. But that St. Mark's Gospel was composed before A.D. 70 is rendered probable by two facts. (*a*) Notwithstanding the predictions in xiii. 2 of the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, the reference to the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans (*v.* 14) is not couched in the terms used by *Lk.* in xxi. 20 (cf. xix. 43), but retains the enigmatic phraseology of *Dan.* xi. 31, which the author of the Third Gospel discards. (*b*) The direction in *v.* 14 bidding those in Judæa flee to the mountains betrays no acquaintance with the circumstance that the Christians in Jerusalem fled before the siege to Pella, across the Jordan (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 5, 3). The language here noted throws light, strictly speaking, only on the date of the Apocalyptist whose work the Evangelist probably incorporates; but the fact that the latter has not qualified it points to his having produced his Gospel before the events of 68–70. If the date of the book lies between 64 and 70, it was in all likelihood written after the execution of Peter (who probably met his death in 64) and 66 or 67 was perhaps the year of its composition. That Rome was its place of origin, as the statement of Irenæus seems to imply, is confirmed by various pieces of internal evidence. Among these are (*a*) the reference to Simon of Cyrene as the father of Alexander and Rufus (xv. 21), a Rufus being mentioned in *Rom.* xvi. 13 (but see p. 283); (*b*) the numerous Latinisms,[1] *δηνάριον*, *κεντυρίων*, *κῆνσος*, *κοδράντης*, *λεγέων*, *μόδιος*, *ξέστης* (= *sextarius*), *πραίτωριον*, *σπεκουλάτωρ*, *φραγελλόω* (= *flagello*); (*c*) the reference to the divorce of a husband by a wife (x. 12), which was possible according to Roman, but not according to Jewish, Law.

If the date here supported be accepted, it will appear that the interval between the last events related in the Gospel and the committal of an account of them to writing amounts to rather more than a generation. During this period the preservation of the details of our Lord's life and ministry must have depended mainly (in spite of *Lk.* i. 1) upon the tenacity of the memories of His disciples. Though they had not been trained in the Rabbinic schools, where the pupils were expected to transmit what they were taught to others in the exact form in which it had been imparted to themselves (p. 97), many of the scenes and incidents in which their Lord had figured would doubtless remain fixed in their recollections. Yet there is an antecedent presumption that even the earliest Gospel does not afford a perfectly trustworthy narrative. The actual spectators of the occurrences related are not likely to have had either the necessary motives or the necessary facilities for taking and preserving notes of all that they heard or saw, and when the reminiscences of even an Apostle were first recorded thirty-seven years afterwards by one who was himself

[1] The term *κράβαττος*, though adopted by the Romans in the form *grabatus*, was a Macedonian word.

an eye-witness of no more than one or two of the scenes recorded, it is reasonable to suppose that a report was produced in which honesty of intention did not keep the writer wholly free from errors due to defective information, judgment, or insight. In the course of the interval separating our Lord's death from the composition of *Mk.* the facts of His ministry would be increasingly viewed through the refracting medium of current ideas and beliefs respecting the Christ. Presuppositions as to the power and authority over nature appropriate to the Son of God, presumptions based on the history and prophecies of Scripture, liability to put a prosaic interpretation upon figurative and rhetorical phraseology—all these cannot have been without their influence in shaping a record of His life, and have to be taken into account in estimating the historic value of its various contents. Nor can it be overlooked that there is some reason for thinking that there were two editions of the Second Gospel, and that if so, then the matter that finds place in the Gospel as we have it, but was absent from its earliest form, probably rests upon tradition rather than upon the reminiscences of an authoritative informant like St. Peter.

The Gospel according to St. Mark

Since so much has already been said about the origin, date, and historical value of the Second Gospel, it is unnecessary here to do more than summarize what is known about its author, and to call attention to certain features characterizing his work.

The writer is not named in the book itself, but according to tradition he was Mark, whose Hebrew name was John, but who had taken as a surname a Roman *prænomen* Marcus.[1] He was the son of a woman called Mary, who was a resident at Jerusalem, his father's name being unknown. It has been conjectured that it was at his mother's house that our Lord partook of the Last Supper with His disciples, and that Mark may have followed Him when He left to go to Gethsemane, and so may have witnessed what happened there (see p. 170). His mother was well known to St. Peter, who went to her house after his escape from prison (*Acts* xii. 12). That he was a Jew by race might be inferred from his Hebrew name John, and is definitely affirmed by St. Paul in *Col.* iv. 10–11. He was cousin to Barnabas ; and he probably met St. Paul for the first time when that Apostle, together with Barnabas, brought relief from the Church at Antioch to the Church at Jerusalem in A.D. 46 (*Acts* xi. 29, 30), and he seems to have accompanied them to Antioch on their return thither. When they departed on their First Missionary tour in A.D. 47 he went with them in a subordinate capacity (*ὑπηρέτης*, *Acts* xiii. 5), his duties perhaps including that of baptizing converts. At Perga, for some reason unexplained, he refused to go further, and returned to Jerusalem. When about A.D. 50 St. Paul proposed to Barnabas that they should revisit the cities where they had made converts on the previous journey,

[1] Other instances of Jews who had taken Roman names are Joseph Barsabbas who was also called Justus, and Symeon who was called Niger.

Barnabas wished to take his cousin with them; but St. Paul refused to allow it since Mark had deserted them on the former occasion; and so Barnabas, with Mark, proceeded to Cyprus, leaving St. Paul to go to Galatia. Nothing is known of the work accomplished by the two in Cyprus, or of Mark's subsequent career during the next ten years, until he is mentioned by St. Paul as amongst those who were with him at Rome (59–61). The Apostle thus appears to have been reconciled to him, and to have found in him a zealous fellow-worker (*Col.* iv. 10, *Philem.* 24, cf. 2 *Tim.* iv. 11). If the Pastoral Epistles are genuine and St. Paul was released from his first imprisonment, Mark must have returned to the East, for the Apostle, when imprisoned again, wrote to Timothy at Ephesus, directing him to bring Mark back to Rome (2 *Tim.* iv. 11). It was in any case at Rome that Mark became an attendant upon St. Peter.

From the affectionate term—"my son"—which that Apostle applies to Mark in his First Epistle (v. 13) it has been inferred that he may have been the younger man's instructor in Christian doctrine, since among the Jews pupils were often addressed by their teachers as their "sons" (*Prov.* i. 8, *Ecclus.* vii. 3). Probably it was after the death of St. Paul in 61 (see p. 348) that Mark attached himself to St. Peter, and rendered him service until he, too, was martyred in 64 (p. 172). A tradition preserved by Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 16 and 24) relates that he was the first to go as a Christian missionary to Egypt, preaching there the Gospel which he had written, and was the first to establish churches at Alexandria, where he presided over the Christian community until the eighth year of Nero (*i.e.* A.D. 62); and the fact that he laboured in Egypt is asserted also by Epiphanius, Jerome, and others. But the date mentioned in connexion with his work in that country is not easily harmonized with the better attested record of his association with St. Peter at Rome.

As has been seen (pp. 169–70), Papias, Irenæus, Tertullian and Clement (all included in the second century A.D., though Clement at least lived into the third) state in various terms that it was the substance of St. Peter's account of his Master, imparted to those whom he instructed, that St. Mark reproduced in his Gospel. Certain points in their statements and inferences from them deserve attention. (1) Mark is called St. Peter's interpreter, so that it is a reasonable conclusion that what St. Peter narrated either in Aramaic or in indifferent Greek to St. Mark, the latter rendered into fair, though not polished, Greek.[1] (2) The Apostle in relating our Lord's words and works to his hearers, observed no systematic arrangement, so that if St. Mark reported faithfully but not in order what was said and done by Jesus, the responsibility for the lack of order was not his but St. Peter's. The statement that he wrote with accuracy but not in order what he remembered of St. Peter's recollections of Jesus' ministry requires a little further comment. Although precise notes of

[1] Zahn, holding that St. Peter did not need an interpreter in the ordinary sense of the term, explains the words ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος to mean that St. Mark became, through writing his Gospel, the channel whereby the Apostle's instruction was transmitted to a wider circle than he himself could possibly reach: cf. *I.N.T.* ii. p. 455.

time are not conspicuous in the Second Gospel and the sequence of events is often indicated only vaguely (*e.g.* ii. 1, 23, iii. 1, iv. 1, viii. 1), and although the writer rarely attempts to date the events which he relates by reference to contemporary rulers, native or foreign, as the author of the Third Gospel does, yet the incidents recorded by him in general follow a natural order. Thus the succession of occurrences is plainly marked in i. 21, 29, 32, 35, iv. 35, v. 21, vi. 1, vii. 24, 31, xi. 1, 11, 12, etc.; and in spite of gaps in the record (contrast iii. 13 with iii. 20), his narrative, judged by internal evidence, "presents a reasonably consistent account of the public life of our Lord."[1] Accordingly it seems necessary to understand Papias' description of St. Mark's work as written "accurately but not in order" (*ἀκριβῶς οὐ μέντοι τάξει*) to mean something else than grave disregard for chronological sequence in the connexion of the events. Possibly the criticism was designed to imply that it was deficient in the studied arrangement to which the historians of antiquity devoted much care, with a view to producing an impressive effect. Perhaps more likely it refers to the fact that examples, now of Christ's works (i.–iii.), and now of His teaching, are grouped together (iv. 1–32), instead of each instance being placed in the situation where it occurred. In any case, the defect of which complaint is made is not of such a character as to disturb the impression produced upon the readers of the Gospel that there is in the narrative an orderly development of events, culminating in the tragedy of Calvary, which warrants the belief that in general it is faithful to facts in its account of the main turning-points of our Lord's ministry. But though the Gospel is a history, it was not with a purely historical aim that its author composed it. His principal motive is suggested by the heading of his work—*The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God*.[2] The purpose of the earliest Christian writers, like that of the earliest Apostolic preachers, was to persuade men that Jesus was the Messiah, and to refute the presumption raised against such a belief by the ignominy of the Crucifixion. Such a purpose led to the selection of such incidents in their Master's life as were most calculated to create in men a conviction of His goodness and His power, to indicate correspondence between previous predictions about the Messiah and their fulfilment in the activities and the experiences of Jesus, and to reiterate His announcements about the coming kingdom, so that their narratives were in a measure a defence of the Faith in an historical shape.

As has been seen, St. Mark's Gospel is not a first-hand, but a second-hand authority for our Lord's life and teaching, though for most of the events of His life it is the best we have. Amongst the sources upon which it is based are (*a*) St. Peter's oral instruction; (*b*) the writer's own memories; (*c*) possibly the document *Q*; (*d*) probably (in ch. xiii.) "a fly-leaf of early Christian Apocalyptic prophecy, pseudonymously put into the mouth

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[1] Burkitt, *The Gospel History*, etc., p. 75.

[2] The word *ἀρχή* seems intended to convey the thought that the good tidings from God came first not through John the Baptist but through Jesus (cf. *Heb.* ii. 3, *Joh.* i. 8), John being merely the herald of the latter.

of our Lord "[1]; (*e*) probably some narratives resting on tradition, one at least appearing to be a variant version of an incident related in another part of the Gospel (see p. 414).

The date of the Gospel has already been discussed, and it has been shown to be probable (p. 171) that it was written between the death of St. Peter in 64, and the siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 (about 67 ?), and most likely at Rome, where a work written in Greek would easily circulate (p. 81). If written at Rome, it would be intended for the use of Gentile Christians, and this conclusion is corroborated by its explanations of the situation of certain places in Palestine (i. 9, xi. 1), which would be unfamiliar to residents outside that country, and of Jewish customs, words, and phrases which would be unintelligible to Gentile readers (see iii. 17, v. 41, vii. 3, 4, 11, xi. 1, xv. 22, 34, 42). If the conclusion be correct that there were two editions of *Mk.*, one used by St. Luke and the other by the author of the First Gospel (p. 158 f.), the later being identical with the book as we have it, and the earlier being shorter (lacking vi. 45–viii. 26, and perhaps some briefer passages), the interval 64–70 probably saw both editions issued, inasmuch as the Evangelist nowhere gives any indication that he was acquainted with the fall of the Jewish capital. It is of the first edition that Rome may most confidently be regarded as the birthplace; the enlarged second edition was most likely prepared elsewhere (perhaps in Palestine).

St. Mark, in many passages common to him and the other Synoptists, exhibits certain features which have a bearing upon his qualities as an historian as compared with those of *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(1) In the following he represents our Lord as unable to do what He desired on various occasions:—

(*a*) vi. 5. *He could there do no mighty work . . . and he marvelled because of their unbelief*, changed in *Mt.* xiii. 58 to *He did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief.*

(*b*) vi. 48. *He would have passed by them;* omitted in *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*c*) vii. 24. *He wished that no one should know, and could not be hid;* absent from both *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(2) In the following Jesus is depicted as deprecating the application to Himself of the attribute "good."

x. 18. *Why callest thou me good? none is good save one, even God;* changed in *Mt.* to *Why askest thou me concerning that which is good? one there is who is good.*

(3) Ignorance is attributed to Him in the following cases:—

(*a*) xi. 13. *Seeing a fig-tree afar off having leaves, he came, if haply he might find anything thereon; and when he came to it he found nothing but leaves;* in *Mt.* our Lord's expectation is not explicitly expressed.

(*b*) v. 9. *He asked him* (a "possessed" man), *What is thy name?* omitted in *Mt.*

(*c*) v. 30. *Who touched my garments?* omitted in *Mt.*

(*d*) vi. 38. *How many loaves have ye?* omitted in both *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*e*) ix. 16. *What question ye with them?* omitted in both *Mt.* and *Lk.*

[1] Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 207.

(*f*) ix. 21. *How long time is it since this hath come upon him?* omitted in *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*g*) ix. 33. *What were ye reasoning in the way?* omitted by *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(4) In the following instances Jesus is described as manifesting strong human emotions, such as anger, surprise, or mental distress:—

(*a*) i. 43, *He sternly* (ἐμβριμησάμενος) *charged him;* the participle is omitted in *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*b*) iii. 5, *When he had looked round about them with anger;* the whole phrase is omitted in *Mt.*, and the words *with anger* are omitted by *Lk.*

(*c*) vi. 6, *He marvelled*; omitted by *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*d*) x. 14, *He was moved with indignation;* omitted by *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*e*) xiv. 33, *Began to be greatly amazed and sore troubled;* omitted by *Lk.*

(5) The following phrases reflect severely on the mental and moral qualities, or on the conduct, of the disciples:—

(*a*) iv. 13. *Know ye not this parable and how shall ye know all the parables?* omitted by *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*b*) iv. 40. *Have ye not yet faith?* softened in *Mt.* to *O ye of little faith.*

(*c*) vi. 52. *For they understood not concerning the loaves, but their heart was hardened;* omitted by *Mt.* (*Lk.* does not retain the passage).

(*d*) viii. 17. *Have ye your heart hardened?* omitted by *Mt.* (*Lk.* does not contain the passage).

(*e*) viii. 33. *Get thee behind me, Satan* (addressed to St. Peter); omitted by *Lk.*

(*f*) ix. 10. *Questioning what the rising from the dead should mean;* omitted by both *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*g*) ix. 32. *They understood not the saying and were afraid to ask him;* omitted by *Mt.*

(*h*) x. 24. *And the disciples were amazed at his words;* omitted by both *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*i*) xiv. 50. *And they all left him and fled;* omitted by *Lk.*

In consequence of the conspicuous candour here displayed by St. Mark, the confidence reposed in his Gospel, as compared with the other Synoptists, on the ground of its priority, is further justified. It is not unlikely that the severity of the judgments passed here and there upon the Apostles is due to the derivation of the narrative from the teaching of St. Peter. "It is the personal remorse of an impulsive nature that shines through the many statements in the Gospel which describe the lack of faith, the ambition, the sluggish intelligence, the disgraceful flight of the disciples."[1]

But St. Mark had been a companion of St. Paul before he acted as the interpreter of St. Peter; and if, when recording the latter's recollections, he preserved his tone of self-condemnation, he may reasonably be expected to reflect something of the mind of the former also. The employment of *Jesus Christ* (i. 1) as a proper name probably reproduces the usage of the Church generally (see *Acts* ii. 38, iii. 6, etc.), and not of St. Paul alone,

[1] See Allen, *St. Mark*, p. 22.

but possibly the description of the Gospel not as *of the Kingdom* but as *of Jesus Christ the Son of God*, and the addition in viii. 35, x. 29 to *for my sake* of the words *and the gospel's* are due to Pauline influence (cf. the Apostle's language in *Rom.* xv. 19, 1 *Cor.* ix. 23); the explanation of our Lord's employment of parables (iv. 11–12) corresponds to St. Paul's views as expressed in *Rom.* xi. 8 (cf. ix. 18); and there is a striking coincidence between our Lord's use of the word *ransom* (*λύτρον*) in connexion with His death (x. 45) and St. Paul's phrase "the ransoming (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) that is in Christ Jesus" (*Rom.* iii. 24). It is also interesting to note that the words *Abba, Father*, occur in the New Testament only in *Mk.* xiv. 36, *Rom.* viii. 15, and *Gal.* iv. 6.

St. Mark's quotations from the Old Testament, which occur almost exclusively in the utterances of our Lord or of other persons figuring in his narrative, and are rarely introduced by the Evangelist himself, are usually from the LXX. Thus in his citation (i. 3) from 2 *Is.* xl. 3, 4, he connects with the words "The voice of one crying" the following "in the wilderness," as the LXX does; whereas the Hebrew takes "in the wilderness" with "make ye ready." The quotation in xii. 10 corresponds verbally with the LXX version of *Ps.* cxviii. (= cxvii.) 22; whilst that in vii. 6, 7 reproduces substantially the LXX rendering of *Is.* xxix. 13, which varies considerably from the Hebrew. There are, however, some exceptions. The quotation in xii. 36 from *Ps.* cx. 1 has *ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου* for the LXX's *ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου* (which is close to the Hebrew); whilst that in xiv. 27, from 2 *Zech.* xiii. 7, is nearer to the Hebrew than to the LXX. The incomplete quotation in iv. 12 from *Is.* vi. 9, 10 departs in the final clause from both the LXX and the Hebrew; and the quotation in i. 2 (really from *Mal.* iii. 1, though ascribed to *Isaiah*) also varies from the Greek version as well as from the original Hebrew.[1]

St. Mark has certain features of style which, though most obvious in the original Greek, are to some extent discernible even in an English translation. One of the most prominent is a redundancy of expression already alluded to (p. 156), of which the following are additional illustrations: —

i. 28. *went out everywhere into all the districts.*
ii. 25. *when he had need and was a hungered.*
iv. 1. *all the multitude were by the sea on the land.*
v. 23. *that she may be made whole and live.*
vii. 21. *from within, out of the heart of man.*
x. 30. *now, in this present time.*
xiv. 61. *he held his peace and answered nothing.*

In the following examples the same idea is repeated in two forms, affirmative and negative:—

ii. 19. *Can the sons of the bridechamber fast while the bridegroom is with them? as long as they have the bridegroom with them they cannot fast.*

[1] The quotation from *Malachi* in i. 2 has been associated with the one from *Isaiah* in i. 3 through both having in common the phrase *make ready* (the way), Heb. *pinnah*, which occurs only in these two passages and in 3 *Is.* lvii. 14, lxii. 10.

ii. 27. *The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath.*
iii. 26. *he cannot stand but hath an end.*
x. 27. *With men it is impossible but not with God, for all things are possible with God.*
xi. 23. *shall not doubt in his heart but shall believe.*

Other conspicuous characteristics are a fondness for the historic present (i. 12, 21, 30, 38, 40, 44, etc., cf. p. 156); for the combination of *εἶναι* with a present or perfect participle (i. 6, 33, ii. 6, 18, iv. 38, v. 5, etc.); for the use of *ἤρξατο* (*ἤρξαντο*) with an infinitive (i. 45, ii. 23, iv. 1, v. 17, 20, etc.); for the employment of a superfluous *ὅτι* before statements in the *oratio recta* (i. 15, 37, iii. 11, 22, iv. 21, v. 23, viii. 4, ix. 11, etc.); for the adverbial use of *πολλά* (v. 10, *παρεκάλει αὐτὸν πολλά*, vi. 20, *πολλὰ ἠπόρει*, see also xv. 3); for a love of compound verbs; for diminutives (*θυγάτριον*, *κοράσιον*, *παιδίσκη*, *ἰχθύδια*, *πλοιάριον*, *ὠτάριον*); and for asyndeta (v. 35, ix. 38, x. 27, 28, 29, xii. 24, 29, xiv. 19). There is also observable a tendency to accumulate negatives idiomatically (i. 44, iii. 27, v. 3, ix. 8, xi. 14, xii, 14, 34, etc.), and to employ with a preposition a compound verb containing the same preposition (i. 16, 21, ii. 21, v. 13, 17, vii. 25, ix. 42, x. 25, etc.). The connective *καί* is very frequently used instead of the more idiomatic *δέ* even where an adversative particle would be more appropriate (vi. 19, xii. 12). This is not the only Hebraic feature of his style; other Hebraisms occur in i. 7 (*οὗ . . . αὐτοῦ*), ii. 7 (*δύο δύο*, cf. *vv.* 39, 40), viii. 12 (*εἰ δοθήσεται* for *οὐ μὴ δοθῇ*). Not a few of his sentences are harshly constructed, the most notable occurring in iv. 31, v. 23, vi. 8–9, 22, viii. 28, xii. 19, 38, xv. 8, 11.

St. Mark has a number of favourite words, amongst which are the following :—

again (or *back*), *πάλιν*
be amazed, *ἐκθαμβέομαι*
bring (or *bring forth*), *φέρω*
centurion, *κεντυρίων*
charge, *διαστέλλομαι*
come, *ἔρχομαι*
dumb, *ἄλαλος*
dry up (or *wither*, or *pine away*), *ξηραίνομαι*
go (or *proceed*) *out*, *ἐκπορεύομαι*
go in (or *into*), *εἰσπορεύομαι*
gospel, *εὐαγγέλιον*
hold (my, his) *peace*, *σιωπάω*
in the morning, *πρωΐ*
being interpreted, *μεθερμηνευόμενος*
look around, *περιβλέπομαι*
much (or *greatly*), *πολλά*
no more, *οὐκέτι*
not yet, *οὔπω*
pallet, *κράβαττος*
plague (or *malady*), *μάστιξ*
question, *συνζητέω*
round about, *κύκλῳ*
stand by (or *is come*), *παρέστηκα*
straightway, *εὐθύς*
teaching, *διδαχή*
which is (or *that is to say*), *ὅ ἐστιν*
unclean, *ἀκάθαρτος*

It has been previously mentioned (p. 145) that a form of text which is marked by certain peculiar characteristics, and which is commonly known as the "Western" (or δ) text is found in certain MSS., Versions and Fathers. The principal uncial in which these peculiarities occur is the Bezan MS. (D); and as some of these are of a rather remarkable nature, a list of the most notable in *Mk.* is here subjoined, together with the readings (most commonly approved, as based on the best authorities) which they replace or supplement.

Approved Text [1]	*Western Text*
i. 6, *for* camel's hair (*τρίχας*)	*substitutes* a camel's skin (*δέρρην*)
i. 41, *for* being moved with compassion	*substitutes* being moved with anger
ii. 14, *for* Levi	*substitutes* James
iii. 18, *for* Thaddæus	*substitutes* Lebbæus
iii. 21, *for* is beside Himself	*substitutes* makes (people) beside themselves
vii. 19, *for* draught (*ἀφεδρῶνα*)	*substitutes* intestinal canal (*ὀχετόν*)
viii. 24, *after* men	*omits* for I behold them
ix. 12, *for* Elijah indeed cometh	*substitutes* If Elijah cometh
x. 16, *for* And he took them in his arms	*substitutes* And he called them
xiii. 2, *after* thrown down	*adds* and after three days another shall be raised without hands
xiv. 22, *for* and when he thought thereon he wept	*substitutes* and he began to weep
xv. 25, *for* crucified him	*substitutes* guarded him
xv. 34, *for* Eloi	*substitutes* Eli

The most important question in textual criticism relating to St. Mark's Gospel concerns the genuineness of the last twelve verses (xvi. 9–20).

The external evidence *for* their authenticity is their occurrence in the following authorities.[2]

Manuscripts—A C D E F G H K L M W X Γ Δ Π Ψ 33, 69 and all late manuscripts.

Of these L and Ψ break off after *v.* 8. L introduces, with the words "these, too, are somewhere current," the alternative short conclusion mentioned below; and finally adds, with the words "And there are these also current," the conclusion contained in the twelve verses 9–20. In the case of Ψ the short ending follows immediately after *v.* 8 without any prefatory words. Certain cursives prefix a note to the verses in question, stating that they are not included in some copies, whilst a few of these cursives add that they occur "in the ancient copies." One cursive (22) has *τέλος* after both *v.* 8 and *v.* 20, and has at *v.* 8 the note "In some copies the Evangelist is completed here, but in many these (*i.e. vv.* 9–20) also are current." Similar notes occur in some other cursives. The uncial W after *v.* 14 inserts the following [3]:—

κἀκεῖνοι ἀπελογοῦντο λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος τῆς ἀνομίας καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας ὑπὸ τὸν Σατανᾶν στίν, ὁ μὴ ἐῶν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀκάθαρτα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαβέσθαι ‹καὶ› δύναμιν. διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκάλυψον σοῦ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἤδη. ‹οὕτως› ἐκεῖνοι ἔλεγον τῷ Χ ι στῷ, καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκείνοις προσέλεγεν ὅτι πεπλήρωται ὁ ὅρος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ἀλλὰ ἐγγίζει ἄλλα δεινά, καὶ ὑπὲρ ‹τῶν› [ὧν] [ἐγὼ] ἁμαρτήσαντων ‹ἐγὼ› παρεδόθην εἰς θάνατον ἵνα ὑποστρέψωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ μηκέτι ἁμαρτήσωσιν, ἵνα τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πνευματικὴν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξαν κληρονομήσωσι.

"And they excused themselves, saying that this age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, that doth not allow the things rendered unclean by the spirits to apprehend the truth and power of God. Therefore reveal now thy righteousness. Thus they spake to the Christ, and the Christ said to them that 'The limit of the years of the authority of Satan is fulfilled, but other terrible things are drawing near. And for the sake of those that sinned I was delivered up unto death, in order that they might return to the truth and sin no more and that they might inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness in heaven.'"[4]

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[1] The phrase is borrowed from Ramsay (*Expositor*, Feb., 1895).

[2] For a fuller account of the authorities for and against the verses, see Westcott and Hort, *New Testament*, Appendix, pp. 28–51; Scrivener, *Introd. to Criticism of New Testament*, ii. pp. 337–44.

[3] Words that probably should be omitted or inserted are marked respectively with square and pointed brackets.

[4] Part of this insertion is quoted by Jerome as found "*in quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in græcis codicibus*": *Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes, Sæculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub Satana est, quæ* [*qui*] *non sinit per immundos spiritus veram dei apprehendi virtutem: idcirco iam nunc revela iustitiam tuam* (quoted in Zahn, *I.N.T.* ii. pp. 484–5).

Versions—Lat. vet. (most MSS.) and Vulg. ; Syr. cur. pesh. hl. (text), pal., Eg. sah. and boh., Arm. (most MSS.), Goth., Eth. (most MSS.).

In one of the Armenian manuscripts (dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century) there is prefixed to the verses in question the statement "This is unauthentic" and in another there appears the similar notice "This is an addition." [1]

Patristic Writers—Justin (probably), Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus and others.

The external evidence *against* their authenticity is their absence from the following authorities :—

Manuscripts—א B.

Of these B after *v.* 8 has a blank column, the copyist thereby indicating that he was aware of the existence of one or other of the alternative conclusions, though neither was in the copy which he was reproducing.

Versions—Lat. vet. (k), Syr. sin. hl. (mg.), Arm. (some MSS.), Eth. (some MSS.).

Patristic Writers—Eusebius (who states that the disputed verses were found in only a few copies (*σπανίως ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις*) and not in the most accurate), Jerome ("omnibus Græciæ libris pæne hoc capitulum fine non habentibus").

The relative value of the external evidence for and against the verses depends largely upon the estimate attached to the consensus of א and B, when opposed to the remaining manuscripts. But the internal evidence supplied by the discontinuity of the passage with its context, by its contents, and by its diction seems decisive against its genuineness.

(*a*) The verses, though serving to round off the Gospel, which without them ends so abruptly, are clearly not continuous with the preceding. (*α*) There is a violent transition from the subject of *v.* 8 (the women) to that of *v.* 9 f. (Christ) ; (*β*) Mary Magdalene, who has already been mentioned in xv. 40 and xvi. 1, is named apart from the other women and described afresh in *v.* 9. (*γ*) The contradiction between the statement in *v.* 8 that the women said nothing to any one and the assertion in *v.* 10 that Mary Magdalene informed the disciples is left unexplained.

(*b*) In the account given of the appearances of our Lord after His resurrection nothing is mentioned about any fulfilment of the prediction in *v.* 7 (cf. xiv. 28) that the disciples should see their Lord in *Galilee*, but a summary is furnished of certain appearances of which the scene is clearly *Jerusalem* (or its neighbourhood), and acquaintance is shown with the contents of the First, Third and Fourth Gospels, as will be seen from the following parallels :—

vv. 9–10. Cf. *Joh.* xx. 1–17, *Lk.* viii. 2.
v. 11. „ *Joh.* xx. 18, *Lk.* xxiv. 11.
vv. 12, 13. „ *Lk.* xxiv. 13–35.
v. 14. „ *Lk.* xxiv. 36–43.
v. 15. „ *Mt.* xxviii. 19, *Lk.* xxiv. 47.
v. 16. „ *Joh.* iii. 18, 36, *Acts* xvi. 31.
vv. 17, 18. „ [*Acts* ii. 4, v. 16, x. 46, xvi. 18, xxviii. 3–5], cf. also *Lk.* x. 19, Eus. *H.E.* iii. 39, 9.
v. 19. „ *Lk.* xxiv. 51 [*Acts* i. 11].

It will be also noticed that the passage, which lacks the detail generally characteristic of *Mk.*, appears to reflect the experiences of the early Church as related in *Acts*, the gift of tongues and immunity from poison (*Acts* ii. 4, xxviii. 3–5) being here predicted as destined to mark the Apostles equally with the power of healing disease and casting out devils (as prophesied in *Mk.* iii. 15, vi. 7).

(*c*) The vocabulary and style are unlike St. Mark's. Though *εὐαγγέλιον* (*v.* 15) is a Marcan word (p. 179), and *φανερόω* (*vv.* 12, 14) occurs once in *Mk.* alone of the Synoptists (it appears also in *Joh.*), the following are not found elsewhere in *Mk.*—*θεάομαι, μετὰ ταῦτα, ὕστερον, βλάπτω, ἀναλαμβάνω, ἀπιστέω, συνεργέω, μορφή, βεβαιόω, ἐπακολουθέω. λαλεῖν γλώσσαις.* The adjective *θανάσιμος* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. Though the presence of some of these is not of moment (since the use of them can be explained by the subject-matter), that of others is significant. Thus *θεάομαι* is found in all the other Gospels and in *Acts* ; *μετὰ ταῦτα* is frequent in *Lk.*, *Acts* and *Joh.* ; *ὕστερον* is found seven times in *Mt.* and once in *Lk.* ; *ἀναλαμβάνω* three times in *Acts* ; *ἀπιστέω* twice in *Lk.*, once in *Acts*, once in 1 *Peter*

[1] See *Expositor*, Dec. 1895, p. 404.

and twice in Paul; *συνεργέω* four times in Paul; *βεβαιόω* five times in Paul and twice in *Hebrews*; *λαλεῖν γλώσσαις*, four times in *Acts* and eight times in Paul. In addition to these features it is noteworthy that *πορεύομαι* (*vv.* 10, 12, 15) occurs only once (ix. 30, doubtfully) elsewhere in *Mk.*, but is frequent in *Mt.*, *Lk.*, and *Joh.*; *ἐκεῖνος* (*vv.* 10, 11, 13, 14) "is never used merely to express the subject of a verb in *Mk.*"[1] though it is employed in this way in the Fourth Gospel (vii. 45); *πρώτῃ σαββάτου* (*v.* 9) seems employed where *Mk.* would probably have used *τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων*, as in xvi. 2; *ὁ Κύριος* (*the Lord*, *vv.* 19, 20) is not used as a title of Jesus in *Mk.*, though it is applied to Him in *Lk.* and *Joh.* (cf. pp. 206, 231).[2] And perhaps as significant as anything is the fact that as a connective between sentences *δέ* appears more frequently than *καί*.

The marked lack of connexion between these twelve verses and the preceding context makes it improbable that they were supplied by a copyist's own invention to make good the defective ending at *v.* 8. The unexpressed subject of *ἀναστὰς . . . ἐφάνη* (*viz.* Jesus) must have occurred in some previous sentence, so that the passage has every appearance of being "the beginning of a narrative taken from another source"[3] and severed from its true context. A plausible explanation of its origin came to light at the end of last century. It has been mentioned that the passage occurs in many, though not in all, of the MSS. of the Armenian version; and in one of them, found in 1891 at Edschniatzen, near Mount Ararat, and dating from A.D. 986,[4] its authorship is ascribed to a presbyter called Ariston, who has been conjecturally identified with the Aristion who is included by Papias amongst the disciples of the Lord (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 39, cf. p. 228[5]), and on whose authority some of Papias' accounts of the words of the Lord were based. If this is correct, the passage probably dates from early in the second century A.D., since it seems to have been known to Justin Martyr and to Irenæus.

In addition to, or in place of, *vv.* 9–20 there appears in certain manuscripts another and shorter appendix to the Gospel, which is as follows:—

"And all that had been enjoined on them (the women) they reported briefly to the companions of Peter. And after these things Jesus Himself from the east even to the west sent forth through them the holy and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation."

Both the Longer and the Shorter appendix are found in the Uncials L Ψ and two fragments (the Shorter being placed before its companion); but a translation of the Shorter alone occurs in the Codex Bobiensis (*k*) of the Old Latin version, and in some Ethiopic manuscripts; and it is also inserted in the margin of the cursive 274 of the Harkleian Syriac, and of some manuscripts of the Egyptian versions. No mention of the Shorter conclusion has been found in any Father.[6]

This Appendix (it will be seen), like the Longer, represents that the women carried out the directions of the Angel recorded in *v.* 7 without smoothing over the discrepancy with *v.* 8; but whilst mentioning that our Lord appeared to His disciples, it gives no details. It has little documentary support, and the internal evidence is against its authenticity, the expression "the holy and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation" being suggestive of a second-century date. In spite of the inconsistency noticed between it and *v.* 8, it has, unlike the Longer conclusion, all the appearance of having been expressly composed by an unskilful writer to round off the awkward termination of the Gospel in *v.* 8. The reference to the diffusion of the Gospel from the east to the west has suggested that it had its origin at Rome.[7]

Though it is improbable that either of the two Appendices is the Gospel's original ending, it is equally improbable that it was brought by its author intentionally to a conclusion at *v.* 8. The book manifestly cannot have finished without relating how

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[1] Allen, *St. Mark*, p. 192.

[2] The combination *ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς* occurs, within the Gospels, only in *Lk.* xxiv. 3, but is found several times in *Acts* (xx. 24, etc.) and in St. Paul (2 *Cor.* xi. 23, xvi. 23).

[3] Westcott and Hort, *New Testament*, App., p. 50.

[4] See *Expositor*, Oct. 1893, p. 241 f.

[5] Against the identification see Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, p. 238.

[6] Westcott and Hort, *New Testament*, Appendix, p. 38.

[7] Swete, *St. Mark*, p. ci.

the promise that Christ would meet His followers in Galilee (*v.* 7) was fulfilled; but how the conclusion came to be mutilated can only be conjectured. A possible explanation is that it was due to accident at a very early date (before copies of the autograph had been multiplied) through the fragility of the material upon which the work was written (cf. p. 126). Another is that St. Mark intended to include, in addition to the account of the Resurrection appearances, some matters relating to the early Church (cf. p. 243); but was interrupted before he could embody in his Gospel the remainder of the material he had collected.[1]

The Gospel according to St. Matthew

In regard to the origin of the First Gospel the external and the internal evidence are in conflict. It has been seen (p. 166) that Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius all attribute its authorship to Matthew, who, from being a toll-collector, became a disciple and Apostle of our Lord, though since they likewise agree in representing that he wrote it in Hebrew, the existing Gospel which we have can, at most, be only a translation of the original work. But this account is at variance with the evidence afforded by the book itself. As has been shown, it incorporates almost all the substance of *Mk.*, omitting (pp. 149–52) only three miracles (i. 23 f., vii. 32 f., viii. 22 f.), two other incidents (ix. 38–40, xii. 40–44), and one parable (iv. 26–29), in addition to some slighter matters (i. 45, iii. 20, 21, vi. 12, 13); whilst to some extent there is retained even *Mk.'s* phraseology (see pp. 153–4 and cf. xiv. 22–26 with *Mk.* vi. 45–50; xv. 32–39 with *Mk.* viii. 1–10; xvii. 1–7 with *Mk.* ix. 2–5; xx. 23–28 with *Mk.* x. 40–45). It is extremely improbable either that an Apostle and eye-witness of our Lord's ministry should have depended in this way for his information upon the production of one who was not an eye-witness, or that a Greek rendering of his work should agree so closely with St. Mark's Greek. But the inconsistency between the external testimony and the internal conditions admits of being reconciled, if account be taken of the statement of Papias that St. Matthew composed in Hebrew a work which Papias calls τὰ λόγια. This term though applicable to an historical work like the First Gospel, is equally appropriate to a collection of oracles or sayings (see p. 166); and evidence has been adduced that the First Gospel, besides embodying St. Mark's Gospel, also includes in whole or in part another source, *Q*, which embraces a number of parables, detached utterances, and connected discourses of Jesus. If, then, it is assumed that a collection of these was compiled by St. Matthew in Hebrew (by which term is doubtless meant Aramaic) and entitled λόγια κυριακά in a Greek translation, and that the Greek rendering of this collection, first incorporated in *Q*, entered through the latter into the composition of the First Gospel, the ascription of that Gospel to St. Matthew can be reasonably explained. The book is anonymous, and the author was probably obscure; so that if there prevailed a tradition that a work by an Apostle had been drawn upon, it would be natural for the name of that Apostle to be associated with it, in order to enhance its authority. It is true that the λόγια appear to be embedded likewise in the Third Gospel; but inasmuch as this Gospel was known, or generally

[1] Cf. Zahn, *I.N.T.* ii. p. 479.

believed, to be the production of St. Luke, there was not the same motive for displacing the name of the real author by that of one who had only contributed some of the materials of it.

About the actual writer of the Gospel nothing is known, though it may be inferred from the general character of the work, especially from the interest displayed in the fulfilment of Hebrew prophecies by the acts and experiences of Jesus, and from various other features noticed below (p. 187) that he was a Jewish Christian. Little more is known about the Apostle whose name is connected with it. St. Matthew was a collector of tolls at some place on the Sea of Galilee near Capernaum (p. 4), within the dominion of Herod Antipas. It appears from the parallel narratives of his call (*Mt.* ix. 9 = *Mk.* ii. 14) that he was also named Levi, both of his names being Hebraic.[1] Shortly after he was summoned by Jesus to join Him, he entertained Him at a feast (though see p. 384), but apart from this incident he does not figure in the Gospel history. Though he is represented in the Talmud as having been put to death by a Jewish court, he is expressly declared (in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9) not to have suffered martyrdom.[2]

The two sources already mentioned, St. Mark's Gospel and *Q*, do not exhaust the materials employed in the composition of the First Gospel. The writer also had at his disposal much other (presumably oral) information ; and his Gospel is, next to St. Luke's, the longest. As it embodies the Gospel of St. Mark almost in its entirety, and supplements it with matter derived alike from *Q* and from current tradition, it naturally exceeds the Second Gospel considerably in extent. But in respect of the matter common to both, it is of inferior authority wherever the two are in conflict, for it is one degree farther removed from the primary source, *viz.* the reminiscences of St. Peter. Nor, indeed, in respect of our Lord's Sayings, as preserved in St. Matthew's *Logia*, does it stand any nearer to the original source, if the writer became acquainted with them through an intermediate channel, the document *Q*. Nevertheless for the Sayings it is, in common with St. Luke's Gospel, our sole authority, since neither the collection of the *Logia* nor *Q* has survived in an independent form. Those parts of its contents which are common to it and to the Third Gospel, and which come from *Q*, naturally as a whole command greater confidence than those passages which it alone contains. Among the latter, however, there are many which on grounds of intrinsic probability have every claim to credence. Such in particular are those which consist of parables and aphorisms, for these are antecedently less likely to be the creations of pious fancy than narratives of incident (*e.g.* xxvii. 52, 53). Whether the account of the supernatural Birth of Jesus, and the incidents that are related to have attended it (ch. i., ii.), is a history of actual occurrences is considered elsewhere (pp. 360–2). Probably the title of the book—*βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυεὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ*—does not relate to

[1] It is said by Edersheim (*Life and Times*, etc., i. p. 514) to have been the custom for natives of Galilee to have two names—one Jewish and one Galilean.

[2] Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 296.

the circumstance that it contains a genealogy of our Lord and the story of His nativity (though *γένεσις* is used of this in i. 18), but is to be understood in the sense of "Book of the history of Jesus Christ," etc. (like "the book of the history of Adam," LXX, *ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων* (= Heb. *Adam*) in *Gen.* v. 1).

In the endeavour to estimate the qualities of the writer of the First Gospel as an historian, much help may be obtained by examining the way in which he has dealt with his principal source, the Gospel of St. Mark; and the following are some of the characteristics that emerge from such an examination.

1. In the early part of his appropriations from St. Mark he has made some strange changes in the order of events, as will be seen from the table (p. 148 f.); and it is not until the account of John the Baptist's death (xiv. 1–12 = *Mk.* vi. 14–29) that the alterations are abandoned, though passages which in *Mk.* are in juxtaposition are still often separated by the insertion of matter derived from *Q*. The reasons for the writer's departure from *Mk.'s* order of events in the early part of his book are not always very apparent. But in one or two incidents he produces a more logical (as contrasted with a chronological) sequence than is found in *Mk.*, as when (in x. 5–42) he attaches to the account of the appointment of the Twelve the directions given to them by their Master, which in *Mk.* are related subsequently (see *Mk.* vi. 7–13, compared with iii. 14–19). The desire to secure this result will also account for his transference of some of our Lord's utterances from the position which they occupy in *Mk.*: the saying for instance about the proper place for the lamp (*Mk.* iv. 21) is removed from after the parable of the Sower to after the declaration that the disciples are the light of the world (*Mt.* v. 15); whilst the direction to forgive, when praying, all offences is moved from its position after the statement of the need of faith in making requests of God (*Mk.* xi. 25), and is placed after the Lord's Prayer (*Mt.* vi. 15).

The principle of associating with one another passages similar in contents or tenor, which is observable in the instances just enumerated, is a general feature of the author of *Mt.* The grouping together of kindred incidents or discourses is found (as has been noticed, p. 175) in *Mk.*, but it is much more conspicuous in the First Gospel. Thus three miracles, two from *Mk.* and one from *Q*, are brought together in *Mt.* viii. 1–17; four miracles, two from *Mk.* and two from traditions preserved only in this Gospel, are united in ix. 18–34; three parables, two from *Mk.* and one from *Q*, are associated in xiii. 1–32. Groups of three are exceptionally common, and occur in connection with warnings (v. 22, vi. 2–18), classes of persons (xix. 12), contrasts (xxiii. 23), and addresses ("Scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites, xxiii. 13, 15, 23, etc.), all these being confined to this Gospel, though it has many others which come from its sources, *e.g.* the threefold temptation (iv. 1–11), and the triple question about the Baptist (xi. 7–9), both from *Q*, Christ's three prayers in Gethsemane (xxvi. 36–46), and St. Peter's three denials (xxvi. 69–75), both from *Mk.* But the writer does not restrict himself to threefold groups; he also arranges his matter by fives and sevens. Thus five discourses are each closed with the same phrase "it

came to pass when Jesus ended . . ." (vii. 28, xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1); and the first of these discourses, the Sermon on the Mount, contains five contrasts drawn between directions delivered "to them of old time," and the commands enjoined by Jesus (v. 21, 27, 33, 38, 43). Grouping by seven is found in connexion with the parables contained in ch. xiii. (where only two are derived from *Mk.*) and with the *Woes* contained in ch. xxiii. (of which four alone come from *Q*). *Three, five* and *seven* are all favourite numbers with Hebrew writers, and the frequent adjustment of the subject matter to these figures gives to the First Gospel an exceptionally formal aspect. And to what lengths the author was prepared to go in the interest of symmetry is well illustrated by the construction of the genealogical table in his opening chapter, where in order to adapt to the number of generations from Abraham to David the number from David to Jeconiah he omits the names of three kings (Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah) between Joram and Uzziah.

The fact that the author of *Mt.* supplemented what he drew from the Second Gospel by matter taken from *Q* almost inevitably rendered space an important consideration, so that it was natural that he should not only omit a few incidents recorded by *Mk.* (see p. 183), but should also frequently abbreviate his language. Thus where Mark uses two synonymous, or almost synonymous, phrases, he frequently omits one (p. 156). Other examples of small omissions, where the Second Evangelist is redundant, are found in xii. 3 compared with *Mk.* ii. 25, in xiii. 2, compared with *Mk.* iv. 1, in xv. 6 compared with *Mk.* vii. 13, and in xix. 26 compared with *Mk.* x. 27.[1] Similarly to save space long passages in *Mk.* are sometimes much curtailed, as is the case with *Mk.* ii. 1–12 (the paralytic at Capernaum), *Mk.* v. 1–20 (the demoniac at Gerasa), *Mk.* v. 22–43 (Jairus' daughter), and *Mk.* ix. 14–29 (the epileptic boy), which are reduced to much smaller compass in *Mt.* ix. 1–8, viii. 28–34, ix. 18–26, and xvii. 14–20 respectively. But alterations of *Mk.* are occasioned by other considerations than the desire for brevity. Some changes are introduced in the interest of clearness or accuracy, as when there is substituted the later name *Matthew* for the earlier *Levi* in ix. 9 (= *Mk.* ii. 14), the verb *crucify* for *kill* in xx. 19 (= *Mk.* x. 34), the description *in the holy place* for *where he ought not* in xxiv. 15 (= *Mk.* xiii. 14), the title *tetrarch* for *king* in xiv. 1 (= *Mk.* vi. 14)[2]; or an erroneous statement is omitted as in xii. 4 (compared with *Mk.* ii. 26).[3] There are also some changes in local names such as *Gadarenes* (viii. 28) for *Mk.'s Gerasenes* (v. 1) and *Magadan* (xv. 39) for *Mk.'s Dalmanutha* (viii. 10). To the passage in *Mk.* viii. 14–21, relating our Lord's warning to His disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, there is added the explanation that by the term "leaven" was meant the teaching of the Pharisees (xvi. 12). Similarly to *Mk.* ix. 13, containing Jesus' statement

[1] Conversely, however, *Mt.* x. 9 has "nor silver, nor brass" where 8 *Mk.* vii. has "no brass" and *Lk.* ix. 3 has "no silver."

[2] In xiv. 9 *king* is retained.

[3] In view of these corrections it is remarkable that in xxiii. 35 the priest Zachariah (son of Jehoiada) is described as the son of Barachiah, whereas the error is not made in *Lk.* xi. 50, where the father's name is absent.

that Elijah had already come, the First Evangelist appends a verse (xvii. 13) explaining that the disciples understood Him to refer to John the Baptist. In certain instances it is the form rather than the substance of *Mk.'s* statement that he improves, by smoothing out awkward constructions as in ix. 18 (cf. *Mk.* v. 23), xiii. 8 (cf. *Mk.* iv. 8), xiii. 32 (cf. *Mk.* iv. 31), xix. 29 (cf. *Mk.* x. 29, 30), xxi. 26 (cf. *Mk.* xi. 32), xxiii. 6, 7 (cf. *Mk.* xii. 38, 39), xxiv. 15, *τὸ βδέλυγμα . . ἑστός* (cf. *Mk.* xiii. 14, *τὸ βδέλυγμα ἑστηκότα*), xxii. 24 (cf. *Mk.* xii. 19) and xxvi. 56 (cf. *Mk.* xiv. 49). In xvi. 4 (*οὐ δοθήσεται*) the Hebraic idiom *εἰ δοθήσεται*, employed in *Mk.* viii. 12, is replaced by one more consonant with Greek usage ; and in xxiv. 31 he substitutes the more natural phrase *ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἑως ἄκρων αὐτῶν* for *Mk.'s* curious expression *ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ* (xiii. 27).

On the other hand some of the compressions of *Mk.* for which the author of the First Gospel is responsible have resulted in a lack of lucidity. Thus in xiv. 9 the reference, " to them that sat at meat with him " is very abrupt because of the omission of *Mk.'s* statement that Herod on his birthday had made a supper to the members of his court ; and in xxvi. 67–68 the taunt " Prophecy " uttered by the soldiers when buffeting our Lord is obscure by reason of the absence of all mention of the previous blindfolding. In some places the First Evangelist, in his reproductions of *Mk.*, gives quite a different turn to the statement of his authority, notable instances occurring in xxi. 3 as compared with *Mk.* xi. 3 (see p. 434) and in xxvii. 48, 49, as compared with *Mk.* xv. 36 (p. 468).

More important than this proneness to introduce verbal alterations into *Mk.'s* narrative are certain other aims and tendencies manifested by the First Evangelist. These are (i) a desire to trace throughout our Lord's ministry a close fulfilment of prophecy, leading in some places to a modification of the statements derived from his authorities in order to render the correspondence more exact ; (ii) an inclination to omit or to qualify expressions implying in our Lord human weaknesses or human limitations ; and conversely to enlarge or enhance the details of wonders attributed to Him, so as to make them more impressive ; (iii) a like inclination to remove or to minimize statements reflecting unfavourably upon the disciples.

(i) As one of the purposes of the writer in composing his Gospel was to convince those of his readers who were Jews that Jesus was the predicted Messiah of their race, attention is repeatedly drawn to the fact that numerous incidents recounted about Him accorded with statements contained in the Scriptures (i. 22, 23, ii. 17, 18, 22, 23, iv. 14–16, viii. 17, xii. 17–21, xiii. 34, 35, xxi. 4, 5, xxvii. 9). The desire to illustrate the close correspondence between prediction and event has in one instance caused him to do violence to the sense of the Hebrew parallelism occurring in the prophecy quoted (xxi. 2–5, contrast *Mk.* xi. 2). In a second instance (xxvi. 15) he alters the words of *Mk.* (xiv. 11) in such a way as to recall a passage from *Zechariah* (xi. 12, LXX) without actually citing it. And in a third instance (xxvii. 34) relating to our Lord's action in refusing the wine offered to Him on the Cross, he departs from *Mk.'s* representation (xv. 23) merely (as it would appear) in order to secure a fulfilment of the words of *Ps.* lxix. 21 (= lxviii. 22). In a similar spirit he seems to have put an

erroneous sense upon our Lord's declaration that to those who desired of Him a sign none should be given save the sign of Jonah (xii. 40) (see p. 414).

(ii) A sense of profoundest veneration for Jesus and of reverence for His Apostles leads to the introduction of changes in passages derived from the Second Gospel which might appear incompatible with these feelings. Thus in regard to our Lord, *Mk.'s* numerous statements attributing to Him some inability to do all that He wished, questions implying ignorance, or the display of some strong emotion are often omitted or modified (see p. 176 f.), though this is not done quite uniformly (see ix. 30). It is probably from the desire to remove any suspicion of Jesus' powerlessness to protect Himself against those sent to arrest Him, had He wished to do so, that there is inserted between *Mk.'s* verses xiv. 47 and 48 the three verses xxvi. 52-54 (suggesting that more than twelve legions of angels were available for His defence). In certain passages, as compared with the parallels in *Mk.*, there is some enhancement or accentuation of the miraculous: for instance, in viii. 16 *Mk.'s many* is changed to *all*; in ix. 22, xv. 28, xvii. 18 (all passages derived from *Mk.*) the immediacy of the cures is emphasized by the addition that they took place *from that very hour*; and in xxi. 20 the withering of the barren fig tree, observed, according to *Mk.* xi. 20, only on the following day, is expressly stated to have happened (and presumably to have been observed) at once. Moreover in the narrative of two miracles derived from *Mk.* the number of sufferers relieved is doubled, two demoniacs being substituted for one at Gadara (Gerasa), and two blind men for one at Jericho (viii. 28, xx. 30), though there may have been another motive for this (p. 431).

(iii) Similarly in regard to the Apostles, the writer was unwilling to see them placed in an unfavourable light, and so he removed many passages in *Mk.* that were calculated so to place them. Instead of *Mk.'s* (ix. 34) "They had disputed one with another in the way who was the greatest" he substitutes (xviii. 1) the less invidious inquiry, "In that hour came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, 'Who, then, is greatest in the kingdom of heaven?'" and in *Mt.* xx. 20, 21, the request attributed by *Mk.* (x. 35–37) to the sons of Zebedee that they might occupy places of distinction near Him in His glory, is ascribed to their mother. He retains, however, in xvii. 14–20 the story of the disciples' inability to heal the epileptic boy (taken from *Mk.* ix. 14–29), and even adds a verse (xvii. 20) in which the disciples' want of faith is emphasized.

From the comparison here instituted between the First and Second Gospels, it is clear that when *Mt.*, in borrowing from *Mk.*, has departed from him, his divergences from his authority, viewed from an historical standpoint, are, in general, for the worse. In particular, his departure from *Mk.'s* order involves a much less intelligible sequence of occurrences. Thus *Mk.* represents our Lord as at first preaching freely in the synagogues, as subsequently evoking strictures from the Scribes by declaring to a paralytic the forgiveness of his sins (ii. 6), and as finally incurring the murderous hostility of the Pharisees and Herodians by His cure, on the Sabbath, of the man with a withered hand (iii. 1–6). After this, our Lord is not again related to have entered a synagogue in Galilee except on one

occasion at His own town of Nazareth (vi. 1, 2). The breach with the Jewish religious leaders thus accounts for His organization of His followers into a distinct body (as narrated in *Mk.* iii. 13–19).[1] But in *Mt.* the organization of the Apostolic company (*Mt.* x. 1–4) is recounted *before* the healing of the man with the withered hand (xii. 9–14), which, as in *Mk.*, is the incident that determines the adversaries of our Lord to seek His life; and in consequence, the development of events is less comprehensible. As a narrative, then, of objective facts *Mt.* is inferior to *Mk.* But it is probable that *Mt.* was not greatly concerned to relate the incidents of Christ's ministry in exact chronological sequence (for the artificial system in which he has arranged so much of his materials appears to be incompatible with this); his real interest lay in illustrating effectively certain aspects of Jesus' life and work with a view to proving that He was the Messiah of Jewish hopes, and in preserving a record of His discourses. And if his book is, in consequence, a less valuable historical document than St. Mark's (recording less accurately both what actually happened and how it came to happen), yet it attests most significantly the heightened appreciation by the Christian community of our Lord's Personality, and is of the greatest worth through containing so much of His teaching which is absent from the Second Gospel, and even from the Third Gospel.

A large proportion of the teaching of Jesus finds a place in *Mt.* through the inclusion in the Gospel of extracts from *Q*. The freedom with which the writer of *Mt.* has handled the order of the occurrences in *Mk.* (see p. 148) renders it probable that he has used the same liberty in re-arranging the sections derived from *Q*, though the question cannot be tested. But of the actual phraseology of the sections *Mt.* probably preserves more than *Lk.*, who seems to have endeavoured to improve the Greek (see p. 201). On the other hand there occur a few passages derived from *Q* in which it is the author of *Mt.* who seems to have modified the original. Thus in *Mt.* vi. 33, which is parallel to *Lk.* xii. 31, the First Evangelist has *Seek ye first His kingdom and His righteousness*, whereas the Third Evangelist has merely *Seek ye His kingdom*; and the prevalence of Jewish-Christian sympathies in *Mt.* and his frequent use of *righteousness* (seven times)[2] suggest that in this instance *Lk.* preserves the saying in the most authentic form. Even in the matter of style, *Mt.* occasionally is more literary than *Lk.*, *e.g.* in vi. 30 he has *ἀμφίεννυσιν*, where *Lk.* (xii. 28) has the Hellenistic *ἀμφιάζει*.[3]

The First Gospel, besides combining materials taken from *Mk.*, with others derived from *Q* and modifying these in various ways, also includes (as has been said) much substantial matter not found elsewhere. This matter consists partly of Sayings of our Lord and partly of incidents occurring in His ministry; and since the source of it cannot be traced either to St. Peter (as in the case of the materials obtained from St. Mark) or to St. Matthew (as in the case of the sayings or discourses drawn from *Q*), its origin is doubtful, and the historical value of parts of it open

[1] See Burkitt, *The Gospel History*, pp. 67–69.
[2] Not found in *Mk.* and only once in *Lk.*
[3] *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 486.

to question. The Longer Sayings include various utterances comprised in the Sermon on the Mount; the Parables of the Tares, the Hid Treasure, the Pearl of great price, the Drag-net, the Unmerciful Servant, the Labourers in the Vineyard, the Two Sons, and the Marriage Feast; certain words addressed to the Scribes and Pharisees; the additional Parables of the Ten Virgins and of the Talents; and the dramatic picture of the Judgment in xxv. 31–46. The parables can hardly fail to be authentic utterances of Jesus. On the other hand, the Judgment Scene, in which the Son of Man is depicted as separating those who are brought before Him as a shepherd divides the sheep from the goats, has been suspected of not being our Lord's, at least in its present form. It has been suggested that it is a Christian homily[1]; and certain features have been pointed out in it (*e.g.* the description of the Son of Man as "sitting on the throne of His glory" (*v.* 31, cf. also xix. 28) and of "the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels" (*v.* 41), which recall the language of the *Book of Enoch*.[2] Among the Shorter Sayings (which cannot be enumerated here) perhaps those of which the genuineness is most doubtful are the passages in xvi. 17–19 concerning St. Peter and the Church, the passage in xviii. 17, in which mention is again made of the Church, and the passage in xxviii. 19, 20 in which the Risen Lord directs His disciples to baptize in the name of the Trinity. The references to the Church are isolated in the Gospels; and though the word itself may well have been used by Jesus of His followers as constituting the real Israel (see p. 389), yet of these two references at least the first seems to have in view a stage of organization that was not reached until after our Lord's death (see p. 418). The direction to baptize disciples in the name of the Trinity also seems, in the light of the fact that the baptismal formula both in *Acts* and in the Epistles of St. Paul is in the name of Jesus, or the equivalent of this (see p. 628), to be most probably anachronistic.

As is shown in the table (p. 148 f.) there are several incidents in the narratives of our Lord's birth and death which occur only in *Mt.* In view of the inferior authority for them as a whole, and the internal improbability of some, it is likely that several are unhistoric, but a discussion of them will be most in place in the course of the history.

Numerous features in the First Gospel favour the conclusion already mentioned that the author of it was a Jewish Christian, who composed it for the benefit of his fellow countrymen. To preclude as far as possible the impression that there was any serious inconsistency between our Lord's teaching and the enactments of the Jewish Law he omits (xii. 8), in reproducing *Mk.*, Jesus' saying "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath"; and in connection with defilement (xvi. 16, 17) the earlier evangelist's comment on our Lord's decision, "This He said, making all meats clean," is not retained. Jesus' essential harmony with the Law he further seeks to illustrate by the inclusion of a command to His disciples to observe and do all that was enjoined by the Scribes and Pharisees (xxiii. 2, 3), and a direction to them, in bringing an accusation,

[1] Allen, *St. Mt.* p. 316.

[2] Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. p. 341.

to produce at least two witnesses, in accordance with *Dt.* xix. 15. He lays (as has been said) great stress upon the accomplishment by Jesus of numerous Old Testament prophecies; and those which he himself quotes (unlike the citations from the Old Testament occurring in our Lord's own discourses, or in the utterances of others, which are generally taken from the LXX[1]) he mostly translates from the Hebrew (though not always accurately), or else adapts from some Greek collection of texts (see p. 167). Examples are found in ii. 15 (= *Hos.* xi. 1), ii. 18 (= *Jer.* xxxi. 15), iv. 15, 16 (= *Is.* ix. 1, 2), viii. 17 (= 2 *Is.* liii. 4), xii. 18–21 (= 2 *Is.* xlii. 1–4), xiii. 35 (= *Ps.* lxxviii. 2), xxi. 5 (= 2 *Zech.* ix. 9), xxvii. 9 (= 2 *Zech.* xi. 13). The only exception seems to be i. 23 (= *Is.* vii. 14), where the LXX version is almost verbally followed.[2] *Mt.* traces our Lord's descent back to Abraham and no further; and though he throws into relief the hostility shown to the Messiah by His own countrymen and their responsibility for His death (xxvii. 24, 25), he illustrates how Jesus desired the salvation of His own people before that of others (x. 5, 6, 23), and how the transfer of the privileges of the Jews to the Gentiles (xxi. 43) was the consequence of their own ingratitude. Even the language used by the Jews in speaking of Gentiles is ascribed to Jesus (vii. 6, cf. xv. 26). The writer more than once designates Jerusalem "the holy city" (iv. 5, xxvii. 53); and he almost invariably, in the spirit of Jewish scrupulousness, replaces *Mk.'s* expression "the kingdom of God," by "the kingdom of heaven." And that he was not only himself a Jewish Christian, but wrote for Jewish Christians and not for Gentiles appears from his use of Jewish expressions which to Gentile readers must have been perplexing or unintelligible (v. 22 *Raca*), xvi. 19, xviii. 18 (*to bind* and *to loose*), and from the omission, in his extracts from *Mk.*, of explanations which for Jewish readers were superfluous. Thus he omits the explanatory note about the Jewish practice of ceremonially washing the hands before eating (*Mk.* vii. 3, 4) and the identification of the first day of unleavened bread with the Passover (*Mk.* xiv. 12, cf. Jos. *B.J.* v. 3, 1). And though he was fully aware that Jesus had contemplated the inclusion of Gentiles amongst those who were destined to share the kingdom of heaven, and retains utterances of His implying this (viii. 11, 12, xxi. 43, xxiv. 14, xxviii. 19), he probably thought that they would fit themselves for it by adopting and observing all the injunctions of the Mosaic Law, for he adds to our Lord's direction to seek God's kingdom the words "and his righteousness" (doubtless meant in the Jewish sense, as including the ceremonial as well as the moral requirements of Judaism). Hence though nothing is known about the personality of the author of the First Gospel, much may be inferred respecting his interests, and the purpose with which he wrote. He sought to show that if Jesus occupied a lowly station during His earthly life and died an agonizing and ignominious death, nevertheless by descent He was the

[1] He sometimes quotes the LXX more fully than the sources which he uses, cf. xiii. 14, 15, with *Mk.* iv. 12. In ix. 13 the quotation by our Lord from *Hos.* vi. 6 is nearer the Hebrew than the Greek; but in xxi. 16 the quotation from *Ps.* viii. 2 is given in the Greek version, which differs seriously from the Heb.

[2] See Stanton, *Op. cit.* pp. 342, 343.

Son of David, and fulfilled the Messianic predictions of the prophets ; and that if He overruled in some respects the letter of the Mosaic Law in promoting mercy and humanity, in other respects He enforced its demands in a far more stringent form (v. 21–37).

A conspicuous feature of the First Gospel is the prominence in it of St. Peter. Not only does this Gospel alone include two miracles with which St. Peter solely is connected (xiv. 28–32 and xvii. 24–27), but it alone adds to the account given by *Mk.* of the Apostle's confession of our Lord's Messiahship the singular blessing pronounced upon him (xvi. 17–19) ; whilst it is not perhaps unsignificant that in *Mt.'s* list of the Apostles St. Peter is not only placed before the others, as is the case in the remaining two Synoptists, but he is distinguished as " the first " (x. 2).

According to Origen (Eus. *H.E.* vi. 25, 4) *Mt.'s* Gospel was the earliest written ; but if the writer has used *Mk.* in its compilation, this is impossible. The probable date at which the book was written can only be determined vaguely by its dependence upon *Mk.* and by a comparison between it and *Lk.* In the first place, as *Mk.* was probably composed between 64–70, it is likely that *Mt.* was written after (perhaps some years after) the latter date. It has indeed been argued that a date prior to the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 is more plausible, since the writer has not altered (xxiv.15) *Mk.'s* language relating to that event as St. Luke has done ; but he may have preferred to retain in this case the actual words of his authority.[1] And there seems to be at least one passage in the Gospel reflecting the writer's acquaintance with the destruction of the Jewish capital, for the words of the Jews to Pilate, " His (Jesus') blood be on us and on our children " (xxvii. 25), acquire a deep significance if the writer who records them (they appear nowhere else) wrote after the event that so plainly appeared to fulfil them. Secondly, the fact that the First and Third Gospels are seemingly quite independent of one another is most intelligible if they were both composed about the same time, and the work of each was unknown to the other. And if *Lk.* was written about 80 (see p. 204) it may be presumed that something like this date saw the production of *Mt.* Which of the two was slightly the earlier is a question not easy to decide, and not very important.

The author of the First Gospel, like the other evangelists, has a favourite vocabulary, the following being some of the expressions and phrases which occur in his work most frequently and distinctively. Those that are included in the list are either found only in *Mt.* amongst the Synoptists, or else appear in *Mt.* at least twice as often as in *Mk.* and *Lk.* together.[2]

afterward, ὕστερον
altar, θυσιαστήριον
appear, be seen, φαίνομαι
as, ὥσπερ
be it done, γενηθήτω
called (with a name), λεγόμενος
come, προσέρχομαι
come (imperative), δεῦτε
coming (of Christ's Return), παρουσία
command, κελεύω
depart, be removed, μεταβαίνω
dream, ὄναρ

[1] Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. p. 367.
[2] Use has been made of Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ*[2], pp. 3–8.

the end of the world, ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος
evil, the evil one, τὸ πονηρόν, ὁ πονηρός
exceedingly, σφόδρα
Father (*our, your*, etc.), πατήρ (ἡμῶν, etc.)
Father which is in heaven, πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
Father, Heavenly, πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος
food, τροφή
fool, foolish, μωρός
fulfil, πληρόω
gather, take in, συνάγω
gift, δῶρον
gnashing of teeth, ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων
governor, ἡγεμών
henceforth, ἀπ' ἄρτι
hide, κρύπτω
hypocrite, ὑποκριτής
iniquity, ἀνομία
judgment, κρίσις
keep, observe, τηρέω
kingdom of heaven, ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν
now, ἄρτι
only, μόνον
profess, ὁμολογέω
profitable, expedient, συμφέρει
raiment, ἔνδυμα
reward, hire, μισθός
righteousness, δικαιοσύνη
Sadducees, Σαδδουκαῖοι
said (*was*), *spoken*, ἐρρέθη, ῥηθέν
sheep, πρόβατον
swear, ὀμνύω
take counsel, συμβούλιον λαμβάνω
that (= in order that), ὅπως
then, τότε
think, δοκεῖ with dative.
weeping, κλαυθμός
wise, φρόνιμος
withdraw, ἀναχωρέω
worship, προσκυνέω

He shares with *Lk.* a fondness for ἰδοῦ (καὶ ἰδοῦ) and for the particle οὖν (which is very rare in *Mk.*). He has in passages peculiar to himself one or two Latin words like μίλιον (v. 41), κουστωδία (xxviii. 65), besides those contained in sections derived from *Mk.* or *Q* (ἀσσάριον, δηνάριον, κῆνσος, πραιτώριον, φραγελλόω.) But more noteworthy than the preference shown for certain words are the changes of construction which the author of the First Gospel introduces into the sections which he has appropriated from the Second Gospel. He seldom retains ὅτι before the *or. recta*, or εὐθύς,[1] and he sometimes omits πάλιν—all these three words being characteristic of *Mk.* (p. 179). In some respects his Greek is less Hebraic in structure than Mark's; and in particular his use of connective particles is more varied, δέ being frequently substituted for the καί which is so common in the Second Gospel. He often replaces *Mk.'s* historic present by past tenses (cf. *Mt.* xiii. 2 with *Mk.* iv. 1; *Mt.* viii. 25 with *Mk.* iv. 38); and *Mk.'s* imperfects by aorists (cf. *Mt.* x. 1 with *Mk.* vi. 7, *Mt.* xiv. 5 with *Mk.* vi. 20, *Mt.* xiv. 19 with *Mk.* vi. 41, *Mt.* xvii. 10 with *Mk.* ix. 11); and he sometimes prefers to use the passive voice where *Mk.* has the active (cf. *Mt.* viii. 15 with *Mk.* i. 31, *Mt.* xiv. 11 (*bis*) with *Mk.* vi. 28 (*bis*), *Mt.* xix. 13 with *Mk.* x. 13, *Mt.* xxiv. 22 with *Mk.* xiii. 20). He rarely reproduces the periphrastic expressions formed by the verb εἰμί and a present or perfect participle, of which *Mk.* is so fond; and he often avoids

[1] *Mt.* has εὐθύς only seven times as compared with *Mk.*'s more than forty times. On the other hand *Mt.* has εὐθέως twelve times as contrasted with its entire absence in *Mk.*

Mk.'s asyndeta[1] (cf. *Mt.* xix. 26, 28 with *Mk.* x. 27, 29, *Mt.* xxii. 29 with *Mk.* xii. 24, *Mt.* xxiv. 7 with *Mk.* xiii. 8), his employment of ἤρξατο (cf. *Mt.* x. 5 with *Mk.* vi. 7, *Mt.* xix. 27 with *Mk.* x. 23), and his practice of repeating, after a verb compounded with a preposition, the same preposition (*e.g.* he uses ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν (xii. 9) for *Mk.*'s εἰσῆλθεν εἰς συναγωγήν (iii. 1[2])). He uniformly substitutes ὁ βαπτιστής where *Mk.* has ὁ βαπτίζων to designate John the Baptist (cf. *Mt.* iii. 1, xiv. 2, 8 with *Mk.* i. 4, vi. 14, 24[3]). Though he exhibits a certain sameness of phraseology, he displays in general more variety of diction than characterizes his principal source.

It will be of some service to append here, as was done in the case of *Mk.*, a few of the most interesting readings of the Western text (δ) as represented by the Bezan MS. (D) with support from some of the manuscripts of Lat. vet., and from one or more of the Syriac versions.

Approved Text.	*Western Text.*
v. 22 *after* angry . . . brother	*adds* without cause.
x. 3 *for* Thaddæus	*substitutes* Lebbæus.
x. 23 *after* flee unto the next	*adds* and if they persecute you in the second, flee unto the next.
xx. 28 *after* many	*adds* Seek ye from little to increase, and from greater to become less. And when ye enter and are bidden to sup, do not recline in the prominent places lest one more honourable than thou come, and the host come and say to thee, Go lower; and thou be put to shame. But if thou settest thyself down in the inferior place and one inferior to thyself come, the host will say to thee, Come higher; and this shall be profitable for thee.
xxv. 1 *after* the bridegroom	*adds* and the bride.
xxv. 28 *for* to him that hath the ten talents	*substitutes* to him that hath the five talents.

The Gospel according to St. Luke

The Third Gospel differs from the other Gospels in being dedicated to an individual, one Theophilus, a person of rank,[4] who had been instructed in the history and doctrines of the Christian faith, but who had probably not yet become a member of the Church. Like the rest, it is anonymous, but is traditionally ascribed to St. Luke, being first attributed to him by Irenæus and the Muratorian Canon. He is also credited by tradition with the authorship of *Acts*, the two books being successive volumes of a single work, and it is the later of the two that furnishes means for

[1] For asyndeta in *Mt.* see xxvi. 34, 35, 42, xxvii. 2.

[2] For detailed proof see Allen, *St. Matt.* pp. xix.–xxx.

[3] *Mk.* has ὁ βαπτιστής in vi. 25, viii. 28.

[4] The title κράτιστος applied to Theophilus was used of the governor of Palestine (*Acts* xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3) and of other officials and persons of distinction. Cf. Jos. *Vita*, 76.

deciding whether the traditional assignment of both to him is justified; so that the question is most conveniently discussed in detail in connection with *Acts* (p. 234 f.). Here the results of the discussion may be assumed, and it suffices to say that St. Luke is *one* of some three, or more, possible authors of *Acts*, and since he is the only one whose name is connected with it in antiquity, the hypothesis that accounts satisfactorily for the work being ascribed to him is the assumption that he really wrote it. His authorship of *Acts* carries with it the authorship of the Third Gospel likewise, since the two works are too similar to one another in style and phraseology to be attributed to different writers (p. 237).

By various early authorities St. Luke is described as of Antiochene parentage (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 4, 7); and his connexion with Antioch is confirmed to some extent by the fact that he shows much interest in the city, and seems to have had special knowledge about it and its people (*Acts* vi. 5, xi. 19–28, xiii. 1, etc.). His name, *Λουκᾶς*, is probably an abbreviation for *Lucanus*, a form of the name which actually occurs in certain MSS. of the Old Latin version, in one MS. of the Vulg., and in one, if not more, sepulchral inscriptions containing the names of the Evangelists.[1] It can, however, stand for names as dissimilar as *Lucianus*, *Lucius*, or *Lucilius* (cf. *Theudas* for *Theodorus*, *Antipas* for *Antipater*, *Demas* for *Demetrius*, as well as *Silas* for *Silvanus*). It may be inferred that St. Luke was of Gentile, not Jewish, origin, since in *Col.* iv. 10–14, where he is mentioned, he is not included amongst "those of the circumcision"; and the inference is confirmed by his use of *οἱ βάρβαροι* to describe the natives of Melita in *Acts* xxviii. 2, 4, a phrase more natural to a Greek than to a Jew (though cf. *Col.* iii. 11). He is represented by St. Paul (*Col.* iv. 14) as a physician; and this description of him is perhaps corroborated by the use of a number of words and phrases which, though not exclusively medical, appear to have been commonly employed by physicians (see p. 206). It is also noteworthy in this connexion that he alone records our Lord's quotation of the proverb *Physician, heal thyself*. It has been conjectured that he belonged to the class of freedmen (*libertini*), among whose ranks many physicians were found: for instance, Antistius, the surgeon of Julius Cæsar, and Antonius Musa, the physician of Augustus, were both freedmen.[2] The interest which in *Acts* he displays in those persons of Gentile origin who felt the attraction of Jewish monotheism and morality, and whom he calls *the devout* (*οἱ σεβόμενοι*) or the *God fearers* (*οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν*), favours the belief that he was included amongst them before he was converted to Christianity; and the supposition that he had in this way become familiar with Jewish rites and usages will account for his allusions to matters connected with the Jewish religion without any explanation being offered of them (see *Acts* ii. 1, ix. 1, xii. 34, xviii. 18, xx. 6, xxi. 23–27, xxvii. 9). If he were really an Antiochene, it has been suggested that he may have been won to the Christian faith by some of the Cypriote and Cyrenian Christians who went to Antioch

[1] See *J.T.S.* Jan. 1905 (p. 257), Ap. 1905 (p. 435).
[2] Plummer, *St. Lk.* p. xviii.

after the death of Stephen (*Acts* xi. 20). He became (probably when he was quite a young man) attached to St. Paul, though the place where they first met is uncertain. According to the δ text of *Acts* xi. 28 (p. 253), the two were together at Antioch certainly before 46 and probably before 41 (see p. 345); but otherwise there is no evidence of their meeting until St. Paul went to Troas about the end of A.D. 49, or the beginning of 50; for it is only in *Acts* xvi. 10 that, according to the majority of early MSS., the extracts incorporated in *Acts* from a diary kept by the writer begin. In any case he accompanied St. Paul on the latter's Second missionary journey (*circ.* A.D. 50) and travelled with him to Philippi, but stopped in that city (which may have been then his ordinary abode) whilst the Apostle and his companions, Silas and Timothy, went on to Thessalonica. On St. Paul's Third Journey he rejoined him, some five or six years later, as he returned through Macedonia from Greece, probably at Philippi, where the second extract from the diary occurs; and according to the subscription to 2 *Cor.* in some MSS. and versions, he conveyed, in company with Titus, that letter to its destination. From Macedonia he went with St. Paul to Jerusalem, was probably with him when he was taken thence to Cæsarea, and certainly was his companion when the Apostle was sent to Rome (*Col.* iv. 14). At Rome he apparently did not share his imprisonment, but took part in his evangelistic labours (*Philemon*, 24). If, as is unlikely (p. 594), St. Paul's trial ended in his acquittal, which was followed by a second imprisonment at a later date, St. Luke was again with him during this second period of captivity, when the Pastoral Epistles, if genuine, were written (2 *Tim.* iv. 11). He is represented variously by later authorities to have been a missionary in Achaia and in Egypt, being described as the second bishop of Alexandria in the latter country. According to tradition he died in Bithynia at the age of 74, one account stating that he was martyred, and another that his end was natural.

In his preface the Evangelist alludes to the existence of many previous attempts to narrate the facts that were generally believed among the Christian communities; and of such the Third Gospel has incorporated in whole or in part at least two (pp. 155, 161). These are (1) the document commonly symbolized by *Q*; (2) the Gospel of St. Mark.

(1) In regard to *Q*, since it no longer exists, it is impossible to say how much of it is embedded in *Lk.*

(2) With respect to the use of *Mk.* the table on p. 148 f. shows that a large portion of that Gospel as we know it is not reproduced in *Lk.* The neglect of certain of the contents of *Mk.*, especially of the section vi. 45–viii. 28, has been accounted for on various grounds, and among explanations that have been offered are the preference for other more or less similar narratives, the need for some omissions in order to include additional matter, the rejection of such parts as appeared unsuitable for the writer's special purpose, or even some accidental oversight (see p. 159).[1] But it

[1] Cf. Holdsworth, *Gospel Origins*, p. 154; Carpenter, *Christianity according to St. Luke*, p. 131 f.

is difficult to think that any of the reasons suggested sufficiently explain the absence from the Third Gospel of the whole section just cited, which comprises narratives that can hardly have failed to appeal to St. Luke if he had known it; and the most plausible account of the omission is that he used an early edition of *Mk.* (*Proto-Mark*) which did not include this section (p. 160). This conclusion seems to carry with it the corollary that St. Luke was not acquainted with the First Gospel, which is based on *Mk.* as we possess it, and confirmation is furnished by the fact that several passages of *Mt.* of much interest to Gentile readers, for whom St. Luke wrote (p. 202), have no place in his Gospel (see *Mt.* ii. 1–12, xxi. 43).

(3) Besides the portions of St. Luke's Gospel which are derived from *Q* and *Mk.*, there are others that occur in neither of the remaining Synoptists; and the character of these (if minor incidents and sayings are ignored) can be seen from the table on p. 148 f. They may be classified as (*a*) the narrative of the Nativity (ch. i., ii.), with the genealogy in iii. 23–38; (*b*) certain occurrences and discourses represented as happening either in Galilee or after our Lord's arrival in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; (*c*) a long section (including various materials from *Q* and a few from *Mk.*), which extends in the gross from ix. 51 to xviii. 14, and is brought into connexion with Jesus' journey from Galilee to Judæa; (*d*) the narrative of the appearances of the Risen Lord in xxiv. 13–53. The sources from which these originated are uncertain. (*a*) The matter comprised within the first two chapters of the Gospel looks like the contents of a separate document, incorporated by St. Luke. It reflects, in general, the mentality of a Jewish (not a Gentile) Christian; and reproduces the literary manner of the Old Testament. Possibly two or three originally detached narratives have been combined in it; of which the conclusions occur in i. 80, ii. 40, 52. On the other hand, so much of the diction is Lucan that, if St. Luke has used earlier documents, he has either himself translated them from the Aramaic, or has recast the translation of another.[1] The sections (*b*) and (*c*) consist probably, in the main, of oral traditions collected and written down by St. Luke. The section marked (*c*) is very extensive, and embraces both incidents and discourses, the former including three miracles (xiii. 10–17, xiv. 1–6, xvii. 11–15), and the latter a large number of very impressive parables, amongst them being those of the Good Samaritan, the Rich Fool, the Barren Fig-tree, the Great Supper, the Lost Piece of Silver, the Prodigal Son, the Unjust Steward, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Unrighteous Judge, and the Pharisee and the Tax-gatherer. Two hypotheses framed to account for

[1] There are certain reasons for conjecturing that the first two chapters (or rather i. 5–ii. 52) are an addition to the Gospel as at first written, and prefixed to it probably by St. Luke himself. (*a*) In *Acts* i. 1 the Gospel is described as *concerning all that Jesus began to do and to teach*, a description which is more appropriate, if the book once began at iii. 1 and not at i. 5. (*β*) The comprehensive chronological statement given in iii. 1 is more suitable at the outset of the narrative than at a later stage. If these reasons have weight, it must be inferred that the Third, like the Second Gospel, once opened with the mission of the Baptist and our Lord's baptism by John. Cf. Moffatt, *L.N.T.* pp. 272–3.

its origin postulate for it documentary sources. Some scholars think that it comes from an expanded form of *Q*.[1] As has been seen, *Q* contained incidents as well as discourses; and it is quite possible that an enlarged form of it was used by St. Luke, just as the enlargement of the earliest edition of *Mk.* was utilized by the writer of *Mt.* It is, however, against this hypothesis that the section in question comprises so many parables; for *Q*, as it exists in *Mt.* and *Lk.* together, contains comparatively few; so that, if it was expanded before St. Luke became acquainted with it, it must have changed its character in some considerable measure. Others prefer to assume the existence of a distinct written source, which has been described as a "Travel Document," relating the most notable occurrences that happened in the course of our Lord's journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, which seems to be represented as accomplished by way of Samaria (ix. 51–53, xvii. 11), and not as in *Mk.* (x. 1), through Peræa. Certainly, portions of its contents are linked with stages of that journey (ix. 51, 57; x. 38; xiii. 22; xiv. 25; xvii. 11). But there is no list of places passed through, which is the more remarkable in view of the interest displayed in localities by St. Luke in *Acts*; local references are vague (x. 38, xi. 1, xiii. 10, xiv. 1) or absent (xi. 14, 29, xii. 13, xv. 1); and the lack of any definite trace of systematic structure favours the view that the matter in this section (apart from the extracts from *Q* and *Mk.*) is not taken from an independent document, but consists of a number of oral traditions relating partly to our Lord's journey from Galilee to Judæa, and partly to other periods of His ministry. At the same time, there are certain special features connected with some of the parables comprised in the section which suggest that St. Luke may have drawn upon a separate collection of these. Not only do a number of them lack specific references to the Kingdom of God (in this contrasting with the series in *Mt.* xiii., cf. *Mk.* iv. 26-32) and convey ethical and religious teaching of a general character, but they also, for the most part, begin with the same or similar stereotyped phrases—*A certain man had* or *did* something, or *There was a certain man who*—(see x. 30, xii. 16, xiii. 6, xiv. 16, xv. 11, xvi. 1, 19). "Different kinds of parables spoken by Christ . . . may have had a special interest and attraction for particular individuals, and so may have been separately collected and preserved."[2] One of the authorities from whom St. Luke drew some of the traditions incorporated in this Travel Section (to use this designation for the sake of convenience) was perhaps Philip the Evangelist; for certain references are made to the Samaritans, amongst whom Philip laboured (*Acts* viii. 5). Another may have been a woman of the company that ministered to Christ of their substance. Among them was Joanna, the wife of Chuza, steward of Herod Antipas, who is mentioned as having been with Him in Galilee (*Lk.* viii. 3), and may have attended Him on the way to Jerusalem, and so would be in a position to impart information about incidents on the road. (*d*) The account given of the appearances of our Lord after

[1] See Stanton, *Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. p. 227 foll.
[2] Stanton, *Op. cit.* ii. p. 231.

His death (xxiv. 13–53), which differs from that contained in *Mt.* xxviii. 9–20, seems to represent traditions derived from circles in Jerusalem.

St. Luke, in describing the reasons that led him to write his Gospel, though he admits that he was not an eye-witness of what he records, seems to claim for his work in comparison with earlier narratives of a similar character (i. 3), superior completeness, arrangement and accuracy.[1] And certainly the compass of the Third Gospel much exceeds that of the only one (St. Mark's) which is really known to have preceded it in date. It begins, for instance, its account of Christ's life with His birth (not His baptism), gives greater space to incidents in His Ministry connected with Jerusalem, and concludes with mention of His final departure to heaven. It comprises much more of His teaching, pays more attention to synchronisms (i. 5, ii. 1, iii. 1), and is sometimes more circumstantial in respect of the place or occasion of events (cf. v. 12 with *Mk.* i. 40 ; vi. 6 with *Mk.* iii. 1 ; ix. 37 with *Mk.* ix. 14). As concerns arrangement, St. Luke, in dealing with material taken over from the Second Gospel, generally follows the order of *Mk.*, and in this regard is superior to *Mt.* In respect of those of our Lord's utterances which he shares with the First Gospel and which come from *Q*, he does not betray the same tendency as *Mt.* to aggregate them in long discourses. In connexion with some of the differences between him and the First Evangelist in the handling of *Q*, a reason for the arrangement adopted seems to have been a superior sense of natural fitness, as where Christ's reference to the Queen of Sheba is placed before that to the Ninevites (in accordance with the sequence in which the narratives in question occur in the Old Testament), instead of *vice versa* (as in *Mt.* xii. 41, 42). In a few cases he likewise clears up obscurities or avoids errors occurring in the other Synoptic Gospels, replacing, for example, an indefinite by a definite subject (cf. vi. 7, with *Mk.* iii. 2), and omitting in xi. 51 the erroneous description of the murdered priest Zachariah as " son of Barachiah " (given in *Mt.* xxiii. 35).

But whilst in some ways the Third Gospel thus appears to advantage as compared with the remaining Synoptists, and whilst it presents, by the side of both *Mk.* and *Mt.*, more the aspect of a history, yet closer investigation reveals features which qualify the high estimate which might otherwise be formed of the merits of St. Luke as an historian (cf. p. 247). Thus, though he preserves for the most part *Mk.'s* order of events, he departs seriously from it by placing before any account of our Lord's activity at Capernaum (iv. 31 f., *Mk.* i. 21 f.), a description of a visit paid by Him to Nazareth (iv. 16 f.), which in *Mk.* is represented as occurring much later (see *Mk.* vi. 1–6), and, by St. Luke's own acknowledgment, certainly followed, instead of preceding, the beginning of the ministry at Capernaum (see *Lk.* iv. 23). Although he retains *Mk.'s* account of St. Peter's confession of Jesus' Messiahship, he omits all mention of the journey (through the villages of Cæsarea Philippi, *Mk.* viii. 27) in the course of which the incident took place (see *Lk.* ix. 18 f.). And these

[1] Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 4 and 24) explains St. Luke's superior accuracy as due to his intimacy and stay with St. Paul and his acquaintance with the rest of the Apostles.

instances, where he has diverged for the worse from his sources in respect of occurrences, are paralleled by others where he has done the same in respect of sayings. In more than one passage he seems to have obscured the meaning of the original utterance which he purports to reproduce. For example, in connexion with Christ's denunciation of those who built the tombs of the prophets whom their ancestors killed (from *Q*), the force of the reproach is destroyed in xi. 47–48 ; in *Mt.* xxiii. 29–31, our Lord contends that the builders of the prophets' tombs, by denying that they would have slain the prophets *as their fathers had done*, at least acknowledge that they have in them the blood of murderers ; but there is a lack of reason in His words as represented by St. Luke, "So ye are witnesses and *consent* unto the works of your fathers, *for* they killed them, and ye build their tombs."

It is thus apparent that in regard to material which he has derived from others, he has not uniformly improved upon his authorities, but that his presentation of it is sometimes inferior, so that his implied disparagement of St. Mark in i. 1–3, is scarcely called for. In respect of material found only in his own Gospel any judgment passed upon its historical value must be based largely upon presumption ; but certainly as regards the parables and discourses of our Lord occurring only in *Lk.*, their striking character is sufficient warrant for the conclusion that in substance they are generally authentic.

The large amount of matter which St. Luke desired to include in his Gospel as compared with that comprised in *Mk.* must have made necessary some compression of what was borrowed from the Second Gospel, in order to economize space. Presumably for this reason he abbreviates considerably (iii. 19, 20, ix. 7–9) the account given by *Mk.* vi. 17–29 of the Baptist's imprisonment and death. From the same motive he often reduces St. Mark's duplicate expressions or detailed descriptions (see p. 156 f., and cf. also xxii. 34, with *Mk.* xiv. 30, and xxiii. 38, with *Mk.* xv. 26) ; and in other ways simplifies his reports (cf. iv. 31, 32 with *Mk.* i. 21, 22 ; v. 22 with *Mk.* ii. 8 ; viii. 4 with *Mk.* iv. 1, 2 ; viii. 52, 54 with *Mk.* v. 40, 41). But the changes made in the *form* of what has been transferred from *Mk.* are not due merely to the need for brevity. St. Luke possessed literary qualities superior to those of St. Mark, and introduced into the latter's language verbal alterations to improve the style. Thus he (*a*) generally supplies conjunctions to avoid asyndeton (cf. ix. 49 with *Mk.* ix. 38 ; xviii. 28 with *Mk.* x. 28 ; xx. 33, 34 with *Mk.* xii. 23, 24) ; (*b*) sometimes substitutes for two co-ordinate verbs a participle and a single verb (cf. ix. 1 with *Mk.* vi. 7 ; ix. 10 with *Mk.* vi. 30) ; (*c*) occasionally replaces an unusual word or a vulgar phrase by a more usual or fitting one (cf. v. 18 with *Mk.* ii. 4 ; viii. 42 with *Mk.* v. 23) ; (*d*) frequently exchanges *Mk.'s* historic present for the more appropriate aorist (cf. v. 20, 22, 24, 27 with *Mk.* ii. 5, 8, 10, 14) ; (*e*) sometimes dispenses with ὅτι before the *oratio recta* (cf. v. 12 with *Mk.* i. 40 ; xxi. 8 with *Mk.* xiii. 6) ; (*f*) almost invariably omits *Mk.'s* repeated εὐθύς and πάλιν. Some of the awkward constructions which are apparent in certain of *Mk.'s* sentences are improved by St. Luke (cf., for example, xviii. 29–30

with *Mk.* x. 29, 30 ; xx. 6 with *Mk.* xi. 32 ; and xx. 28 with *Mk.* xii. 19). On the other hand, St. Luke himself is not altogether free from anacolutha and other varieties of careless expression, instances occurring in ix. 3, xxiv. 27, 47.

The sections derived from *Q* which are contained in *Lk.* appear in general to reveal traces of modification as compared with those in *Mt.* The following will serve as an illustration :—

Mt. v. 39, 40, 42	*Lk.* vi. 29, 30
(39) ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιάγονά σου, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,	(29) τῷ τύπτοντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιάγονα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος σου τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς.
(40) καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον.	(30) παντὶ αἰτοῦντι σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος τὰ σά μὴ ἀπαίτει.
(42) τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός, καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σου δανίσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῇς.	

The verbal differences between these parallel passages seem due to the same endeavour on the part of St. Luke to improve the order and diction. The substitution of the participle *τῷ τύπτοντί σε* for the relative used by *Mt.* renders the clause more symmetrical with the two that follow ; the pleonastic *τῷ θέλοντι . . . ἄφες αὐτῷ* is avoided by the substitution of *ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος . . . μὴ κωλύσῃς* ; the order in which the *χιτὼν* and the *ἱμάτιον* are mentioned is reversed, in accordance with the likelihood of the outer garment being first taken rather than the inner ; and instead of *τὸν θέλοντα . . . μὴ ἀποστραφῇς* there is used the more effective turn *ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος μὴ ἀπαίτει*, the verb *ἀπαιτεῖν* contrasting well with the previous *αἰτεῖν*.

The literary power of St. Luke is further manifested by the versatility with which he varies his own style. Sometimes he is conspicuously Hebraic in his constructions, at others he is as conspicuously free from Hebraisms. The contrast between these two aspects of his Gospel is most plainly discerned when a reader passes from the preface (i. 1–4) to the narrative of the Nativity (i. 5 f.). The prefatory address to Theophilus, presumably a Gentile, is composed in excellent Greek ; whereas the rest of the chapter, of which the scene is Palestine, the personalities Jews, and the atmosphere that of the Old Testament, is written in a style which abounds with Semitic phrases. But he employs Hebrew or Aramaic constructions elsewhere than in the narrative alluded to (see v. 1, 17, ix. 38, 51, 52, x. 6, xvi. 6, 7, 8, xix. 11, xx. 11, 36, xxii. 15) ; and it is quite probable that his adoption of them in particular places is intentional, and that he "has allowed his style to be Hebraistic [where] he felt that such a style was appropriate to the subject-matter." [1] An illustration of his resourcefulness in diversifying his expressions is the number of constructions which he employs after *καὶ ἐγένετο* or *ἐγένετο δέ*, *viz.* (*a*) the simple indicative (*e.g.* *ἐγένετο δὲ . . . ἀπῆλθεν*, i. 23) ; (*b*) the indic. with *καὶ* (*e.g.* *ἐγένετο δὲ . . καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνέβη*, viii. 22) ; (*c*) the accusative and infinitive (*e.g.* *ἐγένετο δὲ . . . διαπορεύεσθαι*

[1] Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xlix, cf. *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 479.

αὐτόν, vi. 1); (*d*) the acc. and infin. with τοῦ prefixed to the latter (*e.g.* ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον, *Acts* x. 25).

The circumstance that the Third Gospel was written primarily for an individual did not preclude it from being useful to a larger circle; and the fact that most of its readers were likely to be Gentiles has caused its author to aim at arresting and holding the interest of non-Jews by the exclusion of subjects not likely to attract them, and by explaining matters which might be obscure to them. Accordingly a feature of the Gospel is the prominence in it of those parts of our Lord's ministry and teaching which made the most universal appeal, and the absence of certain aspects of them which more particularly concerned the Jews and the Jewish Law. Thus in it the genealogy of Jesus is traced back to Adam (iii. 38); in it alone is mention made of the widow of Zarephath to whom Elijah was sent (iv. 26), and of Naaman the Syrian, the only leper recorded to have been cured by Elisha (iv. 27); and it is the only Gospel that preserves the rebuke addressed to James and John for desiring to call down fire on a Samaritan village (ix. 53, 54), relates the parable of the Good Samaritan (x. 30–35), and tells of the gratitude of the Samaritan leper (xvii. 11–19). On the other hand, it concedes little space to examples of the fulfilment of prophecy, since this would have less interest for the Gentiles than for the Jews. Local allusions difficult of comprehension to persons ill-acquainted with Palestine are elucidated, Nazareth and Capernaum being described as cities of Galilee (i. 26, iv. 31), the country of the Gerasenes as over against Galilee (viii. 26), Arimathæa as a city of the Jews (xxiii. 51), Emmaus as three-score furlongs from Jerusalem (xxiv. 13). The same motive accounts for the substitution of Greek for Hebrew names, words, and titles, such as ὁ ζηλωτής (vi. 15) for *Mk.'s* "The Cananaan," ἡ παῖς ἔγειρε (viii. 54), for *Mk.'s Talitha koum*, ἐπιστάτα (ix. 33) for *Mk.'s Rabbi*, Κύριε (xviii. 41) for *Mk.'s Rabboni*. Various features betray the direction of the writer's sympathies, the quality of his disposition, and the spirit of his piety. Stress is laid on the lowly circumstances of our Lord's birth (ii. 7, 24, also i. 52, 53), and on the concern which He showed in His teaching for the humble and the poor (xiv. 13, 21, xvi. 19–31, and contrast vi. 20 with *Mt.* v. 3). The number of women receiving mention is unusually large (i. 5, ii. 36, vii. 12, viii. 2, 3, x. 38, 39, xi. 27, xiii. 11 f., xv. 8 f., xxiii. 27–31, the instances cited occurring in passages peculiar to the Gospel). The writer has removed some of *Mk.'s* expressions attributing to our Lord feelings or utterances which he deemed unsuitable (cf. vi. 10 with *Mk.* iii. 5, and xviii. 16 with *Mk.* x. 14), though he has not done so to the same extent as the author of *Mt.* (see xviii. 19, and contrast *Mt.* xix. 17). Consideration for the Apostles is manifested by the omission of various incidents, related in *Mk.*, which reflect unfavourably upon them (*e.g.* the rebuke addressed to Peter (*Mk.* viii. 33), the ambition of James and John (*Mk.* x. 37), and the flight of the Apostles when their Lord was arrested (*Mk.* xiv. 50)), though again St. Luke is not quite so careful in this respect as the First Evangelist. Prominence is repeatedly given to the influence of the Holy Spirit (i. 15, 35, 41, 67, ii. 25–27, iv. 1, x. 21); and attention is often drawn to occasions when gratitude was rendered to

God by those who witnessed the signs of His mercy (ii. 20, v. 25, 26, vii. 16, xiii. 13, xvii. 15, xviii. 43, xxiii. 47).

In his quotations from the Old Testament St. Luke generally follows the LXX. Thus in ii. 23, iii. 4, iv. 4, 12 he adheres closely to the Greek version. In iv. 8 and in x. 27, however, he departs slightly from the LXX rendering of *Dt.* vi. 13 and vi. 5; whilst in iv. 18, where he cites 3 *Is.* lxi. 12, he diverges, towards the end of the quotation, considerably from the LXX. and introduces into the passage a clause transferred from another part of 3 *Isaiah* (lviii. 6). It is noteworthy, too, that in xxii. 37, when quoting from 2 *Is.* liii. 12, he has *μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη*, which is nearer to the Hebrew than to the Greek (which has *ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη*).

The date of *Lk.*, so far as it can be approximately determined, depends upon its relation to (*a*) the Gospel of St. Mark, (*b*) *Acts*.

(*a*) Since St. Luke made use of *Mk.* as one of his sources, his Gospel is, of course, later than the Second Gospel, but the factor which helps to determine more exactly the date is the treatment by St. Luke of *Mk.* xiii. 14 (based on *Dan.* ix. 27). This will be seen best if the two passages are placed side by side.

Mk. xiii. 14	*Lk.* xxi. 20, 23^{b}, 24
But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (let him that readeth understand), then let him that is in Judæa, etc.	20. But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that its desolation is at hand. Then let them that are in Judæa, etc. 23^{b}. For there shall be great distress upon the land and wrath upon this people. 24. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all the nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the opportunities of the Gentiles be fulfilled.

St. Luke also describes (xix. 41–44), in a passage inserted between *Mk.* xi. 10 and 11, how Jesus wept over Jerusalem, and represents Him as saying, "For the days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee, and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." And a feature worth noting in this connexion is the occurrence, in the Parable of the Pounds, of references to the hatred of the citizens for the nobleman and the punishment decreed for them by the latter (xix. 14, 27), since these verses seem to have little relevance to the import of the parable. The replacement of *Mk.* xiii. 14 by *Lk.* xxi. 20, and the insertion of the other passages quoted, have the appearance of being due to the interpretation of our Lord's words suggested by the events that occurred in A.D. 70, with which the writer was familiar; so that, if this inference be accepted, it follows that the Third Gospel is later than 70.

(*b*) A summary statement is given elsewhere of the leading features of a comparison instituted between the diction of *Lk.*, and that of *Acts*,

which, whilst showing that the two works have so many words in common as to render almost certain their origin from a single author, yet exhibits a number of differences between them, suggesting that some considerable interval separated the periods of their composition. Reasons have also been adduced for thinking that *Acts* was written after the production by Josephus of his *Antiquities* about A.D. 95, and that this date can be brought within the limits of St. Luke's life, so far as it is known (p. 240). If, then, *Lk.* was written several years before *Acts*, a plausible date for it will be about A.D. 80. There are, indeed, not lacking statements even in the Third Gospel which, like some in *Acts*, appear at first sight to be mistaken inferences from Josephus. The most notable relates to the description in iii. 1 of Lysanias as tetrarch of Abilene. Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 6, 10, xix. 5, 1, cf. xx. 7, 1) speaks of " The territory of Lysanias " and of " Abila of Lysanias " promised by Caligula, and given by Claudius, to Herod Agrippa II in A.D. 53 ; and it has been supposed that St. Luke carelessly concluded from this that Lysanias was tetrarch of Abila (or Abilene) not very long before ; whereas, in point of fact, Lysanias had been put to death by Antony previous to 36 B.C. (*Ant.* xv. 4, 1). There seems, however, to be evidence that the Lysanias mentioned by Josephus left children, and that there was a tetrarch Lysanias at the time when Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the duties of the Empire, so that the proof that St. Luke had read and misunderstood Josephus *prior to writing the Gospel* is not very cogent. Probably, therefore, A.D. 80 as the date of the Third Gospel is not gravely erroneous.

The locality where the work was written can only be conjectured. St. Jerome represents that he wrote the Gospel *in Achaiæ Bœotiæque partibus*, where some MSS. replace *Bœotiæ* by *Bithyniæ*. Other places suggested are Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Cæsarea, and Ephesus. It is slightly in favour of Rome that *Mk.* was probably written there ; and since St. Luke draws upon the Second Gospel in its earliest form, it seems not unlikely that he became acquainted with it at the Roman capital and was led, in consequence, to make it the basis of his own work. But he may, of course, have carried a copy of St. Mark's Gospel with him when he left Rome after the death of St. Paul, and have written his Gospel at some other place.

St. Luke has a much larger number of distinctive words and phrases than the other Synoptists. The principal are the following :—

after these things, μετὰ ταῦτα
all the people, πᾶς (ἅπας) ὁ λαός
another, ἕτερος
apostles, ἀπόστολοι
ask, ἐρωτάω
babe, βρέφος
before the face of, ἐνώπιον
behold !, ἰδού
behold, consider, κατανοέω
beseech, δέομαι
bring in, εἰσφέρω
bring (preach) good tidings, εὐαγγελίζομαι
called, καλούμενος
come out, ἐξέρχομαι
command, διατάσσω
daily, καθ' ἡμέραν
deliverance, salvation, σωτηρία
expect, look for, προσδοκάω
favour, mercy, thanks, χάρις

friends, φίλοι
from henceforth, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν
go (pass) through, διέρχομαι
heal, ἰάομαι
hold, συνέχω
howbeit, nevertheless, πλήν
immediately, at once, παράχρημα
justify, δικαιόω
lawyer, νομικός
lift up, ἐπαίρω
likewise, ὁμοίως
the Lord (of Jesus in narrative), *ὁ Κύριος*
man, ἀνήρ
marvel, wonder, θαυμάζω
master, ἐπιστάτης
name, ὄνομα
observe, φυλάσσω
peace, εἰρήνη
reasonings, διαλογισμοί
rejoice, be glad, χαίρω
return, ὑποστρέφω
rich, πλούσιος
rise up, ἀναστῆναι
send forth, ἐξαποστέλλω
speak a parable, λέγω παραβολήν
turn, turn back, στρέφω
weep, κλαίω
which of you, τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν.

The Third Evangelist follows *Mk.* in using the phrase *the kingdom of God*, instead of employing the substitute adopted by *Mt.*, *the kingdom of heaven*. To denote the Jewish capital he has two forms, *Ἱεροσόλυμα* and *Ἱερουσαλήμ*, preferring the latter, which occurs only once in *Mt.* xxiii. 37 and never in *Mk.* In connexion with the sea of Galilee he uses the term *λίμνη* instead of the word *θάλασσα* employed by *Mk.* and (after him) by *Mt.* (cf. *Lk.* v. 1, with *Mk.* i. 16, and see also *Lk.* viii. 22, 23). Among the stylistic features of St. Luke is a fondness for the conjunction *καί* to introduce a principal clause after a preceding subordinate clause (see v. 1, 12, 17, vii. 12, ix. 51, xiv. 1). One peculiarity of his vocabulary is disguised in the R.V.: *straightway* in the English version, for the most part, represents not *Mk.'s εὐθύς* (which he only uses once, vi. 49), but *εὐθέως*, which never occurs in the Second Gospel. He omits most of St. Mark's Latinisms, but employs (xii. 58) *δὸς ἐργασίαν* (= *da operam*).

As might be expected from the fact that St. Luke was for a long period a companion of St. Paul's, there is much similarity between the vocabulary of the Third Gospel and that of the Pauline Epistles. The following statistics of the number of the words that occur *only* in each of the Gospels named and in St. Paul's letters (including the Pastorals) are significant.[1]

Gospel	*Words peculiar to the several Gospels and St. Paul.*
Mt.	25 (3 in the Pastorals)
Mk.	16 (2 in the Pastorals)
Lk.	59 (9 in the Pastorals)

More striking, however, than such figures are various parallels in thought and expression between the contents of the Third Gospel and St. Paul, of which a few of the closest may be here adduced :—

[1] The figures are taken from Hawkins, *Hor. Syn.*[2], pp. 189 f., but words are omitted which occur in *Acts* as well as in the several Gospels named.

1. *Believe and be saved* (viii. 12).
2. *Eat such things as are set before you* (x. 8).
3. *Who then is the faithful . . . steward* (xii. 42).
4. *They ought always to pray* (xviii. 1)
5. *All live unto him* (xx. 38).
6. *Watch ye at every season, making supplication* (xxi. 36).
7. *The power of darkness* (xxii. 53).

1. *To save them that believe* (1 *Cor.* i. 21).
2. *Whatsoever is set before you eat* (1 *Cor.* x. 27).
3. *It is required in stewards that a man be found faithful* (1 *Cor.* iv. 2).
4. *Praying always* (*Col.* i. 3).
5. *Alive unto God* (*Rom.* vi. 11).
6. *Praying at all seasons . . . and watching* (*Eph.* vi. 18).
7. *The power of darkness* (*Col.* i. 13).

It was probably due to St. Luke's familiar acquaintance with St. Paul's habits of thought and expression that the title *the Lord* in connexion with Jesus appears so much more frequently in the Third Gospel than in the other Synoptists. It occurs about twelve times in *Lk.*, where the combination *the Lord Jesus* is also found (xxiv. 3); this latter title figures neither in *Mk.* nor in *Mt.* The expression *the Lord Jesus* occurs, indeed, in the last sixteen verses of *Mk.* (xvi. 19) but these are not a genuine part of that Gospel (p. 180 f.).

A conspicuous feature of the diction of the Third Gospel is the large number of medical or *quasi*-medical terms employed. Perhaps the most notable of those which occur in *Lk.* but nowhere else in the New Testament are the following[1]:—

ῥίπτειν	(iv. 35), used of an epileptic seizure.
πυρετὸς μέγας	(iv. 38), fevers by medical writers being distinguished as "severe" (*μέγας*) and "slight" (*μικρός*).
παραλελυμένος	(v. 18), the medical term, instead of the common *παραλυτικός*
στῆναι	(viii. 44), used of a flow of blood being stanched (contrast *Mk.* v. 39, *Lk.* ix. 22).
ἀνακύπτειν	(xiii. 11), a medical term for recovery from curvature of the spine.
ὑδρωπικός	(xiv. 2), an expression used by Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Galen.
ἕλκοῦσθαι	(xvi. 20), a technical term for being ulcerated.
βελόνη	(xviii. 25), the proper term for a *surgeon's* needle (instead of *Mk.'s ῥαφίς*).

The presence of these and other similar words has been supposed to confirm in a striking degree the description of St. Luke as a physician. It would only do this, however, if the words in question were used *exclusively* or *mainly* by medical writers of the same age; whereas some of those that have been adduced occur in non-medical writings like the LXX, or the works of Josephus, whilst others, which are not found in the LXX and Josephus (like *ὑδρωπικός*, and *ἕλκοῦσθαι* mentioned above) are met with in Plutarch. Consequently, although there is no reason to question the truth of St. Paul's description of St. Luke, the Evangelist's use of phrases common in medical works may be explained not by any

[1] See Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, pp. 1–52.

close acquaintance with such works, but by his general culture, educated persons often exhibiting a preference for accurate over popular terminology.[1]

The most important or interesting of the readings in *Lk.* distinctive of the Western (or δ) text represented by D and by other authorities which generally agree with the Bezan MS. are as follows :—

Approved Text	*Western Text*
iii. 22 *for* Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased.	*substitutes,* Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee (cf. *Ps.* ii. 7).
v. 10 *for* and so were . . . catch men	*substitutes,* And James and John, sons of Zebedee, were his (Simon's) partners ; and he said unto them, Come and do not be fishers of fishes, for I will make you fishers of men.
vi. 5 *for* And he said . . . sabbath (*which is transferred to the end of v.* 10)	*substitutes,* The same day, seeing a man working on the sabbath he said unto him, If thou knowest what thou doest, happy art thou ; but if thou knowest not, accursed art thou and a transgressor of the law.
xiv. 5 *for* ass *or* son	*substitutes* sheep.
xviii. 30 *for* manifold	*substitutes* sevenfold.
xxiii. 53 *after* lain	*adds* And when he had laid him, he placed against the tomb a stone which scarce twenty men used to roll (cf. Hom. *Il.* v. 302).
xxiii. 55 *for* the women	*substitutes* two women.

One or two readings not occurring in D but found in the Old Latin version which often supports D deserve notice.

xxiii. 2 *after* perverting our nation	Lat. vet. (some MSS.) *adds* and annulling the Law and the prophets.
xxiii. 5 *after* place	Lat. vet. (two MSS.) *adds* and turneth aside our sons and our wives from us, for they are not baptized as we nor purify themselves (cf. *Mk.* vii. 4).

(*b*) *The Fourth Gospel*

The Fourth Gospel, like the other three, is anonymous. In the last chapter, which seems to be an epilogue appended to the book after its writer's death, probably by some leaders of the Church at Ephesus (see xxi. 23 and p. 232) who were responsible for publishing and circulating the work, its authorship is assigned to one described as the disciple whom Jesus loved (*δν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, xxi. 7, 20). It is nowhere explicitly stated who the disciple thus allusively designated was believed to be ; but the various references made to him in the course of the book enable us by a process of elimination to draw a probable conclusion as to the individual intended.

(*a*) The narrative in ch. xxi. relates the appearance of Jesus after His

[1] See Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method of Luke.*

resurrection to a small group of disciples near the sea of Tiberias, the group comprising Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee and two other disciples. As the beloved disciple was included among them (*vv.* 7, 20), it seems most likely that he is to be identified either with one of the sons of Zebedee, who are not designated by name, or with one of the other two unnamed disciples.

(*b*) In three passages in which the beloved disciple is mentioned, he is brought into connexion with St. Peter. In xiii. 23 f. he is asked by St. Peter at supper to inquire of the Lord whom He meant when He said that one of them should betray Him. In xx. 2 f. it is to him [1] and to St. Peter that Mary Magdalene brings word that the Lord's body had been removed from the tomb, and it is he and St. Peter who run to the sepulchre together. In xxi. 7 on the occasion of Jesus' appearance by the lake, he tells St. Peter that it is the Lord; and it is about him that St. Peter afterwards asks: "Lord, and what shall this man do?" The particular disciple who elsewhere is most uniformly associated with St. Peter is St. John (see *Mk.* v. 37, ix. 2, xiv. 33, *Lk.* xxii. 8, *Acts* iii. 1, iv. 13, viii. 14, *Gal.* ii. 9); so that it is probable that by "the beloved disciple" who in the Fourth Gospel appears as St. Peter's companion the author meant St. John.

(*c*) In xix. 26 the beloved disciple is described as standing by the Cross of Jesus, and as being directed by Him to take charge of His mother. In the Synoptists three Apostles on various occasions are specially privileged by our Lord, *viz.*, St. Peter and the two sons of Zebedee (*Mk.* v. 37, ix. 2, xiv. 33); so that the action of Jesus here related is consistent with the conclusion that the beloved disciple was St. John, who is never named in the Gospel, though the names of many of the Apostles occur frequently. If, indeed, the statement that *all* the disciples forsook Jesus at His arrest be pressed, St. John cannot have been present at the foot of the Cross; but as the same statement would also exclude St. Peter from the scene of our Lord's trial, where it is certain that he was present, the word *all* may reasonably be interpreted in a general, not an exact, sense.

But whilst it is plain that the persons who published the Gospel and attached to it the statement contained in xxi. 24 believed that it originated with the beloved disciple (who, at the time when the Appendix was written, must almost certainly have been dead, see *v.* 23), and whilst it is probable that this expression denotes St. John, it is nevertheless difficult to think that St. John was the actual writer of the book, for if by the disciple whom Jesus loved, the Apostle St. John is meant, it is a most unnatural designation for the author of the book to use of *himself*. It is unsatisfactory to explain [2] that the words might be applied by the writer to himself as an expression of gratitude, because he felt that he was the one disciple who above all others would have been lost had not Jesus' love found him and changed his whole spirit; it is only appropriate if it is employed by the writer of another than himself. It has been suggested

[1] Here the phrase used is ὃν ἐφίλει (not ἠγάπα) ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

[2] See Drummond, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 394–5.

that such another might be an ideal figure invested with exceptional faculties of spiritual discernment; but though there are some passages which favour this view, yet in general "the beloved disciple" does not appear on some occasions where, if this suggestion were true, he might be expected (*e.g.* vi. 68);[1] and probably a real character is intended.

But before the Johannine authorship is rejected, it is desirable to consider what light (if any) is thrown by the work upon the author's circumstances, race, and place of residence.

The first point to be noticed is that the work purports to represent testimony borne to Jesus by one who had personal knowledge of our Lord, see i. 14. The verb *we beheld* (ἐθεασάμεθα) here employed seems to be used in the New Testament exclusively of physical sight, so that the writer appears to include himself among a number of persons who had been actual eyewitnesses of our Lord's life (cf. 1 *Joh.* i. 1–4).

In the next place attention must be paid to the incidental references in the book which illustrate the nature and extent of the writer's acquaintance with local and temporal conditions.

(*a*) Considerable familiarity is displayed with Jewish usages and sentiments. The writer mentions that certain water-pots at a marriage feast had been placed where they were, in accordance with the Jews' manner of purifying (ii. 6). In describing the surprise of a Samaritan woman at a request put by Jesus (iv. 9) he explains that the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans. When relating that certain women enveloped the dead body of Jesus with linen cloths and spices, he observes that they did so because such was the custom of the Jews in burying (xix. 40). He shows intimate familiarity with the religious festivals of Palestine, naming the Passover, the feast of Tabernacles, and the feast of Dedication (p. 32), the last being mentioned by him alone of the New Testament writers. The eighth and final day of the feast of Tabernacles, a day which, according to *Lev.* xxiii. 36, was to be kept as a Sabbath, he styles "the great day of the feast" (vii. 37). Jesus' invitation to the thirsty to come to Him and drink (vii. 37) and His declaration that He was the light of the world (viii. 12) are appropriately assigned to the occasion of the same festival, on the first seven days of which water from the pool of Siloam was poured into a silver basin near the altar of burnt offering; whilst on the first night, and perhaps other nights, candelabra were lit in the Court of the Women.[2] He delineates accurately the character of the Pharisees, who were the most religious of the Jewish sects and intensely zealous for the rigorous maintenance of the Mosaic Law, for they are depicted as inquiring who of expected messengers from God John the Baptist might be (i. 24), as censuring the cure by Jesus of a blind man on the Sabbath (ix. 13, 14), and as exhibiting scorn for all that were ignorant of the Law (vii. 49). Those who arrested Jesus are faithfully represented as refraining from entering the Roman Governor's palace in order to avoid pollution (xviii. 28). The Jews after the Cruci-

[1] Stanton, *Gospels as Hist. Documents*, iii. p. 135.

[2] It is assumed that the intervening *pericope adulteræ* (vii. 53–viii. 11) is unauthentic (see pp. 232–3).

fixion are described as desiring that the bodies of the crucified might be removed (in accordance with *Dt.* xxi. 23) before the next day (xix. 31). In view of this knowledge of Jewish habits and the conditions prevailing amongst them in Palestine it is difficult to suppose that the statement that "Caiaphas was high priest" in the year of the Crucifixion (xi. 49, 51, xviii. 13), which, on the surface, seems to imply the erroneous conviction that the high priesthood was a yearly office, is a real mistake [1]: it is more probable, especially in view of xi. 50, that the writer means that Caiaphas occupied that office in the year (*ἐνιαυτός*) which was marked by the sacrifice of the Messiah.

(*b*) Much knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures and interest in the fulfilment of prophecy is shown by numerous quotations from the Old Testament which the writer judged to be illustrated by the life of Jesus. His entry into Jerusalem whilst riding on a young ass is regarded (xii. 14, 15) as realizing the prediction of Zechariah (ix. 9). The unbelief of the Jews in Jesus, in spite of the signs He had done before them, is viewed (xii. 38, 40) as fulfilling two passages in the book of *Isaiah* (liii. 1 and vi. 10). Parallels are drawn (xix. 24, 28, 36, 37) between various incidents accompanying the Passion—the division by the soldiers of our Lord's garments,[2] the casting of lots for His seamless robe, His cry "I thirst," the offer to Him of vinegar, the circumstances that His limbs were not broken (like those of the malefactors), but His side was pierced—and various Old Testament passages (*Ps.* xxii. 18, lxix. 21, *Ex.* xii. 46, *Zech.* xii. 10). Neither these quotations by the Evangelist nor those represented as cited by various characters in the Gospel history are taken from one uniform source. Some are identical with both the Hebrew and the LXX. (where these agree), *viz.* xii. 38 (from 2 *Is.* liii. 1), xix. 24 (from *Ps.* xxii. 18), x. 34 (from *Ps.* lxxxii. 6) and xv. 25 (from *Ps.* xxxv. 19); and so may be derived from either. Others are independent renderings of the Hebrew, *viz.* xix. 37 (from 2 *Zech.* xii. 10), vi. 45 (from 2 *Is.* liv. 13), and xiii. 18 (from *Ps.* xli. 9). Others again, which differ from both the Hebrew original and the Greek translation, are either reproduced from memory or are free adaptations, viz. i. 23 (from 2 *Is.* xl. 3), ii. 17 (from *Ps.* lxix. 9), vi. 31 (from *Ps.* lxxviii. 24), xii. 14, 15 (from 2 *Zech.* ix. 9), xii. 40 (from *Is.* vi. 10), xix. 36 (from *Ex.* xii. 46). "There seems, however, to be no case where a quotation agrees with the LXX against the Hebrew"; so that the writer, though often dealing loosely with both, never seems to have preferred the Greek version to the original.

(*c*) Besides acquaintance with the Hebrew Scriptures there is evinced much familiarity with Jewish Messianic anticipations current in the time of our Lord. John the Baptist is represented as being asked whether he was the Messiah, Elijah, or "the prophet." Nathanael salutes Jesus as "the Son of God and the King of Israel." The discussions among the Jews about Jesus, narrated in vii. 25 foll., xii. 34, illustrate various

[1] As represented by Schmiedel, *The Johannine Writings*, p. 188.

[2] The statements in the two halves of *Ps.* xxii. 18, which are probably synonymous, are represented as being each separately and literally fulfilled: contrast *Mk.* xv. 24.

speculations prevailing about the Messiah, the place of His origin, the duration of His rule, and the proof He was expected to furnish about Himself.

(*d*) There occur in the book a number of references to places within the border of Palestine, suggestive of familiarity with its soil, although some of the localities named cannot be identified with complete certainty. Mention is made of "Bethany beyond Jordan" (i. 28[1]), and of Ænon, near to Salim (iii. 23), both of them being spots where John baptized; Nazareth, the home of Jesus (i. 46); Cana in Galilee,[2] (ii. 1); the Sea of Galilee, called also the Sea of Tiberias (vi. 1); and certain towns, Bethsaida (i. 44, xii. 21) and Capernaum (ii. 12, iv. 46). In Samaria, the Evangelist names Sychar near Sichem, the ancient Shechem (iv. 5, cf. *Gen.* xxxiii. 18, 19, *Josh.* xxiv. 32), close to which was Jacob's well; and he represents the woman with whom our Lord conversed there as alluding to the mountain (Gerizim[3]), in the neighbourhood of which the well is situated. He seems to have been more especially acquainted with Jerusalem and its vicinity. He alludes to Bethany near the Jewish capital, the home of Lazarus, Martha and Mary (xii. 1), to Ephraim, a place near "the wilderness" (probably of Judæa, xi. 54), and to the gorge of the Kidron (xviii. 1). Of places within Jerusalem or just outside its walls he mentions the pool of Siloam (ix. 7), the pool of Bethesda (v. 2) near the sheep gate (cf. *Neh.* iii. 1), the Temple-porch called Solomon's (x. 23), the *prætorium*, once the palace of Herod the Great (xviii. 28), the tessellated pavement in front of it called Gabbatha (xix. 13), and Golgotha (xix. 17). Whilst some of these are alluded to in the other Gospels (Bethsaida, Capernaum, Bethany, the *prætorium*, Golgotha), the rest occur exclusively in *Joh.* In regard to the alternative name given to the Sea of Galilee in two places (vi. 1, xxi. 1), the appellation "sea of Tiberias" is said not to be found in any author until the last quarter of the first century A.D.; Strabo and Pliny (A.D. 23–79), for instance, use the term "sea of Gennesar" or "Gennesaret,"[4] though Josephus employs the other name in his *Jewish War* (iv. 8, 2), a work produced at the end of the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 68–79).

The acquaintance manifested by the writer with Jewish religious customs and the Jewish scriptures, his preference for the Hebrew Old Testament over the LXX., his familiarity with current Messianic expectations, and his various topographical allusions combine to suggest without proving[5] that he was a Palestinian Jew by birth, or at least that he had been trained in the Jewish religion, had probably resided in Palestine and had learnt to know thoroughly Jerusalem as it existed before its destruction by the Romans. If he were not a Jew by descent, he recognized

[1] In contrast to Bethany near Jerusalem.

[2] In contrast to Cana in Cælo-Syria (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5, 1).

[3] The place identified with Jacob's well (p. 5) is really nearer Ebal, but Gerizim was the mount on which, according to the Samaritans, the altar reared by Joshua was erected, and on which the temple built to rival that at Jerusalem was situated.

[4] Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 549.

[5] See Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 551.

the Jewish race to be pre-eminently God's people (i. 11); and he represents Jesus as declaring that salvation was "from the Jews" (iv. 22) and as implying that the Jews were first and foremost the flock of the Good Shepherd (x. 14–16). But it does not follow that his book was written in Palestine or intended for Jewish readers; on the contrary, he repeatedly styles the adversaries of our Lord by the general term "the Jews" (v. 10, vi. 41, 52, vii. 13, ix. 22) in a manner which is only natural if he writes either as a Gentile Christian (an alternative opposed by the facts already adduced) or as a Jewish Christian, who when he wrote was outside the borders of the Holy Land, and who had been altogether alienated in early manhood from those of his countrymen who were responsible for his Lord's death. The conclusion that his work was composed for Gentiles amongst whom he was living is favoured by his allusions to, and explanations of, Jewish customs which would be familiar to Hebrew Christians; and it is further corroborated by the fact that he furnishes interpretations of certain Aramaic words—*Rabbi* (i. 38), *Messiah* (i. 41), *Cephas* (i. 42), *Siloam* (ix. 7), *Rabboni* (xx. 16), such as would be needed by readers of Gentile rather than of Jewish origin.

It will next be expedient to consider whether the contents of the Gospel confirm the claim apparently made in i. 14 that it proceeds from an eye-witness of all or some of the events narrated. In support of the view that it is the work of one who was himself a spectator of many of the scenes described, attention has been drawn to the manner in which incidents are localized, persons figuring in them are designated, specifications of time, and other details introduced, and knowledge of the sentiments of those present indicated.

(*a*) The places where various events occurred are mentioned. The interview between John the Baptist and the emissaries from the Pharisees took place at Bethany beyond Jordan (i. 28). The conversation with the Samaritan woman was held as Jesus sat by Jacob's well (iv. 6). The nobleman whose son was sick at Capernaum went to seek the help of Jesus when the latter was at Cana (iv. 46, 47). Jesus' declaration that He was the light of the world, and the ensuing controversy with the Pharisees occurred in the "treasury" of the Temple (viii. 20). When the Jews came to Jesus and asked Him not to keep them in suspense about His identity, He was walking in Solomon's porch (x. 23). When, after this, He withdrew beyond Jordan, He went to the place where John at first baptized (x. 40). When, after the raising of Lazarus, the Jews planned to put Him to death, He departed to the city of Ephraim (xi. 54). When He crossed the brook Kidron He entered a garden, and it was there that He was taken.

(*b*) In connexion with many incidents and scenes several of the actors in them are named, even when in the other Gospels they are left unspecified. In the narrative of the Feeding of the 5,000 the writer attributes to Philip and Andrew utterances which in *Mk.* are assigned vaguely to the disciples (vi. 7–9 contrasted with *Mk.* vi. 37–38); in the description of the anointing of Christ by a woman he alone represents that the woman was Mary, the sister of Lazarus (xii. 3); whilst in the account of our Lord's arrest, he

alone states that it was Peter who smote off the ear of the high priest's servant, and that the wounded man was called Malchus. In various narratives peculiar to the Fourth Gospel the names of disciples who answer the questions of Jesus, bring information to Him, or put inquiries are given with similar precision: see vi. 68 (Simon Peter), xi. 16 (Thomas), xii. 22 (Philip and Andrew), xii. 4 (Judas Iscariot), xiii. 24, 36 (Simon Peter), xiv. 5 (Thomas), xiv. 8 (Philip), xiv. 22 (Judas, not Iscariot). The ruler with whom Jesus conversed about the New Birth is stated to have been Nicodemus (iii. 1); the name of the father of Judas Iscariot is mentioned (vi. 71, xiii. 2); and the man represented as raised to life after four days' burial is designated as Lazarus of Bethany (xi. 1 f., xii. 1).

(*c*) Strangely minute particulars are supplied in the recital of some of the events recorded. The successive days on which certain incidents followed one another are marked (i. 29, 35, 43, ii. 1, vi. 22, xii. 1, 12). The duration of our Lord's stay amongst the Samaritans (iv. 40, 43), and the interval between the supper at Bethany and the last Passover are both indicated. Even the very hour when something happened is specified (i. 39, iv. 6, xix. 14). Other details of a similarly precise character, relating to numbers or distances, occur in ii. 6 (six water-pots), v. 5 (thirty-eight years), vi. 19 (five-and-twenty or thirty furlongs), xix. 23 (four soldiers), xix. 39 (about a hundred pound weight), xxi. 8 (two hundred cubits), xxi. 11 (a hundred and fifty and three fishes). It is also noted that the loaves used in the Feeding of the 5,000 were of barley (vi. 9); that the garment of Jesus for which the soldiers cast lots was seamless; and that when His disciples entered the tomb of Jesus, they saw the napkin that had been about His head rolled up by itself (xx. 7).

(*d*) Allusions are repeatedly made to what on certain occasions the disciples of Jesus said or thought. When their Master cleansed the Temple, they recalled the words of *Ps.* lxix. 9 (ii. 17); after His resurrection they remembered His words about raising up the Temple (if destroyed) within three days (ii. 22), and His fulfilment, by the entry into Jerusalem, of the prophecy of Zechariah (xii. 16); His speaking to a woman evoked their wonder (iv. 27); and His saying that He had meat to eat that they knew not prompted them to ask one another whether anyone had brought Him aught (iv. 33).

This circumstantial exactness is, at first sight, very suggestive of the first-hand evidence of an actual spectator of the scenes described or an actual hearer of the speeches reported. Nevertheless the instance of St. Mark's Gospel, which contains much vivid detail and yet is an account of Christ's ministry at second hand, is sufficient to show that the inference may be mistaken.[1] And it has already been made plain (p. 119) by examples from the Old Testament, that local and personal names, definite figures, and other particulars are no proof that the narratives in which they appear are derived from eye-witnesses or are historically well grounded. Account has to be taken of the habit of a Semitic writer "to throw his thoughts into the form of concrete pictorial history, whether that history

[1] Peake, *Int. to the New Testament*, p. 209.

is real or imagined." [1] Numerous illustrations of this habit can be added from Apocryphal writings which purport to supplement the Gospel records. Thus in the *Protevangelium of James* the parents of the Virgin Mary are called Joachim and Anna, and the servant of the latter is called Judith; whilst in the *Acts of Pilate* the woman with the issue of blood (*Mk.* v. 25) is given the name of Bernice; and the two thieves who were crucified with our Lord are styled Dysmas and Gestas.[2] Moreover into a narrative designed to set forth ideas rather than to relate actual facts, details may be introduced not merely to give life and colour to it, but for the sake of the symbolism which they are capable of expressing. Hence the numerous minute particulars marking so many of the narratives of the Fourth Gospel do not go far to prove its first-hand authority; and a more trustworthy clue to a just decision about its historical value may be derived from a comparison of its contents, viewed broadly, with those of the Synoptic Gospels.

It has been seen that the Gospel of St. Mark upon which the other two Synoptic Gospels are based (so far as the incidents recorded are concerned) presents an account of our Lord's public life in which there is traceable a development of events that, on the whole, commands confidence as historical. With these the Fourth Gospel, if written by the Apostle St. John, ought to be in general accord. On the supposition that it was composed independently of *Mk.* and the other Gospels, many differences between it and them might be anticipated, some matters being omitted which they relate and others being reported which they ignore; but the same level of historical plausibility could reasonably be looked for. On the supposition that it was written with *Mk.* and the other Synoptists in view and designed to supplement, or to provide an interpretation of, what they supply, it might be expected, when departing from the Synoptic outline, to present an even more convincing narrative. For whereas all other Gospels are the works of authors who wrote at second hand, St. John was not only a companion of Jesus, but was one of the small group of Apostles to whom their Master granted a very privileged position; so that a history proceeding from him should commend itself to its readers as, in the main, better than the others in proportion to the greater opportunities which its author had of acquiring accurate information. Similarly in regard to our Lord's utterances, his Gospel might be expected to pass over many that are contained in the other Gospels and to include many that are missing from them; but a general likeness might be anticipated between those which he reproduces and those which the other evangelists have preserved. The differences between them ought not to exceed, for instance, such as subsist between the tenor of the report of Jesus' teaching contained in the three sources *Mk.*, *Q*, and St. Luke's Travel Section when compared together.

A comparison instituted between the Fourth Gospel and the Second is far from realizing such expectation. The different conceptions of the course of Christ's ministry presented by the two narratives will be best

[1] Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 109.
[2] See Drummond, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 376–9.

understood from the following table, in which the principal contents of the Fourth Gospel are enumerated, together with such parallels to them as occur in the Second :—

Mk.	*Joh.*
	Prologue.
1.[1] The preaching of John the Baptist.	John the Baptist.
	The Baptist and Jesus.
5. Call of Peter, Andrew, James and John *in Galilee.*	Adhesion of Andrew and Peter to Jesus *beyond Jordan.*
4. Departure of Jesus to Galilee and preaching there.	Departure of Jesus to Galilee.
	Call of Philip and Nathanael.
	Water converted into wine at Cana.
	Stay at Capernaum.
	Journey to Jerusalem for the Passover.
	Cleansing of the Temple.
	Discourse with Nicodemus.
	Questions put to the Baptist about Jesus.
	Journey through Samaria.
	Discourse with a Samaritan woman.
	Return to Galilee.
	Cure of Nobleman's son at Capernaum.
	Journey to Jerusalem for an unnamed Feast.
	Cure of blind man on the Sabbath at the pool of Bethesda.
	[Return to Galilee.]
27. Feeding of the 5,000.	Feeding of the 5,000.
28. Walking on the Sea.	Walking on the Sea.
	Discourse at Capernaum about the Bread of Life.
32. Peter's Confession.	Peter's Confession.
	Journey to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles.
	Controversy among the Jews about Jesus.
	(A woman taken in adultery).[2]
	Controversy with the Jews.
	Cure of a blind man on the Sabbath.
	"I am the Good Shepherd."
	Charge of blasphemy.
	Withdrawal beyond Jordan.
	Return to Bethany and raising of Lazarus.
	Plot of the Jews to kill Him.
	Withdrawal to the city of Ephraim.
	Return to Bethany.
53. Anointing at Bethany.	Anointing by Mary at Bethany.
43. Entry into Jerusalem.	Entry into Jerusalem.
45. Cleansing of the Temple.	
	Certain Greeks desire to see Him.
55. The Last Supper.	The Last Supper.
	Washing of the disciples' feet.
	Judas indicated as the Betrayer.

[1] The figures correspond to those prefixed to the table on pp. 148 foll., and serve to show how much of the contents of the Synoptic Gospels has place in the Fourth Gospel and how much has none.

[2] This section is probably not genuine, see pp. 232–3.

Mk.	*Joh.*
	Promise of the Comforter.
	"I am the true vine."
	Renewed promise of the Comforter.
	Prayer to the Father.
60. The Arrest.	The Arrest.
62. Trial before the High Priest.	Trial before the High Priest.
63. Denial by Peter.	Denial by Peter.
64. Trial before Pilate.	Trial before Pilate.
66 The Crucifixion.	The Crucifixion.
67. The Burial.	The Burial.
	Visit of Mary Magdalene, Peter, and the Beloved Disciple to the Sepulchre.
	Appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene.
	Appearance of Jesus to the disciples (without Thomas) at Jerusalem.
	Appearance of Jesus to the disciples (with Thomas) at Jerusalem.
	Appearance of Jesus to seven disciples in Galilee.

From the above table of parallel passages it will be seen that a very small proportion of the incidents and discourses narrated in the Second Gospel have anything corresponding to them in the Fourth Gospel, and that the latter contains a quantity of material altogether peculiar to itself. The few subjects, however, which find place in both of the parallel columns given above do not really exhaust all the points of contact between the Second and the Fourth Gospel. To certain incidents, of which the author of the latter affords no account, he makes definite allusion. Thus, though he furnishes no narrative of the Baptist's preaching and baptizing, such as is contained in *Mk.* i. 4, 5 (cf. *Mt.* iii. 1–6, *Lk.* iii. 1–7), he refers to it in i. 26, 31, 33, iii. 28. The words attributed in i. 15 to the Baptist, "This was he of whom I said, 'He that cometh after me is preferred before me,'" recall no statement found in the Fourth Gospel itself, but appear to relate to the declaration in *Mk.* i. 7: "There cometh after me he that is mightier than I." Again our Lord is described as "Jesus of Nazareth" (i. 45), the expression implying that He had His home there (as represented in *Mk.* i. 9, 24). The term "the Twelve" in vi. 67 presupposes the appointment of the Twelve Apostles, as recorded in *Mk.* iii. 14. Our Lord's question to Philip in vi. 5, inquiring how bread could be procured to satisfy the multitude, presumes the circumstances that the people had long been in attendance upon Him, and were faint for lack of food (as described in *Mk.* vi. 35).[1] The Fourth Evangelist thus appears to assume in his readers some familiarity with the substance of the history related in the Second Gospel. And the fact that he himself was really acquainted with *Mk.* seems put beyond reasonable doubt by the identity of diction occurring in the parallel passages *Mk.* xiv. 5–8 and *Joh.* xii. 5, 7, 8 (cf. xi. 2). They are here placed side by side, and the common elements in the phrasing are indicated by italics :—

[1] Cf. Bacon, *Introd. to the New Testament*, p. 263.

Mk.

5. For *this ointment* might have been *sold for* above *three hundred pence and given to the poor.* And they murmured against her. 6. But *Jesus said, Let her alone* (*ἄφετε αὐτήν*); why trouble ye her? She hath wrought a good work on me. 7. *For ye have the poor always with you,* and whensoever ye will, ye can do them good: *but me ye have not always.* 8. She hath done what she could; she hath anointed my body aforehand for the *burying.*

Joh.

5. Why was not *this ointment sold for three hundred pence and given to* the *poor?*

* * *

7. *Jesus* therefore *said, Let her alone* (*ἄφες αὐτὴν*)[1]; it was that she might keep it against the day of my *burying.* 8. *For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always.*

The inference that in *Joh.* xii. the Evangelist has appropriated part of the very wording of *Mk.* is confirmed by the employment, a few verses earlier, of the rare expression *νάρδος πιστικὴ*; he uses *Mk.'s* term *ὠτάριον* of Malchus' ear; and he also employs (v. 8) in connexion with the cure of the infirm man at Bethesda the precise words which *Mk.* records to have been used by Jesus, when He healed the paralytic at Capernaum—"Arise, take up thy pallet (*τὸν κράβαττόν σου*) and walk" (*Mk.* ii. 11).

It may likewise with some plausibility be surmised that the Fourth Evangelist was also acquainted with the remaining Synoptists, *Mt.* and *Lk.* Knowledge of the First Gospel seems betrayed in the following instances, both being cases where the other Gospels vary from *Mt.*:—

Mt.

(*a*) Blessed art thou, Simon Barjonah; . . . I also say unto thee that thou art Peter (xvi. 17, 18).

(*b*) A rich man from Arimathea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple (*ἐμαθητεύθη τῷ Ἰησοῦ*) (xxvii. 57).

Joh.

(*a*) Thou art Simon the son of John; thou shalt be called Cephas (which is by interpretation Peter) (i. 42).

(*b*) Joseph of Arimathea, being a disciple of Jesus (*μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*) (xix. 38).

Acquaintance, too, with the Third Gospel is suggested by the following:—

Lk.

(*a*) She began to wet his *feet* with her tears and *wiped* them *with the hair* of her head and kissed his *feet,* and *anointed* them with the ointment (vii. 38).

Joh.

(*a*) Mary therefore took a pound of ointment . . . and *anointed* the *feet* of Jesus, and *wiped* his feet *with* her *hair* (xii. 3, cf. xi. 2).

In John allusion is made (xi. 1) to Mary and her sister Martha, as though they were well known, but the only reference to them in the Synoptic Gospels is in *Lk.* x. 38, 39. In the prediction of Peter's denial the words used (xiii. 38) are in closer verbal agreement with *Lk.* xxii. 34 than with *Mk.* xiv. 30 or *Mt.* xxvi. 34. It has also been pointed out that both *Lk.* and *Joh.*[2] use *ὁ Κύριος* of Jesus in narratives, and employ of Him the phrase *the son of Joseph* (*Lk.* iv. 22, *Joh.* i. 45, vi. 42); whilst these two

[1] The singular verb refers to Judas, who speaks the words in *v.* 5.

[2] *Lk.* xxii. 61; *Joh.* iv. 1.

Evangelists alone represent Jesus as applying the term *friends* to His disciples (*Lk.* xii. 4, *Joh.* xv. 14, 15). In the account of the Resurrection *Joh.*, like *Lk.*, confines the appearances of the Lord to Jerusalem.[1]

From these comparisons it seems probable that the author of the Fourth Gospel drew upon the three Synoptists, just as *Mt.* and *Lk.* drew upon the Second Gospel, though he handled his predecessors with more freedom than the First and Third Evangelists handled *Mk.*, and pursued a plan of his own. There is nothing antecedently surprising in the supposition that even an Apostle may have acquainted himself with the works of earlier non-Apostolic writers, with the design of supplementing deficiencies in them, correcting their errors, and presenting an aspect of his Master's teaching to which they had done inadequate justice. But when the contents of the Fourth Gospel are carefully examined, as a whole, the contrast offered by it to the other Gospels is not, in general, that which might be expected to characterize the production of one possessed of first-hand knowledge as compared with narratives resting upon second-hand information; and illustrations of the fact are readily forthcoming.

No great stress, indeed, can be laid on the *omission* by the writer of the Fourth Gospel of some features which are conspicuous in the record of St. Mark and his fellow Synoptists: if the author were St. John, a desire not to illustrate superfluously sides of Jesus' benevolent activity or of His teaching, which had been sufficiently exemplified by previous writers, might account for the absence from the book of all cures wrought on demoniacs, and perhaps of all parables. There is no narrative of our Lord's baptism (though it is plain that the writer knew about it, from the Baptist's reference to the descent of the dove in i. 32, 33), and there is no description of Jesus' institution of the Eucharist (its place being taken by an account of the symbolic act of washing the disciples' feet), though a discourse containing expressions that recall words used at the Eucharist (cf. p. 679) is represented as being delivered, long before, in Galilee. Rather more remarkable is the absence of any mention of the Temptation, the Transfiguration, or the Agony in Gethsemane. It is, however, the discrepancies in connexion with some of the incidents recorded in common by the Synoptists and the Fourth Evangelist which chiefly raise grave doubts as to whether the latter can really be St. John. The following are among the most conspicuous. (*a*) In *Mk.* (taken as representing the Synoptists) Simon Peter and Andrew are related to have been summoned by Jesus to follow Him as they were fishing in the Lake of Galilee; but by the Fourth Evangelist Andrew is described as being a disciple of the Baptist, as attaching himself to Jesus in consequence of some words from the Baptist, and as then bringing his brother to Jesus. (*b*) In *Mk.* the cleansing of the Temple is placed at the end of our Lord's ministry, and it is represented as the action that finally led to His death being compassed by the Jewish ecclesiastical leaders; whereas by the Fourth Evangelist it is assigned to a very early period in the Ministry. (*c*) St. Mark states that Jesus began His teaching (in Galilee) *after* John had been committed to prison,

[1] The Appendix to the Fourth Gospel is here excluded.

but the Fourth Gospel implies that Jesus began to teach and make disciples (in Judæa) at a time when John was still baptizing and *before* he was imprisoned. (*d*) The offence taken at Jesus by the people of His own locality, eliciting from Him the comment that a prophet has no honour in his own country, is placed by *Mk.* (vi. 1–6) seemingly at Nazareth (cf. i. 9, *Lk.* iv. 16, 23) ; but by the Fourth Evangelist in Judæa (iv. 43, 44). The latter, however, separates from the incident the question, " Is not this the carpenter ? " which *Mk.* joins to it, and which he places (like *Mk.*) in Galilee (vi. 42). (*e*) Peter's confession, of which in *Mk.* (viii. 27) the scene is Cæsarea Philippi, seems in the Fourth Gospel to be made at Capernaum (vi. 69, cf. *v.* 24) and is couched in different words. (*f*) The incident of the Anointing of Jesus at supper by a woman is placed by *Mk.* *after* the entry into Jerusalem ; the woman is nameless and anoints Jesus' *head* ; whilst the host is called Simon the leper. But in the Fourth Gospel the incident is placed *before* (though only shortly before) the entry into Jerusalem ; the woman is Mary (sister of Lazarus) and anoints our Lord's *feet* (like the woman described in *Lk.* vii. 37 f.) ; and the host is not designated. The account reflects some of *Lk.'s* phraseology (see p. 217). (*g*) At the Last Supper Jesus is described in both *Mk.* and the Fourth Gospel as being asked which of the disciples was to betray Him ; but whilst *Mk.* relates that our Lord merely responded in vague terms that it was one of the Twelve that dipped with Him in the dish, the Fourth Evangelist states that Jesus replied that it was he to whom He should give a sop, and that He thereupon dipped a sop and gave it to Judas, thus marking him out to the rest. (*h*) In regard to the Last Supper and the Crucifixion there is a variation of date. *Mk.* represents the Supper as the regular Passover meal, and consequently as eaten on the evening of Thursday, Nisan 14 (according to our reckoning), which by the Jews was regarded as the beginning of Nisan 15. It is, therefore, implied that the Crucifixion took place *after* the Passover had been held (though in xiv. 1, 2 the chief priests seek to destroy Jesus *prior to* the feast, and there are some other facts in *Mk.'s* account which conflict with the conclusion that the Last Supper took place on the Passover day, see p. 344). But the Fourth Evangelist describes the Supper as eaten *before* the Passover (xiii. 1, xviii. 28, xix. 14), and the Crucifixion as occurring on the actual Passover day (though before the evening). (*i*) The arrest of our Lord is represented by *Mk.* (xiv. 43) as accomplished by an armed multitude assembled by the chief priests, scribes, and elders ; but in the Fourth Gospel (xviii. 3) it is effected by a cohort (or perhaps a maniple) of Roman soldiers. (*j*) In the account of the Crucifixion *Mk.* relates that the soldiers compelled Simon, a Cyrenian, to carry the cross for Jesus to the place of execution, but the writer of the Fourth Gospel pointedly affirms that Jesus carried the cross for Himself. (*k*) In respect of the Resurrection appearances a direct comparison between *Mk.* and the Fourth Gospel is rendered impossible by the loss of the original ending of the former (p. 180) ; but if, as is probable, *Mk.* represented the Risen Jesus as appearing first to St. Peter and his fellow apostles in *Galilee* (xvi. 7), it is clear that the two Gospels must have conveyed very different impressions, since the Fourth

represents that our Lord was seen first by Mary Magdalene at *Jerusalem*, which is also described as the scene of other appearances to the disciples, whilst nothing is recorded of any appearance in Galilee except in the last chapter, which is of the nature of an appendix (p. 232). (*l*) It is also noticeable that whilst in *Mk.* and the other Synoptists, scribes, tax-gatherers and "sinners" are conspicuous, in the Fourth Gospel these classes of persons are not mentioned at all.

But remarkable as these differences are, there are two others far more fundamental. One concerns the duration of our Lord's ministry. *Mk.* (with whom apparently the remaining Synoptists agree) represents Jesus' public ministry as almost entirely confined to Galilee, or districts near it, and does not relate that He went into Judæa until He proceeded to Jerusalem on the occasion that ended in His arrest and trial, whilst he mentions only a single Passover, viz. that for which the disciples prepared the Last Supper (xiv. 1). But the Fourth Evangelist, on the contrary, describes Jesus as visiting Jerusalem three times (ii. 13, v. 1, vii. 10) prior to His entry into the city in procession, represents much of His teaching as conducted at the Jewish capital, and mentions three Passovers as occurring in the course of the ministry (ii. 13, vi. 4, xiii. 1). Among the occasions on which our Lord is recorded to have gone up to Jerusalem in addition to the Passovers named in ii. 13, xiii. 1, are an unnamed feast (v. 1)[1] and the feast of Tabernacles, in the autumn (vii. 2, 10)[2]; and He is also said to have spent at Jerusalem the feast of Dedication, in the winter (x. 22). From the fact that St. Mark gives account of only one Passover it is a natural inference that the Second Evangelist regarded the events of our Lord's ministry as all taking place within a year (cf. Eus. *H.E.* iii. 24, 8). St. Luke also does not mention any journey to the Jewish capital after Jesus had attained to manhood except the one which ended in the Crucifixion. But the definite allusions in the Fourth Gospel imply that the writer meant to represent the ministry as extending over more than two years, so that unless good reason is discovered for qualifying the inference about St. Mark's conception of the duration of Jesus' public activity, there is a grave divergence between the Evangelists.

The other fundamental difference between the Second and Fourth Gospels relates to the course pursued by our Lord in respect of His self-disclosure, and to the character of His discourses. In the Second Gospel Jesus is represented as announcing the near approach of the Kingdom of God and the need for a change of heart in all desirous of entering that Kingdom (*Mk.* i. 14, 15); and His teaching about it is illustrated by parables, the Evangelist even going so far as to say (iv. 34) "without a parable spake He not unto them" (the multitudes). The parables apart, most of His utterances are exceptionally concise, aphoristic, and pointed, easily retained in the memory, and stimulating reflection. And though He is addressed by some of the sufferers whom He heals as the Holy One of God

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[1] The true reading is probably ἑορτή "a feast" (Pentecost, Trumpets or Purim) not ἡ ἑορτή (Passover or Tabernacles).

[2] If chapters v. and vi. ought to be transposed (p. 232), this feast may be the same as that mentioned in v. 1.

and as the Son of God, He tries to silence them and to prevent them from making Him known: it is not until His journey into the villages round Cæsarea Philippi that He elicits from St. Peter an acknowledgment of His Messiahship, and alludes to His future coming in the glory of His Father. But almost from the beginning of the Fourth Gospel there is in the speeches of Jesus nothing of the protracted reticence about Himself and His Personality which marks His utterances in the first half of the Second Gospel. As has been seen, He is designated at the outset by John the Baptist as the Lamb of God; Andrew tells his brother Peter that he has found the Messiah; Nathanael salutes Him as the Son of God and the King of Israel; and He explicitly informs the Samaritan woman that He is the Messiah. Moreover, His utterances, instead of being brief and pregnant, emphasizing, even at the cost of exaggeration, the point which it is desired to drive home, are largely argumentative and abstract. No doubt numerous concise and pointed sayings occur in the discourses contained in the Fourth Gospel (see ii. 16, 19, iii. 3, 6, iv. 21, 44, vi. 27, 35, vii. 24, 37, viii. 34, xii. 24, 25, xviii. 36, and several others[1]); but many of them are in contexts which by their general spirit produce a very different impression from that conveyed by the discourses in the Synoptists. In place of being devoted to the enforcement of the ethical principles on the observance of which entry into the Divine Kingdom was dependent, Jesus' longer utterances are mainly concerned with the relation of His own Personality to the Father and to mankind, and with the necessity of belief in Himself as a condition of possessing enduring life (see v. 19–47, vi. 26–40, 44, 58, viii. 31–58, xiv.–xvi.). The prominence of the pronoun ἐγώ is very noticeable in all these. Jesus describes Himself mystically as the bestower of the Water of Life, as the Bread from heaven, as the Light of the world. as the Door of the sheep, as the Good Shepherd, as the Resurrection and the Life, as the True Vine. And whilst there are numerous figurative expressions like these, there are none of the vivid and forcible parables of the kind exemplified in the Synoptic Gospels. And though it is intelligible that Jesus might have varied His teaching according to the needs of particular occasions and the character of His audiences, and that the writer of the Fourth Gospel may have aimed at illustrating exclusively a type of instruction which the Synoptists had altogether omitted to reproduce, the explanation lacks plausibility when it is discovered that some of the speeches ostensibly reported as uttered by Jesus closely resemble reflections proceeding from the historian himself, and that Jesus and the Evangelist speak in the same style (cf. iii. 5–12 (15) with 13 (16)–21, and v. 20–24 with iii. 31–36). In fine, the discourses in the book wear the aspect less of utterances actually spoken by Jesus, and remembered by one who heard them, than of meditations wherein the author expounds his own ideas about the significance of Jesus' Person.[2]

In regard to some of the minor divergences just noticed, they are not absolutely irreconcilable with one another and mutually exclusive. St.

[1] See Drummond, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 18, 19.

[2] The style of the Fourth Gospel has numerous points of contact with that of 1 *Joh.* (see p. 320).

Mark's Gospel is not an exhaustive account of our Lord's ministry (nothing, for instance, is said in it about the preaching at Chorazin and Bethsaida alluded to in *Mt.* xi. 21, *Lk.* x. 13). He, like the other Evangelists, was interested primarily, not with recording fully the results of historical inquiry, but with confirming his readers' Christian faith; and this could be done by a selection of Jesus' deeds and sayings which left much for another writer to relate. Consequently the meeting of Peter and Andrew with Jesus beyond Jordan may have preceded, and prepared the way for, their call in Galilee; so that the account in the Fourth Gospel may in this respect be complementary to that in the Second. Similarly Jesus' preaching in Galilee after John's imprisonment may have been preceded by some preaching in Judæa prior to it[1]; and the journeys to Jerusalem mentioned by the Fourth Evangelist may have been omitted by St. Mark because he purposely restricted the scope of his work, or for some other reason. It has been contended, indeed, that there are features in the Second Gospel itself favouring a longer duration than a year for our Lord's ministry, since the plucking by the disciples of ears of corn (after Jesus' ministry had been some time in progress, *Mk.* ii. 23) can only have occurred between the middle of April and the middle of June, whereas the later incident of the Feeding of the 5,000 happened when the grass was green (*Mk.* vi. 39), *i.e.* not before the spring of the following year; so that the Crucifixion-Passover must have been the second, at least, that fell within the ministry. It has also been argued that for a visit or visits to Jerusalem previous to the processional entry evidence is forthcoming in the Lament over Jerusalem quoted in *Mt.* xxiii. 37 f., *Lk.* xiii. 34 f. (from *Q*); and if this reasoning is sound, the chronology of the Synoptists affords room for *two* cleansings of the Temple, one at the beginning, and the other at the end of Christ's ministry. It seems more likely, however, that the detail about the green grass was due to St. Mark's faculty for describing a scene pictorially than that it was actually remembered by St. Peter; whilst for the inference deduced from the Lament over Jerusalem see p. 448. And though in view of the incompleteness of the Gospels as histories the abstract possibility must be admitted that various narratives in the Fourth Gospel fill gaps in the accounts contained in the Synoptists, yet on a general view of the two records the conclusion to which a broad comparison of them points is different from this. The impression left is that, if events followed the course described in the one, they did not follow the course described by the other. In regard, for instance, to the divergence respecting the journeys to Jerusalem, the supposition that the narrative of these in the Fourth Gospel supplies a defect in the Second [2] is not really probable, for the fact that *Mk.* could relate the journey from Galilee to the borders of Tyre and

[1] Any corroboration, however, for this which may be derived from the reading in *Lk.* iv. 44 τῆς Ἰουδαίας (ℵ B C L Q R Syr. (vet.) Eg.) instead of τῆς Γαλιλαίας (A D X Γ Δ Lat. Syr. (vulg.) Eg. (some codd.)) is delusive, since *Judæa* can be regarded as the equivalent of Palestine, as in *Lk.* xxiii. 5, *Acts* x. 37 (see Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 141). Jesus' teaching *began* in Galilee (*Lk.* xxiii. 5).

[2] See Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 541, and cf. Sanday, *Criticism of Fourth Gospel*, pp. 144–148, Peake, *I.N.T.* p. 214.

Sidon renders it unlikely that he would have omitted the more important pilgrimages from Galilee to the Jewish capital related in the Fourth Gospel, if such had really occurred ; and even if he did omit these for some reason, it is eminently unlikely that the two other Synoptists would have been equally silent about them.[1] Again, although one cleansing of the Temple by Jesus does not absolutely preclude a second, it is scarcely likely that there should have been two, marked by almost identical features but followed by very different consequences, and that one should have produced from the priesthood only a remonstrance, but the other a decision to take His life. And again, on comparing the versions of our Lord's reply to the question who was to be the traitor, we can have no doubt which is the one that bears the stamp of probability. And once more, if our Lord had endeavoured at the outset of His ministry to avoid being addressed as the Holy One of God or by a similar title, it is not easy to believe that He could have plainly declared Himself to be the Messiah to the Samaritan woman. Finally, if the general style of our Lord's discourses is faithfully represented by *Mk.* and by *Q*, it is difficult to think that His manner of speech could have resembled the style of the Fourth Evangelist. Consequently, we seem driven to choose between the two representations ; and to conclude that if one, for the most part, is approximately true to external facts, the other in the same proportion is untrue to them.

Now if in the Fourth Gospel we have a work by one of the Apostles, we might anticipate (as has been already observed) that in its narrative of Jesus' public ministry the development of events, if not agreeing wholly with the account of the Synoptists. especially of St. Mark, would be even superior in naturalness and credibility ; and the critical moments in it would appear in their proper sequence. But the antecedent expectation based upon the supposition that it is the work of the Apostle John is not corroborated by the results of a comparison of its contents (as just instituted) with those of the earliest of the Synoptic Gospels, St. Mark's. For although there may be good grounds for preferring, in a few instances, the representations of this Gospel to that of *Mk.*, yet, on the whole, it can scarcely be denied that the general course of events as narrated by the Second Evangelist produces the impression of being more historical than that traced by the Fourth. The hesitation which, according to *Mk.*, Jesus evinced in making known His Messianic office, His efforts to avoid notoriety, relinquished only as the nature of His destiny and its duties grew clearer, the slowness with which His disciples came to understand who and what He was, the various causes of, and the gradual stages in, the development of the animosity displayed towards Him by the ecclesiastical authorities—these are all features which give to the record in the Second Gospel a plausibility which is lacking to that of the Fourth Gospel. But if the latter conforms to historical probabilities less closely than the former, which comes from one who was not among the immediate followers of Jesus, it is exceedingly difficult to think that the history which commands

[1] *Mt.* xxi. 10 implies that the people of Jerusalem, when Jesus went thither at the close of His ministry, were unacquainted with Him.

less confidence than its rival can be the composition of one whose opportunities of obtaining information were so much better.

But if it is unlikely that the Fourth Gospel is the production of St. John, it may be next inquired whether there is any individual mentioned in the Gospel to whom its authorship can be conjecturally attributed. In the course of perusal attention is arrested by xix. 35, where after the statement that blood and water came from the side of the dead Jesus when pierced by a soldier, there is added, " He that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true, and he (ἐκεῖνος) knoweth that he saith true." The most natural interpretation of the passage is that the writer is describing himself as the eyewitness of the fact related, and though it is not clear to whom he appeals in ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν κτλ, the pronoun is perhaps best understood to refer to the Risen Christ (cf. p. 469), as One who could vouch for his truthfulness. If this is correct, the writer was probably a *recent* disciple who witnessed the last scenes of Jesus' life, but little more. Now, in the account of our Lord's trial, reference is made (xviii. 15) to a disciple who entered into the court of the high priest, and being known to the high priest, brought in Peter. It has been assumed by many that the disciple was St. John. But this is improbable if the " beloved disciple " is reasonably identified with St. John (p. 207 f.), for the epithet is absent here, and it is not likely that an individual thus designated on the occasion of the Last Supper would so soon afterwards be described simply as " another disciple." Who he really was is not explained. But if he were present at the trial, he was doubtless present at the Crucifixion ; and as the writer of xix. 35 was a spectator of the latter scene and clearly a disciple (for only to a follower of Jesus would the effusion of blood and water from our Lord's side be a fact of importance), it may be conjectured that he was the disciple mentioned in xviii. 15, and that he was the author of the Gospel.

It is now desirable to consider the statements of various ecclesiastical writers which purport to throw light upon the origin of the Gospel. The external authorities which either certainly or probably identify the Fourth Evangelist with St. John the Apostle are the following, the names being arranged in approximate chronological order backwards.

1. Eusebius (bishop of Cæsarea 314–340) explains the reason why John (into whose hands the other Gospels had come) composed a fourth Gospel to have been the fact that there was lacking in them an account of the deeds done by Jesus at the beginning of His ministry (*H.E.* iii. 24, 7). In the context of this passage Eusebius implies that the author of the Fourth Gospel was the Apostle John ; and elsewhere (iii. 23, 1) expressly speaks of the Apostle and Evangelist John, " the one whom Jesus loved " as having returned from exile on the island (of Patmos) after the death of Domitian (A.D. 96).

2. Origen (b. at Alexandria A.D. 185, d. 253) wrote a work entitled " Exposition of John's Gospel," from which Eusebius (*H.E.* vi. 25, 9) quotes the words " Why need we speak of him who reclined upon the bosom of Jesus, John, who has left us one Gospel, though he confessed that he might write so many that the world could not contain them ? " (see *Joh.* xxi. 25).

3. Polycrates (bishop of Ephesus *circ.* A.D. 200–210) mentioned, in a letter addressed to Victor, Bp. of Rome, that John who was both a witness (*μάρτυς*) and a teacher, and who reclined upon the bosom of the Lord, and being a priest wore the *πέταλον* (see *Ex.* xxviii. 36), slept at Ephesus (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 31, 3).

4. Clement of Alexandria (d. after A.D. 203) describing the order of the Gospels according to the tradition of the earliest presbyters (*τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων*) relates that after the first three Gospels, John last of all, perceiving that the external facts (*τὰ σωματικά*) had been made plain, and being urged by his friends and inspired by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel (Eus. *H.E.* vi. 14, 5–7).

5. Irenæus (bishop of Lyons, b. in Asia Minor probably between A.D. 120 and 130 and d. about 202) states (as quoted by Eusebius, *H.E.* v. 8, 4) that after the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke had been written, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined on His bosom, published his Gospel while staying at Ephesus in Asia. Irenæus applies the same description (" the disciple of the Lord ") to John elsewhere (*H.E.* iii. 23, 3), relating that he remained in Asia until the time of Trajan (98–117).

6. The Muratorian Canon (or catalogue), generally assigned to the last quarter of the second century, attributes the Fourth Gospel to John, one of the disciples. It represents that when his fellow-disciples and bishops urged him to write, he bade them fast for three days, and then tell one another whatever should be revealed about the execution of their request; and that on the same night it was disclosed to Andrew that John should relate all things under his own name, but subject to the revision of all the rest. The author of the catalogue then quotes the opening words of 1 *Joh.* i., and adds that the writer of those words thereby confessed that he had been not only an eyewitness, but also a hearer and a writer of all the wonderful works of the Lord in order. The account of the circumstances under which the Gospel was written is doubtless legendary, but the growth of the legend implies that when it arose the Gospel was connected with the name of John the Apostle.

The passages here quoted from various patristic writers, including some living in the last quarter of the second century, agree generally in representing the Fourth Gospel as being the work of the beloved disciple whom they name John, and whom there can be little doubt they identified with the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. No real importance can be attached to the fact that by certain of these he is designated as a " disciple " and not as an " Apostle " of Jesus. The prevalent belief of the early Church was disputed only by a small body, called the *Alogi* (*circ.* A.D. 170), who declared the author of the Johannine writings to have been Cerinthus (said to have been a contemporary of St. John's). By Eusebius, the Evangelist is declared to have returned from his exile at Patmos after the death of Domitian in A.D. 96; and by Irenæus he is definitely asserted to have been alive as late as the beginning of Trajan's reign (A.D. 98), and consequently if he is identified with John the Apostle (as he is by Eusebius), he must have attained a very advanced age, and presumably died a natural death.

The tradition, however, that describes John the Apostle as having survived to nearly the end of the first century is not the only one relating to him: there is another which represents him as having perished by violence. This is found only in two late ecclesiastical writers, but is based by them on the authority of Papias, who wrote in the first half of the second century.

(1) In a single manuscript of a ninth-century historian named Georgius Hamartolus it is stated that John, after writing his Gospel, was deemed worthy of martyrdom. "For Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis, having been an eyewitness of it, alleges in the second book of *The Oracles of the Lord* (*τῶν κυριακῶν Λογίων*) that he was put to death by Jews (*ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη*), having plainly fulfilled, together with his brother, the prediction of Christ about them and their own confession and agreement concerning it" (the last words referring to *Mk.* x. 38, 39).

(2) In the fragment lately found of an Epitome (seventh or eighth century) of the Chronicles of Philip of Side (in Pamphylia), a Church historian of the fifth century, it is affirmed that "Papias in his second book says that John the Divine and James his brother were put to death by Jews."

The statement made by Papias finds some confirmation from three other quarters.

(3) A Syriac calendar dating from the fifth century, and drawn up at Edessa, commemorates on Dec. 27 [1] the martyrdom of "John and James the Apostles at Jerusalem."

(4) A Syrian homily by Aphrahat (Metropolitan of Nineveh) belonging to the fourth century, after enumerating the names of numbers who had suffered martyrdom or persecution, including Jesus, Stephen, Simon (*i.e.* Peter) and Paul, adds that James and John "trod in the footsteps of their Master Christ."

(5) Clement of Alexandria cites an allusion by Heracleon (*circ.* A.D. 160–170) to some who had escaped martyrdom; and the list, while including the names of Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi (here distinguished from Matthew), and "many others," omits any mention of John; and the absence of the name of the son of Zebedee is difficult to account for, if he really died a natural death.[2] Clement himself states that the teaching of Christ's Apostles, up to the ministry of Paul, was brought to a close in the time of Nero (A.D. 54–68), which seems to presuppose the death of all the Apostles before 70.

Attention has also been called [3] to the fact that Ignatius (*circ.* 110), writing to Ephesus, makes no allusion to St. John in connection with that Church, whilst mentioning St. Paul, his silence thus suggesting that he

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[1] In a calendar of Carthage Dec. 27 is the commemoration of *John the Baptist* and of James the Apostle; but since June 24 is also represented as the commemoration of the Baptist, it is probable that in this calendar Dec. 27 once commemorated *John the Apostle* together with his brother (see Burkitt, *Gospel History*, etc., p. 253).

[2] For the passage quoted see Moffatt, *L.N.T.* pp. 605–6; H. L. Jackson, *Problems of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 145–147.

[3] See Charles, *Revelation*, i. p. xlv.

was unaware that the Apostle John ever resided in that city with which his name was afterwards associated.

In none of the documents here quoted as affirming that John suffered martyrdom is the year of his death given. Some scholars who accept the statement attributed to Papias conjecture that he was put to death at the same time as his brother James (*Acts* xii. 2) by Herod Agrippa I in or before A.D. 44. But this date seems out of the question in view of the mention of John, together with Peter and James the "brother" of the Lord, in *Gal.* ii. 9 (if that letter was most probably written after A.D. 50, or even (as is possible) between 47 and 49). A more plausible date for John's death would be shortly before the siege of Jerusalem, if that city were the scene of his death, as the Calendar cited above seems to imply.

Of the conflicting traditions here compared, the one which represents that St. John, like his brother St. James, perished as a martyr, seems to have most claim to be credited. Though the testimony supporting it is small in extent, and reaches us through late sources, yet it ostensibly rests upon the early authority of Papias; and it is favoured by our Lord's prediction that both the brothers should drink of the same cup whereof He drank (*Mk.* x. 39). If the prediction had been unfulfilled, there is considerable probability that Jesus' words would have been passed over in silence by the Evangelists. The opposing tradition that connects the authorship of the Fourth Gospel with St. John, and represents him as living till nearly the end of the first century A.D. is in collision with the internal evidence of the Gospel, which (apart from the statement in the Appendix, xxi. 24) is unfavourable to the supposition that it was written by an Apostle, who would hardly have produced a work diverging so remarkably from the Synoptic Gospels and presenting a far less plausible narrative of events.

But if the contents of the Fourth Gospel appear to be incompatible with the traditional view that it was written by St. John, and if the evidence of Papias that the younger brother of James died at the hands of the Jews (presumably before A.D. 70) be accepted, the connexion of the Gospel with the name of St. John has to be accounted for. At first sight the most satisfactory explanation would seem to be that St. John was responsible for the Gospel *indirectly*. There is nothing in the evidence for his martyrdom to show that he suffered at the same time as James, prior to A.D. 44; so that he may have lived long enough to reflect deeply upon the work of the glorified Christ as manifested in the spiritual life of the Church, and to have imparted his thoughts to others. It is conceivable that an intimate disciple of St. John's received orally from him a great deal of instruction during the Apostle's lifetime; and put on record the substance of his teaching at a period when further intercourse with him had been prevented by death. It has been argued, indeed, that the impression of the sons of Zebedee which the Synoptic Gospels convey discountenances the idea that one of them was calculated by disposition to produce so spiritual a work as the Fourth Gospel. He was a Galilean fisherman, and if better off than some of his fellow-Apostles (since his father had hired servants (*Mk.* i. 20)), yet was regarded as unlearned and

ignorant (*Acts* iv. 13); and he was characterized in early manhood by intolerance, ambition, and a passionate temper (*Mk.* ix. 38–40, x. 37, *Lk.* ix. 51–56). This objection, though serious, is not by itself fatal, for since Jesus is represented as having chosen both of them, together with Peter, for special and privileged intimacy, it may be supposed that He perceived in them a capacity for exceptional spiritual development. But the circumstance that St. John is grouped by St. Paul (in *Gal.* ii. 9) with St. James as occupying a similar (though not perhaps exactly the same) standpoint does not favour the conclusion that he really developed into a thinker of such mentality as that reflected in the Johannine Gospel. And if the possibility of such development cannot be positively denied, it is still scarcely credible that St. John's recollections of the objective facts of his Lord's ministry (even if the transmission of them to us through another person be allowed for) could depart so widely from the reminiscences of St. Peter (as reproduced by St. Mark), or could leave on the reader so inferior an impression of historical reality.

The extreme difficulty of believing that the Apostle John was in any way responsible for the contents of the Fourth Gospel renders it necessary to explain the traditional association of it with the younger son of Zebedee as due to confusion between two persons bearing the same name. There would be a tendency for a work known to have been written by *a John* to be attributed to the most famous possessor of that name, and this would certainly be the Apostle. And there is not lacking some ground for identifying the Fourth Evangelist with a John mentioned by Papias, who (as quoted by Eusebius *H.E.* iii. 39, 3 f.) alludes to two persons called John, one being the Apostle and the other being styled "the Presbyter." He is reported as saying, "If anyone came who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders—what Andrew or what Peter said, or what Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew or any other of the disciples of the Lord said, or what things Aristion and the presbyter John the Lord's disciples say. For I did not think that what was to be gotten from the books (*i.e.* probably written expositions of the Gospels) would profit me as much as what came from the living and abiding voice." Eusebius regards the mention by Papias of two Johns as confirming the statement of persons who asserted that at Ephesus there were two tombs, each of which was called John's. The fact that there were at Ephesus two tombs to which the name of John was attached is not very important, for the name was a common one; but the mention by Papias of a *presbyter* called John is suggestive. For the Second and Third Epistles, which are traditionally attributed to John, purport to be written by a presbyter (or elder), and the connexion in thought and diction between these two letters on the one hand and the Gospel and the First Epistle on the other is close enough to justify the inference that they all come from one source (p. 320 f.), and if so, from the pen of John the Presbyter. The individual who thus became subsequently known by this title was probably a resident at Jerusalem and became an adherent of Jesus very shortly before the latter's arrest (*Joh.* xviii. 15), and by mentioning that he brought St. Peter into the high priest's court

(*v.* 16) he has introduced his own figure into a corner of one of the scenes which he describes (just as the Second Evangelist has done in *Mk.* xiv. 51, 52). One who had come into contact with Jesus for the first time not long before His trial might still claim to have seen and heard Him (i. 14).

One or two guesses as to the Beloved Disciple made by scholars who are disinclined to identify him with St. John the Apostle may be mentioned here. One is that he was Nathanael, the Israelite "in whom was no guile" (i. 47). Nathanael is not included in the lists of the Apostles given by the Synoptists, unless he is identical with Bartholomew, but he is comprised in the small group described in *Joh.* xxi. 2. If, however, he was really the same as Bartholomew, the difficulty found in ascribing the Gospel to an Apostle remains as serious as ever. Another conjecture is that the Beloved Disciple was Lazarus, of whom it is said that Jesus loved him (xi. 3, 5, 36).[1] A third is that he was the young man of great wealth mentioned in *Mk.* x. 17, for of him, too, it is recorded that Jesus loved him (*v.* 21), and though he then went away from our Lord sorrowful, it has been asked whether Christ's love may not have availed to bring him back.[2] None of these conjectural identifications has any plausibility.

In the Gospels generally (as has been already observed) the biographical interest is subordinated to the religious (cf. *Mk.* i. 1, *Lk.* i. 4), and the purpose with which the Fourth Gospel was composed is explicitly stated in xx. 31, "that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in His name." In promoting this end the author seems to have felt that the previous delineation of the historical Jesus did inadequate justice to the significance which the Christ had come to have for the Church.[3] He therefore sought to replace it by another, corresponding more closely, as he believed, to Christian experience. This fresh portraiture of the Lord he produced partly by re-arranging and modifying the recorded sequence of the events of the ministry, but more especially by introducing a different conception of Jesus' Personality through a series of discourses ascribed to our Lord Himself. Yet if the writer, to express his conviction of what Jesus was to mankind, handled with great freedom the actual incidents of His life, and inserted in his work discourses largely unhistorical, his procedure was not out of keeping with earlier precedent, and he only carried into practice principles of historical composition previously exhibited in the Old Testament. If he reconstructed the past so as to harmonize the record of it with ideas about Jesus current during his own later life, which the Church had only recently come fully to entertain, he merely pursued a method followed by the author of the Books of *Chronicles* in his revised account of the reigns of the early Judæan kings (p. 118). If he put into the lips of the Lord Himself some speeches which were probably never delivered, in order to give greater force to the truths which he believed and valued, he only imitated the example of the writer of *Deuteronomy*

[1] The same two verbs are used in these passages as are employed in reference to the Beloved Disciple.

[2] H. L. Jackson, *The Problem of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 164, 167.

[3] Cf. *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 295 (Brooke).

(seventh century B.C.) who, to impress on his contemporaries duties which he deemed of highest importance, placed his appeals in the mouth of Moses. In view of the proneness of Jewish writers to communicate abstract ideas through the medium of circumstantial narratives which were the creations of fancy (p. 119), it is most likely that the Evangelist, in associating with definite times and localities some of the utterances attributed to Jesus, drew upon his imagination, choosing for them what seemed appropriate settings. This may be the explanation of certain of the visits of Christ to Jerusalem which figure in the Fourth Gospel, the ritual of the festivals held there being thought to afford a suitable environment for discourses designed to convey particular ideas; though another reason may be found in the desire to emphasize the sin of the ecclesiastical authorities in rejecting the Messiah, who is accordingly depicted as giving to them the fullest opportunity of hearing Him (cf. vii. 3, 10). How small the writer's real interest was in the recording of events appears from the way in which some of the scenes and occurrences described by him lack all proper conclusion, *e.g.* the conversation of Nicodemus with Jesus (iii. 1–15 (21)), and the dispute of the Jews with Him about breaking the Sabbath (v. 10–47). On each occasion it is the discourse and not the situation that is, for the narrator, of any importance. Of the seven miracles contained in the Fourth Gospel (five being peculiar to it) several are plainly regarded as symbols of various aspects of Christ's Personality (the Bread of Life, the Light of the World, the Resurrection and the Life) which are expounded in succeeding addresses.[1] The circumstance that his work is an *interpretation* of a Life rather than a transcript of it does not, of course, rob of credibility all the details contained in it which are not found in the Synoptists. But it is inevitable that the nature of his work must reduce the confidence that can be reposed in such details; and though there are cases where his representations seem more accurate than those of St. Mark (p. 344), it is impossible that such are numerous.

The date when the Gospel was written, if the view here adopted of its origin be correct, can be confined within comparatively narrow limits. The author appears acquainted with all the Synoptists, so that he must have produced his own book after the publication of the latest of the other Gospels, which was probably subsequent to A.D. 80 (p. 192). If he was an actual witness, when a young man, of our Lord's trial and death in A.D. 29 (p. 342), and was, at the time, not more than seventeen, he may have lived till, but can scarcely have outlived, the end of the first century; and the composition of the Gospel may accordingly be dated about A.D. 90. The locality where it was written can only be conjectured. Some confusion seems to have happened in connexion with the authors of the Fourth Gospel and of the Book of *Revelation* (p. 326); and the confusion is most intelligible if the two were alike associated with the same region. The second of these works was almost certainly written in the Roman province of Asia; and Irenæus probably reflects a well-grounded belief in asserting that Ephesus, the capital of Roman Asia, was the place where the Gospel known as John's originated. The Appendix to the Gospel (xxi.) must

[1] Cf. ix. 39, and see Schmiedel, *The Johannine Writings*, pp. 95 f., 113 f.

have been added by another hand (p. 232) after the death of the Evangelist, who had come to be mistakenly identified with John the son of Zebedee; the use of the present tense in *v.* 24, "this is the disciple which beareth witness of these things," doubtless refers merely to his permanent testimony imparted through his book.

The literary style of the Fourth Gospel has several peculiarities. Though the Greek in which it is written is correct as regards the construction of the words composing each clause or sentence, it is very unidiomatic in respect of the arrangement of the clauses or sentences themselves. These, for the most part, are loosely co-ordinated with one another, instead of being compacted into a period by appropriate subordination. Some of the peculiarities distinguishing it from Classical Greek are Semitic in character; and among such features may be reckoned the frequent addition to an affirmative statement of its equivalent in a negative form (or *vice versa*), this recalling the parallelism so customary in Hebrew (i. 3, 20, iii. 16, x. 5, xviii. 20). A substantive is often repeated where a pronoun would serve as well (i. 4, 10, 44, 45, ii. 9); instances of asyndeton are extremely numerous; and when a conjunction at the beginning of a sentence is employed, a preference is shown for *οὖν*, sometimes without any trace of its proper meaning (xviii. 4, 28). The final particle *ἵνα* is almost twice as common as in all the Synoptists taken together.

The vocabulary specially distinctive of the Gospel includes the following words and phrases:

abide in (a person), *μένω ἐν*
Comforter, the, ὁ παράκλητος
darkness (spiritual), *σκοτία*
eternal (or *enduring*), *αἰώνιος*
keep (a commandment or a word), *τηρέω* (*ἐντολὴν* or *λόγον*)
last day, the, ἡ ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα
lay down life, to, τιθέναι ψυχήν
life (spiritual), *ζωή*
light (spiritual), *φῶς*
love, ἀγαπή
love, to, ἀγαπάω
manifest, to, φανερόω
openly, παρρησία
proverb, παροιμία
true, ἀληθής, ἀληθινός
truth, ἀλήθεια
witness, μαρτυρία
witness, to bear, μαρτυρέω
Word, the, ὁ Λόγος
works, ἔργα
world, κόσμος

Of the two equivalents for *behold!* or *see!*—*ἰδέ* and *ἰδού*—the former is much more common than the latter. Of the alternative forms for the name *Jerusalem* *Ἱεροσόλυμα* is uniformly employed to the exclusion of *Ἱερουσαλήμ*. The word *Ἀμήν* is invariably doubled. There is a complete absence of the substantive *πίστις*; but the verb *πιστεύω* is exceptionally frequent. The title *ὁ βαπτιστὴς* is not used of John the Baptist. The Johannine writer, like St. Luke (p. 205), sometimes applies the title *ὁ Κύριος* to Jesus in narrative passages, these two being in this exceptional among the Evangelists (see *Joh.* iv. 1).

The Latin words that occur in this Gospel comprise *δηνάριον*, *λέντιον*, *σουδάριον*, *φραγέλλιον*, *τίτλος*.

Certain awkward transitions, and a lack of connexion between various passages suggest that the Gospel has undergone some dislocation and perhaps interpolation.

The most notable of the unevennesses which call for explanation and are best accounted for by the supposition of some disarrangement of the text or the insertion of glosses, are the following:

(*a*) In ch. i. the three verses 6–8 break the natural connexion between *v.* 5 and *v.* 9; whilst *v.* 15 disturbs that between *v.* 14 and *v.* 16. They are perhaps editorial additions intended to prepare the way for the reference to John the Baptist in *v.* 19.

(*b*) In ch. v. the scene is Jerusalem, but in ch. vi. it is implied that Jesus is in Galilee, *v.* 1, and Capernaum, *v.* 59, without any mention being made of His return from Judæa. Probably the order of the two chapters should be inverted: vi. 1 would follow naturally upon the close of ch. iv. (where Jesus is represented in Galilee); and vii. 1 (which states that Jesus walked in Galilee because He would not walk in Judæa, since the Jews sought to kill Him (see v. 18)) would form an appropriate sequel to the conclusion of ch. v. But within ch. vii. itself there appears to be some disorder; in *vv.* 14–24 the subject of discussion is Jesus' authority to heal on the Sabbath, which is the same as that in ch. v. Accordingly the proper order is probably v. 1–47, vii. 14–24, vii. 1–13 (the "feast" of vii. 14 being the "feast" of v. 1).

(*c*) In ch. xii. the narrative passage 36*b* 42 seems out of place, for it separates the discourse in xii. 20–36*a* (which ends with an exhortation to men to walk while the light is among them) from xii. 44–50 (where Jesus declares that He has come as a light into the world), the two sections being marked by kinship of subject. The misplaced passage should probably follow at the close of the chapter.

(*d*) In ch. xiii. *vv.* 18 and 19 disturb the sequence between *v.* 17 and *v.* 20.

(*e*) The conclusion of xiv. 31 ("Arise, let us go hence") has its proper sequel in xviii. 1 ("When Jesus had spoken these words he went forth," etc.), not in the continuation of Jesus' discourse and prayer contained in ch. xv., xvi. and xvii. These three chapters appear to be a later addition after the original plan of the book was complete.

(*f*) Chapter xxi. is of the nature of an appendix to the Gospel, which has its proper close at xx. 30, 31. Within the appendix *v.* 24 is an insertion by some persons (probably ecclesiastical authorities) who believed (mistakenly, if the reasoning of the preceding pages is of any value) that the Beloved disciple was a witness of all that was recorded in the book, and were wishful to vouch for his veracity. It seems most likely that the rest of the Appendix was not attached to the book by its author, for not only does the concluding *v.* 25 suggest a different hand from xx. 30, 31, but, though there are points of contact between this chapter and the preceding part of the book, yet certain slight peculiarities in the vocabulary are unfavourable to the supposition of identity of origin.[1] Thus whilst ch. xxi. has some peculiar words and phrases in common with the earlier chapters (*ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Τιβεριάδος* (vi. 1, xxi. 1 only), *ὀψάριον* (vi. 9, 11, xxi. 9, 10, 13 only), the names *Didymus* (xi. 16, xx. 24, xxi. 2 only) and *Nathanael* (i. 45–49, xxi. 2 only), and the double *Ἀμήν*), yet *φανεροῦσθαι* and *φανεροῦν ἑαυτόν* in connexion with the Resurrection appearances (*vv.* 1, 14) only recur in the ungenuine section at the close of *Mk.* (xvi. 12, 14); *οἱ ἀδελφοί* for members of the Christian community (*v.* 23) is isolated in the Gospel, though common in *Acts*; and instead of *ἀρνίον* (*v.* 15) and *προβάτιον* (*vv.* 16, 17) John elsewhere uses *ἀμνός* and *πρόβατον*; and it is, at least, rather noteworthy that three such common verbs as *ἐπιστρέφω*, *ἰσχύω*, and *τολμάω*, which are altogether absent from ch. i.–xx. should appear in ch. xxi. If the conclusion is correct that the last ch. is by another hand, it is idle to speculate who was responsible for adding it, or where he wrote (though both Ephesus and Rome have been suggested).[2] It is distinguished from the body of the work by showing acquaintance with the tradition that associated some of the Resurrection appearances with Galilee, whereas in the preceding chapter they are confined to Jerusalem; and it is not improbable that it owed its origin to a desire to adjust the account preserved in ch. xx. to that contained in the Synoptists (as represented by *Mt.* xxviii. and the lost conclusion of *Mk.* (which must have recorded an appearance of the Risen Lord in Galilee)).

The most important textual problem presented by the Fourth Gospel is the ques-

[1] See Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 572.

[2] Stanton, *Gospels as Historical Documents*, iii. pp. 19, 21.

tion of the authenticity of vii. 53–viii. 11 (known as the *pericope adulteræ*). The passage is contained in D F G H K U Γ and some cursives; in some manuscripts of Lat. vet. (*b c e ff g*) and in Lat. vg.; in Syr. (pal.), Eg. (some MSS.), Eth. Arm. (some MSS.), and is recognized by the Latin Fathers, Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine. It also occurs in the cursives 1, 19, 20, 129 and others *at the end of the Gospel*; whilst in the cursives 13, 69, 124, 346, 556 it is placed *at the conclusion of Lk.* xxi. But it is absent from ℵ A^1 B C^1 L^2 N T W X Δ^2 and numerous cursives (including 22, 33); from Lat. vet. (*a f g*), Syr. (cur., pesh., hl.), Eg. (sah. and boh. (some MSS.)), Goth., Arm. (some MSS.), and from all Greek patristic writers prior to Euthymius (twelfth century), who states that it was either absent from, or obelized in, the accurate copies. It will be seen that the weight of MS. authority is decidedly against it; and that the earliest external evidence is chiefly Western. Internally, the text of the passage "varies much in the documents which contain it."[3] Against the supposition that it is genuine, and was removed for prudential reasons, is the fact that in the authorities which omit it the omission is not confined to viii. 3–11, but includes vii. 53–viii. 2. On the other hand, the hypothesis that it is an interpolation is greatly favoured by the facts (*a*) that its presence disturbs the appropriateness of the pronoun *them* in viii. 12, and of *the Pharisees* in viii. 13, which cannot relate to the scribes and Pharisees of viii. 3 (since these had departed (viii. 9)), but find a natural explanation in vii. 45; (*b*) that its occurrence between the two discourses vii. 37–39 and viii. 12–19 destroys the appositeness of the occasion for the second, which, if the passage be omitted, appears to have been uttered, like the first, on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, marked by certain ceremonies (p. 209). A narrative concerning a woman "maliciously accused before the Lord touching many sins" is said by Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 39, 16) to have been contained in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*; and the description is sufficiently suitable for the passage here considered to render it probable that the source whence it was taken is the work to which Eusebius refers.

It has been mentioned that the section by some cursive MSS. is included in St. Luke's Gospel; and certain phraseological features in it are suggestive of St. Luke, as will be seen from the following table, where the number of times that various words found in it occur in the several Gospels, together with *Acts*, are noted :—

	Mt.	*Mk.*	*Lk.*	*Acts.*	*Joh.*
παραγίγνομαι . .	3	1	8	20	1
λαός, λαοί . .	10	2 (or 3)	36 (or 37)	43	2
ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν . .	—	—	5	1	—
εἶπεν δέ . .	1	—	58	16	1
ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ . .	1	—	3	3	—
ἔχω with infin. . .	1	—	5	6	2

On the other hand ἐρωτάω (*v.* 7) is more common in the rest of *Joh.* than in St. Luke's two works taken together.

(*c*) *Acts*

The scope of the *Acts of the Apostles* (as it is termed in codex B)[4] extends from the Ascension of our Lord to the imprisonment of St. Paul at Rome, a period of about thirty-two years; and in it is traced the

[1] These MSS. are here defective, but could not have contained the verses.

[2] These MSS. leave a blank space suggesting that the existence of the passage was known to the copyist but that it was not found in the copies reproduced.

[3] Westcott and Hort, App. p. 88. The most interesting variation occurs in the uncial U, which at the end of viii. 8 adds after ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν the words ἑνὸς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας; whilst in a codex of the Armenian version there is appended the further statement "and they (the accusers of the woman) were seeing their several sins on the stones."

[4] Abbreviated in codex ℵ to *Acts*.

diffusion of the Christian faith from Jerusalem to the Roman capital. The title given to the book is not a very accurate description of its contents. For if the term *Apostles* be understood in a restricted sense, and be confined to the Twelve appointed by our Lord when on earth, the labours of most of them are ignored. Even of St. Peter, who is the principal figure in the first half of the work, nothing is said after ch. xv. St. John is mentioned in connexion with two occasions only ; whilst the rest of the Twelve are passed over altogether. And even if the term *Apostles* be taken in a wider sense, it is only a few outside the Twelve whose activities are described, namely St. Stephen, St. Philip, St. Barnabas, and St. Paul. It is the last named who is the chief character in the history, the place he fills exceeding even that occupied by St. Peter ; and about two-thirds of the book are devoted to him. The writer does not name himself in it, but its composition is ascribed by tradition to St. Luke (Eus. *H.E.* ii. 11, 22, iii. 4, 31, vi. 25). Inasmuch, however, as the question of its origin is not free from certain difficulties, it is desirable to consider the internal evidence which the work itself affords about the methods followed in its production and about its author.

Since the book covers a considerable period, and deals with persons and events widely sundered, it is clear that its author must have depended for at least some of his information either upon oral testimony, or upon documentary sources, or upon both. It is practically certain that at least one written source has been utilized in the production of the book. For in the second half of it there occur four detached passages ((*a*) xvi. 10–17, (*b*) xx. 5–16, (*c*) xxi. 1–18, (*d*) xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16), in which the first person plural is used by the narrator, whilst in the Bezan MS. a fifth instance is found in the first half of the book (after xi. 27, see p. 253). All of these, except the one peculiar to the Bezan MS., record journeys or stages of journeys undertaken by St. Paul : (*a*) from Troas to Philippi ; (*b*) from Philippi to Miletus ; (*c*) from Miletus to Jerusalem ; (*d*) from Cæsarea to Rome. These passages can only have been derived from a person who was present on the occasions described. The precision with which localities passed, or touched at, during various voyages (xvi. 11, xx. 13–16, xxi. 1–3, xxvii. 2–8, xxviii. 11–15) are mentioned, the number of days spent at sea or at stopping places (xx. 6, xxi. 4, 7, xxviii. 7, 12) are noted, and the incidents that happened in a storm are recorded (xxvii. 14–44), points to the use of a diary kept, during the journeys referred to, by an actual companion of the Apostle. The passages wherein the first person plural is found have, in short, all the appearance of being extracts from such a diary, which have been embodied in the book, without any alteration in the original wording. It is quite conceivable, of course, that the diary has been used in the composition of the work by one who was not the diarist, and who has incorporated portions of it as they stood.[1] The retention of the first personal pronoun might be due to mere mechanical copying, or to a desire to mark the employment of a contemporary source,

[1] The personal memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah have been utilized unaltered by the author of the books *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* (see *Ez.* vii. 27–viii. 34, ix. 1–15 ; *Neh.* i. 1–vii. 5, xii. 31, xiii. 6–31).

or even to a wish on the part of the borrower to induce the belief that he himself was the author of that source and so an eyewitness of what it records.[1] If the writer of this diary were St. Luke, his name might become attached to the subsequent work in which portions of it had been embodied by another person, just as St. Matthew's name has been given to the First Gospel in consequence of its including some or all of the Sayings of Jesus of which St. Matthew was the collector and arranger. But it is antecedently more probable that the writer of *Acts* (who shows no little literary skill) has extracted sections from a diary made by himself. If the diary were his own, the retention of the first person, whether through accident or design, is intelligible enough, especially in view of the fact that the book was written primarily for a personal friend (Theophilus), who would understand its significance at once.[2] And this antecedent presumption is confirmed by certain coincidences. (1) In one of the *we* passages (xxi. 8) reference is made to "Philip the evangelist," a description which is only explicable by what is related in the early part of the book (vi. 5, viii. 5, 40). (2) St. Paul's purpose of passing through Macedonia and Achaia and then proceeding to Jerusalem is mentioned in xix. 21 (outside the *we* sections). (3) The *we* passages collectively are marked by a vocabulary which is characteristic of the book as a whole. Thus twenty-one words or phrases are found within the New Testament only in the *we* sections and the rest of *Acts*; whilst there are only two expressions peculiar to the *we* sections alone to which any importance can be attached, the others "being amply accounted for by the subject matter."[3] This being the case, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the writer of the *we* sections was also the author of the whole book.

The words and phrases cited as common to the *we* sections and the rest of *Acts*, but found nowhere else, are the following:—

ἀποπλέω	ἐπιβουλή	νεανίας
ἄφνω	ἡμέραι ἱκαναί	οὐ τυχών
βία	ἡμέραι πλείονες	προσκέκλημαι (with acc.)
διατρίβω (with acc. of time)	ἡμέραι τινές	τὰ νῦν
ἐκεῖσε	καθ' ὃν τρόπον	τῇ ἐπιούσῃ
ἐκπλέω	μένω (with acc. pers.)	ὑπερῷον
ἔξειμι	μεταλαμβάνω τροφῆς	ὑπονοέω

There are also seventeen words and phrases found only in the *we* sections and the Third Gospel "with or without the rest of *Acts* also."

The two expressions of importance wholly peculiar to the *we* sections are περαίνω and περιαιρέω. Among those which, though peculiar to these sections, are explicable through the nature of the subjects dealt with are such as relate to sea-voyages (εὐθυδρομέω, κατάγομαι, παραλέγομαι, πλόος, ὑποπλέω) and ships (ἀρτεμών, σκαφή, ζευκτηρία).

The identity of the diarist can be ascertained with some plausibility from the names of the persons (1) who accompanied St. Paul on the journey from Troas to Philippi (where the *we* first appears in most early

[1] *Enc. Bib.* I. col. 39.
[2] See Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, p. 9.
[3] Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*,[2] pp. 185–188.

manuscripts (*Acts* xvi. 11)); (2) who accompanied the Apostle to Rome (as related in the last of the *we* sections (*Acts* xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16)) and are alluded to in the Epistles which were written during his imprisonment.

(1) The Apostle's companions on the voyage from Troas to Philippi were (so far as is known) only Silas (xv. 40), Timothy (xvi. 1) and the writer of the diary, who might be either of the two named, or a third person. Silas, however, does not seem to have been with St. Paul after his Second missionary journey; he is not named in *Acts* after xviii. 5, and is only mentioned in 1 *Th.* i. 1, 2 *Th.* i. 1 (written from Corinth), and in 2 *Cor.* i. 19 (written from Macedonia). Moreover, it is against his authorship of the *we* passages that he was certainly with St. Paul on many occasions where the first personal pronoun does not appear in the narrative (*Acts* xv. 40, xvi. 19, 25, 29, xvii. 4, 10, xviii. 5). Timothy, though he accompanied St. Paul on his outward journey from Troas to Philippi and went on to Greece, did not on the return journey sail with the Apostle from Philippi to Troas (where the *we* again appears), but waited for him with others at the latter place (*Acts* xx. 4). Silas and Timothy being thus eliminated, the diarist must be a person unnamed.

(2) The friends who are mentioned in the Epistles as being with St. Paul at Rome, presumably at different times, were Timothy (just considered), Tychicus, Aristarchus, Epaphroditus, Epaphras, Onesimus, Mark, Justus, Demas, and Luke.[1] Of these the first three were among those who waited for St. Paul at Troas; Epaphroditus and Epaphras seem not to have accompanied the Apostle on the voyage from Cæsarea to Rome, but to have gone to him from Philippi and Colossæ respectively (*Phil.* iv. 8, *Col.* i. 7, 8, iv. 12); the slave Onesimus may be excluded at once; whilst Mark was absent from the Second missionary journey altogether. Such facts seem to limit the possible writers to Justus, Demas, and Luke[2]; and of these, if any importance be attached to tradition, it is obvious that Luke is marked out as the actual author. But before considering his claims further, account must be taken of one of St. Paul's friends who is not mentioned in *Acts*, but who is known to have been with St. Paul some time during his Second missionary journey, namely Titus (see 2 *Cor.* vii. 6, viii. 16, xii. 18). The mere fact that he is not named in *Acts* has been taken to support the conclusion that he was the anonymous writer of the diary; but otherwise there seems nothing to favour such a conclusion; and the same silence of *Acts* can be adduced on behalf of Luke. Moreover Titus was with St. Paul on the occasion of his visit to the Apostles at Jerusalem (*Gal.* ii. 1), so that it is impossible to think that such difficulty would attend the reconciliation of the narrative contained in *Gal.* ii. and *Acts* xv. (see p. 245), if Titus had been the author of *Acts*, or had been in any way responsible for information included in it. On the other hand, Luke's authorship is supported by both external and internal evidence. His name is attached to the work in a number of

[1] See *Col.* iv. 10–14; *Philemon* 23, 24; *Phil.* ii. 25.

[2] Mention should perhaps be made of four others alluded to in the Pastoral Epistles—Crescens, Eubulus, Pudens, and Linus; but the authenticity and date of these letters are too uncertain for the names cited from them to be considered here.

cursive manuscripts ; and the composition of it is ascribed to him by the Muratorian Canon, by Irenæus, by Clement of Alexandria, and by Tertullian ; and this testimony is confirmed by various literary features. (1) The allusion to a former treatise (i. 1), sent (as *Acts* was) to Theophilus, can only be to the Gospel associated with the name of Luke. (2) There appear in *Acts* references to incidents related only in the Third Gospel (cf. *Acts* i. 4 with *Lk.* xxiv. 49, *Acts* iv. 27 with *Lk.* xxiii. 7–12). (3) The occurrence, in connexion with infirmities and disease, of medical terms (though see p. 206) agrees with St. Paul's description of Luke as a physician, the most noticeable of such terms being *ἀχλὺς* (of a mist darkening the eyes, cf. Galen, *ἀχλύες τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν*), *ἀνακαθίζειν* ("to sit up in bed"), *πίμπρασθαι* (of inflammation), *δυσεντερία*. (4) The similarity between the vocabularies of *Acts* and the Third Gospel. It will be sufficient here to cite the following statistics in respect of words peculiar to *Acts* and the Third Gospel as compared with *Acts* and each of the other three [1]:—

Acts and Lk.	*Acts and Mt.*	*Acts and Mk.*	*Acts and Joh.*
58	17	14	13

This last evidence, derived from the diction of the two works, establishes a strong presumption in favour of their common authorship, which is further confirmed by the description of the Apostle Simon as the Zealot, which occurs in *Acts* i. 13, and *Lk.* vi. 15 only ; by the use of the expression *the Most High God* five times in the Third Gospel and twice in *Acts* (whereas it occurs only twice elsewhere in the whole of the New Testament) ; and by the not infrequent doubling of a vocative (cf. *Acts* ix. 4, xxii. 7, xxvi. 14 with *Lk.* x. 41, xxii. 31).[2]

At the same time there are sundry linguistic *differences* between *Acts* and the Third Gospel which call for attention and require explanation.

(*a*) There are certain words and phrases which are frequent in *Lk.*, but wholly absent from *Acts* :—

ἀγαπάω	*ἐγένετο* with a finite verb	*πλούσιος*
ἁμαρτωλός	*ὁμοίως*	*στραφείς*

(*b*) There are also conversely several words or phrases which never occur in *Lk.*, but are frequent in *Acts* :

αἵρεσις	*ἐπικαλέομαι* (to call upon)	*προσκαρτερέω*
ἀναλαμβάνω	*ἐπιμένω*	*προσλαμβάνομαι*
ἀνθύπατος	*ἐπίσταμαι*	*τέρας*
γένος	*μεταπέμπομαι*	*τηρέω*
διαλέγομαι	*ὁμοθυμαδόν*	*χιλίαρχος*
ἐπαύριον	*ὅραμα*	*χωρίον.*
ἐπικαλέομαι (to be named)	*παρρησιάζομαι*	

These distinctive expressions can be supplemented by others which are frequent in one of the two books, but are found only rarely in the other. And even more significant than such differences of vocabulary

[1] Hawkins, *Hor. Syn.*[2], pp. 175, 176. [2] Burkitt, *The Gospel History*, p. 114.

(partly explicable by difference of subject-matter) are certain constructions constituting *stylistic* features. Amongst those which are characteristic of *Lk.* but are seldom used in *Acts* are the following :—

ἐγένετο followed by καί (eleven times in *Lk.*, once doubtfully in *Acts*).
ἐν τῷ with the infinitive (thirty-two times in *Lk.*, seven times in *Acts*).
καὶ αὐτός (forty-one times in *Lk.*, eight times in *Acts*).[1]

The replacement of grammatical usages which are conspicuous in the Gospel by other equivalents in *Acts* (*e.g.* ἐγένετο followed by an infinitive), in writings which various other phraseological facts connect together (as shown on p. 237), seems only explicable by the assumption that, if the two books proceed from one writer, they must have been composed at different periods ; and since the Gospel is clearly the earlier, *Acts* must be separated from it by some considerable interval during which the author's fondness for particular expressions and constructions changed.

If the conclusion be accepted that the Third Gospel and *Acts* were composed by the same individual, the inference just drawn that *Acts* was written some years later than the Gospel, after an interval at least long enough to allow for some alteration in the writer's style, carries with it the consequence that it was probably produced in the tenth decade of the first century. For it has been already shown (p. 203) that the Third Gospel bears indication of having originated after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, perhaps about 80, and if the two works were both composed by St. Luke, but severed by several years, the later of the two must have been written within the first century, but not far from its close. This result is confirmed by a second consideration. Certain historical events or circumstances described or alluded to in *Lk.* and *Acts* are also mentioned by Josephus, and a comparison between the accounts given of the same facts by the two writers raises the question whether the author of *Acts* was acquainted with the works of Josephus, the dates of which are approximately known. Josephus wrote his *Jewish War* probably between 70 and 79, his *Antiquities* in 93–94, and his *Life* after A.D. 100. The most noteworthy instance in the Third Gospel, in connexion with which St. Luke has been suspected of having read Josephus and drawn a mistaken inference from his statements has already been considered (p. 204). In regards to *Acts* the most important passages for the purpose of comparison are the following :—

(*a*) *Acts* v. 36, 37. Gamaliel is represented as saying (in a speech delivered probably about A.D. 30), "Before these days rose up Theudas, giving himself out to be somebody, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves, who was slain. . . . After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away some of the people after him ; he also perished." Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5, 1) relates that whilst Cuspius Fadus was procurator of Judæa (*circ.* A.D. 45) a certain Theudas, professing to be a prophet, persuaded a great part of the people to follow him to the Jordan which he declared he would divide,

[1] Hawkins, *Hor. Syn.*[2], pp. 178–180.

and afford them an easy passage through it, but that Fadus dispatched against them a troop of horsemen who took Theudas prisoner and cut off his head. The historian then proceeds to state that in the procuratorship of Fadus' successor, Tiberius Alexander, there were executed *the sons* of Judas of Galilee, who must be the Gaulonite of that name (*Ant.* xviii. 1, 1), the instigator of a revolt when P. Sulpicius Quirinius was governor (*legatus*) of Syria (A.D. 6–11). It will be seen that whilst the revolt of *Judas*, according to Josephus as well as St. Luke, occurred *before* Gamaliel's speech, the disturbance caused by *Theudas* (as described by Josephus) took place some fifteen years *after* it; but that Josephus mentions the name of Theudas before that of Judas, so that the writer of *Acts*, who, if Josephus is correct, commits an anachronism in the case of Theudas, may have been led to arrange the insurrections in the wrong order and to misdate that of Theudas through a careless reading of Josephus.

(*b*) *Acts* xii. 20. In the account of the death of Herod Agrippa it is related how the king, when addressing the people of Tyre and Sidon, was greeted with great adulation by them, his speech being described as the voice of a god, and how, because he gave not the glory to God, he was smitten by an angel and was eaten by worms. The parallel account in Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8, 2) makes no mention of the Tyrians and Sidonians, but represents that at a festival. Herod, gorgeously arrayed in a robe covered with silver, appeared so resplendent that his flatterers declared that he was a god, and that they would henceforward regard him as more than mortal; that he accepted the impious adulation without protest, but almost at once perceived an owl perched above his head, which he took to be a messenger of doom (ἄγγελος κακῶν), and that he died of a disease of the intestines in great agony in five days. There is nothing materially inconsistent between the two accounts (for audience may have been granted to the ambassadors from Tyre and Sidon on the occasion of a festival which was calculated to impress them); and there is little here which suggests borrowing on the part of the writer of *Acts*, though the use by both authors of the word ἄγγελος is a curious coincidence. The ascription, however, by St. Luke of Herod's illness to an angel of the Lord is fully in accord with Hebrew habits of thought (see 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 16, 2 *Kg.* xix. 35); and the two narratives may be quite independent.

(*c*) *Acts* xxi. 38. In the conversation between St. Paul and the military tribune (χιλίαρχος) who, during the governorship of Felix, delivered him from the mob at Jerusalem by arresting him, the Apostle is represented as being asked by the officer whether he was the Egyptian who had stirred up sedition and led into the wilderness 4,000 Assassins. Josephus (*B.J.* ii. 13, 5) refers to an Egyptian false prophet who, when Felix was governor, gathered on the Mount of Olives 30,000 adherents, and prepared to break into Jerusalem, but who was attacked by Felix, and the greater part of his followers were either destroyed or taken. It is probable that both writers refer to the same occurrence, but there is not sufficient resemblance between their language about it to serve as convincing evidence of indebtedness on the part of St. Luke.

In addition to these passages there occur a few verbal resemblances

between *Acts* and the writings of Josephus to which little significance can be attached, since similar circumstances, at distinct periods in history, may not unnaturally be described by different writers in similar (if common) words quite independently. The only case, therefore, which really occasions serious suspicion of acquaintance by St. Luke with Josephus' *Antiquities*, is that marked (*a*). In this instance, though it is, of course, possible that in the two writers the name Theudas designates different persons,[1] it seems more likely that St. Luke has made a blunder which becomes explicable if it is assumed that he had been betrayed into it by a cursory perusal of Josephus, whose narrative he reproduced inaccurately from memory. And if the suspicion be justified, the date of *Acts*, in which the statement apparently derived from the *Antiquities* occurs, is thrown almost to the end of the first century A.D., since the work from which it borrows was written in A.D. 93–94. There is nothing incredible in this conclusion, for, on the supposition that St. Luke was not more than twenty-five when he joined St. Paul at Troas or Philippi about the year A.D. 50, he would be no more than seventy by the time the *Antiquities* was published. There are numerous instances of works of importance having been produced by their authors at an age more advanced than this; and *Acts* is not an extensive book, or beyond the capacity of a septuagenarian to compose. If there is anything in the tradition that St. Luke's age at his death was seventy-four, it follows (on the previous assumption that he was twenty-five in A.D. 50) that he died in A.D. 99, and that *Acts* probably had its origin between 95 and that year. There is, indeed, another tradition that he was martyred under Domitian (81–96); but accounts concerning the manner of his end vary, and the weight of evidence seems to be on the side of the date suggested above.

As to the place where the book was written, there are no indications; and conjectures differ according to the view taken of the time of its composition. If it were written before the termination of St. Paul's trial, no place is more likely than Rome. But as this date is improbable, there is nothing to connect the work with Rome any more than with several other localities; and Greece, Palestine, and Ephesus have all been proposed, without any plausible evidence being adduced in favour of any of them.

The conclusion that *Acts* probably originated as late as 95–100, entails the consequence that the book was separated from the latest incidents recorded in it (*viz.* St. Paul's voyage to Italy, and his two years' imprisonment at Rome, *circ.* 59–61) by an interval of about thirty-five years. In the case of the earliest parts of *Acts* the interval is much greater, since all that is recorded in these occurred (on the hypothesis of St. Luke's age adopted above) in the writer's boyhood. It therefore becomes a question of great moment, in connexion with the value of the history contained in *Acts*, to inquire how much of it depends upon previous *written* records, and how much upon tradition and oral communications.

But before investigating the authorities used by St. Luke in his second

[1] The name *Theudas* can represent Theodorus, Theodotus, and several similar appellations.

work and estimating its historical worth, it is desirable to consider the several purposes which the author had in view, since various omissions noticeable in it may be accounted for by the fact that some matters passed over by him did not fall within the aims which he was pursuing. It is manifest that the book does not comprise an exhaustive account of the early history of the Christian Church. Attention is confined to the activities of some five or six of the principal figures in it (p. 234); and the author's concentration upon these few leading characters and upon various incidents in which they took part, renders it probable that his design was not to furnish even a general sketch of the development of the Church during the first thirty or thirty-five years of its existence, but to illustrate only certain aspects of that development. The purposes which he set before himself and which presumably dictated his choice of materials, seem to have been :—

(*a*) to illustrate the influence of the Holy Spirit in directing the undertakings of the Church (cf. i. 8, iv. 8, viii. 29, xiii. 2, xv. 28, xvi. 6, etc.), such influence being regarded as continuing in the world the work of Jesus (cf. xvi. 7);

(*b*) to trace the extension of the Gospel from Jerusalem through Samaria (viii. 5), Phœnicia, and Greece to Rome [1] (cf. *Acts* xxiii. 11), which was not only the capital of the empire, but might from an eastern point of view be regarded as tantamount to the ends of the earth [2];

(*c*) to show how the Gospel, before it was preached to the Gentiles, was offered to the Jews, and how, in general, they rejected and opposed it, in spite of the testimony rendered to it by their own Scriptures (xi. 19, xiii. 5, 46, xvii. 2, xxviii. 25);

(*d*) to exemplify the favourable judgment passed upon the Christian preachers by the Roman authorities with whom they came in contact (xiii. 12, xvi. 35, xviii. 12, xix. 35, xxvi. 32), as contrasted with the persecution which they sustained from the Jews and which was unprovoked by any disloyalty on the part of the Christians towards their nation or its religious institutions.

If these were the principal aims which the author of *Acts* had in mind, it is plain that the scheme of his work was a limited one. Such a limitation of plan being perfectly legitimate, there is no justifiable ground for criticism if there is not found in his book matters which we have no right to seek in it. It was natural that he should devote more attention to the missionary labours of St. Paul than to those of the other Apostles, since he had himself shared many of them.

But though the travels and the preaching of St. Paul occupy nearly half of his work, it was not his object to give a complete account of St. Paul's career. He was the historian of the expanding Church, not the biographer of an individual Apostle, however eminent. This fact accounts, at least in part, for the absence from *Acts* of many incidents in St. Paul's

[1] This is not really disproved by the facts that there were Christians at Rome before St. Paul went there (xxviii. 15). The writer, in the latter half of his work, is concerned with tracing the extension of the Gospel through the labours of St. Paul.

[2] In *Ps. Sol.* viii. 16 Pompey is described as ὁ ἀπ' ἐσχάτων τῆς γῆς.

experience which are mentioned in the Epistles. The writer omits, for instance, all reference to the Apostle's retirement from Damascus into Arabia, and his return thence (*Gal.* i. 17); he relates nothing about his work in Cilicia (*Gal.* i. 21, cf. *Acts* ix. 30, xi. 25); he gives no information about the five occasions when he was flogged by the Jews; he represents Timothy and Silas as joining him at Corinth from Macedonia (*Acts* xviii. 5), but says nothing about Timothy's previous arrival at Athens and his return thence to Macedonia (1 *Th.* iii. 1, 2); he mentions two visits to Corinth, but is silent concerning another which intervened between them (p. 276); he narrates the story of only a single shipwreck, though St. Paul, previous to the one described by St. Luke, states that he suffered as many as three (2 *Cor.* xi. 25); whilst he makes no mention of Titus, to whom the Epistles contain so many allusions; and never refers in his narrative to St. Paul's collection of money for the relief of the poorer Christians at Jerusalem, though it figures frequently in the Apostle's letters (*Rom.* xv. 26, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1, 2 *Cor.* viii. 1–4, ix. 1–5).[1] It is noteworthy, too, that there is no hint anywhere that St. Paul ever wrote letters to his converts; and there is little sign that St. Luke, in composing *Acts*, ever consulted them. Doubtless the latter, in his selection of materials, was guided by two main considerations, one being the particular ends which he had set before himself (see above, p. 241), and the other the sources of information at his disposal (if, as in his Gospel (*Lk.* i, 3), he aimed at reporting only those matters which rested upon what he deemed to be good evidence). But he is hardly likely to have been altogether indifferent to a third, namely, limits of space, which, in view of the tolerably uniform extent of the longest of the New Testament books, seems to have been to their writers a matter of some moment.

It is now desirable to proceed with the attempt to value the worth of *Acts* as a history by considering the nature of the authorities available for the historian and the care and judgment he has shown in the use of them. It is obvious that for acquiring information about the earliest events which he sought to record, he was not so favourably situated as he was in regard to the latest. The narrative of *Acts* includes incidents which occurred very shortly after our Lord's death (*circ.* A.D. 29), whereas the writer, if identical with St. Luke, did not, in all probability, come into contact with any of the chief actors in the history which he relates until more than twenty years afterwards (*circ.* 50–57 A.D.). For events prior to this date he was dependent upon information supplied by others. As to his informants for different parts of his narrative some plausible conjectures may be ventured:—

(1) For his account of the occurrences related in the opening chapters of *Acts*, in which the scene is Jerusalem and St. Peter is the most prominent figure, his informants were probably persons who were not primary authorities, and of whom only one can reasonably be thought to have preserved written notes of what had been reported to him. St. Luke (for it will be henceforward assumed that he was the author of *Acts*)

[1] In *Acts* xxiv. 17 St. Paul is represented as alluding to it in a speech.

accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem, and whilst it is improbable that he met there either St. Peter (to whom there is no allusion in the second half of the work) or St. John (p. 497), he can scarcely have failed to have had some intercourse with members of the Church who had consorted with these and other leading Apostles during the period immediately succeeding Pentecost. Possibly, too, some particulars relating to the earliest days of the Church may have been derived from Mnason, who is described as an original disciple, and with whom St. Luke and St. Paul lodged on the journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem (*Acts* xxi. 16). But it seems not unlikely that St. Mark was his principal source of information for the incidents in which St. Peter took the chief part. St. Mark acted as St. Peter's interpreter (p. 169), and it is antecedently probable that he took down from St. Peter's recollections matters relating not only to our Lord's life, but also to the period following the Crucifixion and Resurrection. St. Mark went to Rome (p. 174), and there St. Luke must have become associated[1] with him, and if St. Mark, who had presumably had opportunities of meeting St. Peter at Jerusalem, had preserved any notes of what he had then learnt from him, he may well have communicated some of them to St. Luke, when he encountered him at the Roman capital. It is, at any rate, worth observing that the word κράβαττος, which in the Synoptic Gospels is distinctive of *Mk.*, occurs in *Acts* v. 15, ix. 33, in connexion with accounts of two miracles of healing wrought by St. Peter. It is perhaps also not without significance that the verb μεθερμηνεύομαι, which is almost peculiar to St. Mark's Gospel among the Synoptists, is found twice in *Acts*, once in a narrative in which St. Peter figures (iv. 36–v. 11), and once in connexion with an incident in St. Paul's First Missionary journey when St. Mark accompanied him.[2] St. Mark could also furnish information respecting Barnabas, to whom he was related.

(2) Some knowledge concerning Stephen's trial and death could be procured from St. Paul, who was present at Stephen's execution; whilst another source of information about the events of that particular crisis would be Philip, who, like Stephen, was one of the Seven "deacons," and at whose house St. Paul and St. Luke stayed when at Cæsarea. The narrative of Philip's own activities St. Luke is also likely to have owed to Philip himself or to his daughters (from whom Papias (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 39, 9) records that he heard a wonderful tale about one who rose from the dead,

[1] "Wherever in the Pauline Epistles St. Luke's name is found, there also we find the name of St. Mark" (Harnack, *Date of Acts*, p. 29).

[2] By some scholars it is thought that in Acts i.–v. a series of doublets can be detected, as the contents of ii. 1 to end and v. 17–42 are in some degree parallel to those of iii. 1–v. 16. Thus:—

A	B
ii. 1–13 (the gift of the Spirit)	= iv. 23–31.
ii. 14–36 (a speech of St. Peter)	= iii. 11–26.
ii. 37–41 (a large number of converts)	= iv. 1–4.
ii. 42–47 (the prevalence of communism)	= iv. 32–v. 16.
v. 17–42 (attempt to suppress Christian preaching)	= iv. 5–22.

If these series of passages are really parallel, but in some measure divergent, accounts of the same incidents, which have been united by St. Luke, then the series marked B probably proceeds from St. Mark. See Hastings, *D.A.C.* i. pp. 23, 24.

clearly implying that they transmitted stories of their own, or of an earlier, time).[1]

(3) Several incidents relating to Antioch (xi. 19 f.) could have been ascertained from St. Paul, who laboured there for a year (xi. 26); whilst by tradition St. Luke himself is said to have been an Antiochene, and so may have had many acquaintances there who could give him information.

(4) Various facts connected with the Herods may have been obtained from Manaen, who is described as *σύντροφος* of Herod Antipas the tetrarch (*Acts* xiii. 1). Antipas himself does not appear in the scenes depicted in *Acts*, but Manaen may have been in touch with the households of some of the other Herods (Agrippa I and Agrippa II), though this can only be conjecture.

(5) For no inconsiderable part of *Acts* St. Luke could draw upon his own personal reminiscences. He seems to have met St. Paul first at Troas (*Acts* xvi. 8–10) during the Apostle's Second Missionary journey; and travelled with him to Philippi; but apparently stopped there. On the Apostle's return from his Third journey into Greece, he went with him to Jerusalem; and since he gives a detailed account of the trial at Cæsarea, he was probably with him when he was taken thither; and, in any case, was his companion both on the voyage to Rome, and during his two years' detention in the capital prior to his trial. He was thus an eye-witness of many of the scenes and incidents which he describes; whilst for what occurred at various places included in St. Paul's journeys, when he himself was absent, he had access to others of the Apostles' companions (like Silas, Timothy, Aristarchus, and Tychicus) who could supply him with facts when his own opportunities had not enabled him to gather them for himself.

From what has been said, it is apparent that the narrative of *Acts* rests upon authorities of varying value. For all the early part of his history the writer's information is second-hand; and it is doubtful whether for this he had any written sources at his disposal. The expectation current amongst the first Christians that existing conditions were about to come to an end, and the world was to be transformed into the Kingdom of God, was not conducive to the production, at the earliest period, of written accounts of the beginnings of the Christian Church (for it would seem idle to write historical memoirs on the eve of so stupendous a convulsion), and the principal sources of information at the service of a late historian would be fallible memories and floating traditions. It has been pointed out, indeed, that in the earlier chapters of *Acts*, Greek phrases which show the influence of Hebrew or Aramaic idioms are more frequent than in the later part of the book; and the circumstance has suggested that the author here used documents composed in Aramaic. It seems more probable, however, that such Aramaic colouring is due to the fact that St. Luke has reproduced the idioms which some of his informants, speaking in Aramaic, or in Greek tinctured with Aramaic expressions, used; whilst it is not impossible that he deliberately adopted in certain passages a style modelled on that of the Old Testament scriptures (cf. p. 201).

[1] Cf. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, p. 153.

Evidence of the use of documents has also been traced in various abrupt transitions and in what appear to be editorial insertions. Thus xi. 19 looks like the resumption of a source dropped at viii. 4; whilst in xiii. 1 there seems at first sight to be utilized a source in which Barnabas and Saul were mentioned for the first time, although in the book, as it stands, both have been introduced previously (iv. 36, vii. 58). Editorial links and comments have been held to occur at ii. 43–47, iv. 4, vi. 7 and other places. But in the absence of phraseological distinctions, the hypothesis of earlier constituent sources united by an editorial process lacks adequate support. The facts for which it is intended to account admit of being explained on the assumption that the author has employed detached notes taken by himself embodying oral communications made to him on various occasions by his informants. His practice of incorporating in his history memoranda which he himself had written down in the course of his travels with St. Paul is attested by the inclusion of passages from his Travel diary; and he may well have done the same in connexion with information collected from various quarters and based on personal authority or on tradition. There is, perhaps, some slight evidence in favour of his having used a documentary source originating with St. Mark (p. 243). In his report of Stephen's speech, which differs rather markedly from most of the discourses attributed to the various personages that figure in the history, he may have availed himself of notes[1] taken at the time of the trial by one of the audience. Apart from these possibilities the authority behind the first half of the book[2] cannot be regarded as other than far inferior to that which is at the back of most of the contents of the second half. The long interval sundering many of the events from the record (more than sixty years probably separated Pentecost from the written account in ii. 1–42 of what occurred at it) was, in all likelihood, bridged, in the main, by nothing more reliable than oral tradition, and renders it impossible to place the same measure of confidence in the first part of the work as in the second part, which reproduces St. Luke's own testimony (preserved in a diary, compiled contemporaneously with the incidents witnessed), or is the result of inquiries put by him to persons in close touch with the facts. Thus even in regard to an important event in the early life of St. Paul himself—the Apostle's first visit to Jerusalem, which took place before the Evangelist met the Apostle—there is a discrepancy between St. Luke's account in *Acts* and St. Paul's own statement in *Galatians*. In *Acts* ix. 28 it is related that St. Paul, when he came from Damascus to Jerusalem and was brought by St. Barnabas to the Apostles, "was with them, going in and going out at Jerusalem, preaching boldly"; and in *Acts* xxvi. 20 St. Paul himself is reported as saying that on that occasion he taught not only at Jerusalem but throughout all the country of Judæa. But the Apostle in *Gal.* i. 18 affirms that when he first went up to the Jewish capital, three years after

[1] In trials before the Sanhedrin two shorthand writers are said to have been present to note down the speeches for and against the accused (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, II, p. 555).

[2] The most natural division of the book into two (unequal) halves occurs between chapters xii. and xiii.

his conversion (an interval far longer than is suggested by anything in *Acts* ix.), it was to visit St. Peter, with whom he stayed only fifteen days, and that he saw none of the other Apostles except St. James; and adds that when he returned to Syria and Cilicia he was still unknown by face to the churches of Judæa (*Gal.* i. 21–22). On the other hand, as the work progresses its value as a reliable record improves; and in his Travel diary the author shows himself to have been a close observer of the localities viewed or visited, and a careful recorder of special features distinguishing different places, and of circumstances falling under his own notice; so that if allowance is made for the influence of the writer's particular interests, aims, and point of view, the second half of the book appears to be an historical document of high quality, as evinced by numerous passages where its statements or allusions can be tested.

In the account of St. Paul's journeys St. Luke mentions a large number of countries, provinces, districts and towns; and, in general, his geographical and topographical references are correct. His accuracy in this respect is particularly noteworthy in his description of the voyage from Cæsarea to Italy in ch. xxvii., which has been termed "the most valuable nautical document of antiquity that has come down to us," being marked not only by an exact knowledge of localities, but also by acquaintance with the characteristic phrases of seamen. The writer displays the like accuracy in the use of the proper contemporary titles of Roman magistrates or provincial officials. Thus he employs correctly the term *proconsul* for Sergius Paulus, the Roman Governor of Cyprus, an island which up to 22 B.C. had been among the Imperial, but was then included among the Senatorial, provinces; and similar precision is displayed in connexion with the title of Gallio, who is appropriately termed *proconsul* of Achaia, a province which, like Cyprus, had been transferred from one authority to another (see p. 65) and at the date implied (50–52, p. 348) was under the control of the Senate, not of the Emperor. The official at Melita is described as the *Primus* (ὁ πρῶτος); and an inscription discovered in the island shows that this was a current style for the official there. The magistrates at Thessalonica are described as *politarchs*, and this title, which does not occur in any classical author, has been found on an arch in the present city dating from the time of Vespasian. To the chief magistrates of Philippi, which was a colony (p. 71), St. Luke applies the term στρατηγοί. This was the ordinary Greek equivalent for the Latin *prætores*, which was the title bestowed on the magistrates of certain colonies in Italy and Gaul of early date (occurring, for instance, at Narbo, founded in 118 B.C.). Elsewhere the usual designation was *duoviri* (Greek δυανδρικοί), and this was probably the correct title for the officials of Philippi (founded 42 B.C.); but the term employed by St. Luke was just what the local magistrates are likely to have arrogated to themselves.[1] The city of Philippi is rightly described as a colony (*Acts* xvi. 12), having received this status from Octavianus and Antony (after the defeat of the Republican leaders Brutus and Cassius in 42 B.C.). In regard to the Temple

[1] The *Duumviri* of Capua called themselves *prætores* (Cic. *de lege Ag.* II, § 93).

at Jerusalem, too, an incidental illustration has come to light of St. Luke's correctness in his account of the grave offence believed to have been committed by St. Paul when it was suspected that he had taken his companion Trophimus into it (see pp. 90–1).

But in forming a judgment upon the qualities of *Acts* as a history, a recognition of these exceptional merits of St. Luke must be qualified by considerations in part affecting generally writers of his time and race, and in part peculiar to him as an individual author. In the first place, he was very tolerant of inconsistencies in what he wrote, and allowed discrepancies, sometimes slight, but at other times of more importance, to exist side by side; he was not very critical of the materials at his disposal, or exacting in his estimate of evidence; and he was much attracted by stories of the marvellous.[1] And secondly, in composing his history, he did not view his subject from a detached standpoint and in a dispassionate spirit, but he was inspired by the desire to commend a cause in which he was deeply interested, and with some of the leaders of which he had been closely associated; and he was consequently subject to the temptation of putting upon what he included in his work as favourable a colouring as possible. Illustrations of these characteristics are as follows:—

i. (*a*) Of carelessness in adjusting one statement to another an example is furnished by the narrative (xix. 13–17) in which the sons of Sceva figure, for though these are described as "seven" in *v.* 14, reference is made in *v.* 16 to "both" of them, as though they were only two.[2] The accounts in ix. 15–16 and xxii. 14–15, of the charge given to St. Paul to preach to the Gentiles differ from that contained in xxvi. 16–18; for whilst in the two earlier chapters the commission is represented as communicated by Ananias, in xxvi. it is imparted by Christ Himself. Even in the description of the vision of the Risen Christ seen by the Apostle some slight discrepancies are observable: contrast ix. 7 with xxii. 9 and xxvi. 14 (cf. p. 514).

(*b*) The account given of the occurrence at Pentecost (ii. 1–42) is not what might have been expected if the writer had checked what he had been told or imagined about it, by information which St. Paul could have supplied. St. Luke conveys the idea that the gift of tongues enabled the speakers to praise God in foreign languages intelligible to a multitude of persons gathered from distant countries, whereas there is nothing in St. Paul's allusions to such a gift (see 1 *Cor.* xiv.) to suggest that it carried with it any such power, whilst there are several facts that negative this supposition (see p. 494 f.).

(*c*) The strong appeal which stories of wonder made to St. Luke is exemplified by the number of miracles which he relates (iii. 1–10, v. 19–20, ix. 36–42, xii. 7–10, xiii. 11, xiv. 8–10, xvi. 18, xix. 12, xxviii. 8). Most of them were not witnessed by himself but reported to him, so that the responsibility for any exaggeration in the accounts may rest upon others who were his informants. But the narrative of an incident at which he

[1] Cf. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, p. 123 (the language on p. 112 is too strong).
[2] But see p. 254.

was present makes his predilection sufficiently clear, for in the case of Eutychus at Troas (xx. 7–12), though the natural interpretation of St. Paul's words in *v.* 10 is that the young man was not dead but stunned, yet the historian definitely asserts that he was taken up dead, and so implies that when the Apostle embraced him (as related), he was restored to life.

ii. (*a*) One of the principal motives which led St. Luke to write *Acts* (p. 241) was the wish to show how, during the period covered, the Christians commended themselves to the favourable judgment of the Roman authorities; and it was possibly for this reason that he refrains from mentioning all the occasions (three, according to the evidence of 2 *Cor.* xi. 25) on which St. Paul underwent the Roman punishment of scourging.

(*b*) It is not unlikely that a subordinate consideration actuating St. Luke was the desire to present a picture of concord and harmony subsisting within the early Church. His sympathy and goodwill towards all its leaders appear to have caused him to seek to preclude the inference from being drawn that of the two principal figures in the history which he relates, St. Peter and St. Paul, the one in any way dwarfed the other; and it was probably with that object in view that he made the accounts of their respective miracles and experiences to correspond so closely. Thus St. Peter's healing of a lame man (iii. 2 f.), the cures sought by placing the sick where his shadow might fall (v. 15), the opening by an angel of the prison where he lay (v. 19, cf. also xii. 3 f.), and his restoration of Tabitha to life are paralleled by St. Paul's healing of a cripple (xiv. 8), the cures wrought by means of handkerchiefs and aprons taken from his body (xix. 12), the loosing, through an earthquake, of the chains by which he was bound in prison (xvi. 26), and the representation that he restored Eutychus to life (xx. 10). The impression left by *Acts* that no friction occurred between the two Apostles is not altogether borne out by the account of St. Paul in *Gal.*, which contains a narrative that is difficult to reconcile with the record of St. Luke in *Acts* xv. For the latter relates that, though an attempt on the part of Jewish Christians to impose circumcision upon St. Paul's Gentile converts was defeated, yet a resolution was passed at a Council held at Jerusalem about A.D. 49, whereby the Gentiles were required to observe certain limitations in regard to food in order to satisfy the scruples of the Jewish Christians; and he states that St. Paul conveyed the decisions of the Council to the churches in Galatia (p. 267), when he proceeded on his Second Missionary journey. The inference from *Acts* is that in regard to these food regulations St. Paul united with St. Peter and the other leaders of the Church at Jerusalem in restricting the liberty of the Gentiles; whereas St. Paul in *Gal.* ii. 6 f. affirms that they communicated nothing to him, beyond what he had previously taught; and goes on to allude to a charge of inconsistency which he brought against St. Peter, who, after having ignored Jewish scruples in respect of eating with Gentiles, subsequently separated himself from the latter, and this allusion shows no knowledge of any such public agreement having been made as *Acts* represents. As the date of *Galatians* is disputed (p. 270 f.) it is possible, indeed, that the occurrence to which St. Paul refers happened before 49;

but it is extremely strange that in an Epistle (1 *Cor.*) certainly written after 49, in which the practice of eating certain meats is considered, the Apostle makes no mention of the resolutions passed at Jerusalem. It consequently seems probable that St. Luke in his account of the Council is in error as regards either the details or the occasion—a conclusion not surprising if *Acts* was not composed until some forty years after the events in question, perhaps under circumstances when verification of impressions or beliefs relating to it may have been no longer possible.

From the facts here considered, it is reasonable to draw a distinction not only between the value of the sources of information at St. Luke's disposal for different parts of his history, but also between his own qualifications for dealing with different kinds of subject-matter. He was clearly endowed with a keen faculty of observation in respect to local conditions and circumstances that came under his notice; and the accuracy with which he is proved to have described topographical facts justifies confidence being reposed in him where his assertions relating to such facts cannot be corroborated. But he does not appear to have been equally competent in the handling of testimony; and where there was need of a sober judgment in the reconstruction of the past, his critical powers seem to have been occasionally at fault. Even in cases where he himself was a spectator, his statements about what he witnessed are probably more trustworthy than the explanations furnished of it. A capacity for noting and reporting carefully what actually passes before the eyes is not the same as that needed for sifting and appraising evidence, verbal or documentary, or for ascertaining the real causes of visible effects; and it is a mistake to suppose that the possession of an aptitude for doing the one ensures the possession likewise of all the qualities requisite for the other.

The numerous speeches in *Acts*[1] demand some comment. The antecedent probability that the traditional practice, followed by ancient historians, of composing speeches appropriate to the persons and situations described (p. 119) was adopted by St. Luke is strengthened by consideration of the actual conditions in which he was placed with regard to the utterances of some who figure in his narrative. The principal speeches are (1) St. Peter's at Pentecost; (2) St. Peter's after the cure of the lame man; (3) Stephen's; (4) St. Peter's after the conversion of Cornelius; (5) St. Paul's at Pisidian Antioch; (6) St. Paul's and Barnabas' at Lystra; (7) St. Peter's at Jerusalem; (8) St. James' at Jerusalem; (9) St. Paul's at Athens; (10) St. Paul's at Miletus; (11) St. Paul's to the Jews at Jerusalem; (12) St. Paul's before Felix; (13) St. Paul's before Agrippa; (14) St. Paul's to the Jews at Rome. St. Luke was not present at the first nine; and almost certainly not at the thirteenth and the last. He was, however, among the audience when the tenth was delivered; and he may have heard the eleventh and twelfth. For reports of the first four (if he had such at all) he must have been dependent on information supplied by others than the respective speakers. In the case of Stephen's defence it seems not unlikely that some written report may have been preserved

[1] On St. Paul's speeches in *Acts*, cf. *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 381 f. (Gardner).

to which St. Luke had access (p. 245). In regard to St. James' speech (xv. 14–21), represented as delivered to the Council at Jerusalem, it is noteworthy that the speaker, though addressing Jewish Christians, quotes from the LXX version of *Amos*, not from the Hebrew original, the difference between the two being in *v.* 17 (= *Am.* ix. 12) very considerable, and the Greek alone yielding a sense relevant to the speaker's purpose. Of those of St. Paul's addresses which the author of *Acts* did not hear, accounts might have been obtained from the Apostle; and St. Luke, at all events, must have been sufficiently familiar with his general style of speaking to be able to reproduce not only some of the matter of his missionary discourses, but also something of their manner and spirit.[1] It is reasonable to suppose that the most authentic of the addresses is that which was delivered at Miletus (xx. 18–35): not only was St. Luke present at it, but it alludes to facts mentioned in St. Paul's Epistles,[2] and contains words occurring in them but otherwise rare in the New Testament.[3] It is worth noting, too, that the claim which the Apostle is reported to have made in his speech before the Jewish council (xxiii. 6) that he was a Pharisee and the son of a Pharisee agrees with the statement in *Phil.* iii. 5. The address to the Jewish mob at Jerusalem (xxii. 2–21) was in Aramaic, so that in any case the reproduction of it can only be a translation. In this speech St. Paul is represented as using, in reference to the martyrdom of Stephen, some of the phrases employed by St. Luke in his narrative of that event (cf. xxii. 20 with vii. 58, viii. 1).[4] As regards the discourses for which the historian probably had to draw upon his own ideas of what the several occasions required (helped by his knowledge of the Apostle's actual practice), they seem to be designed to illustrate briefly (for most are very short) the arguments best calculated to commend the Christian faith to diverse audiences. The tenor of the parting address to the Jewish community at Rome (xxviii. 25–28), which wholly ignores the existence of a Gentile Church there, to which St. Paul had previously sent a letter (p. 280), is less appropriate as a discourse delivered in the circumstances described than as a conclusion to a history narrating the rejection of the Gospel by the Jews and its transfer to the Gentiles.

In the case of St. Peter's speeches, St. Luke can scarcely have had the same acquaintance with that Apostle's style of speaking as he had with St. Paul's; and in spite of the fact that shorthand was known in antiquity,[5]

[1] Thus certain phrases characteristic of St. Paul's theology are found in xiii. 39 (cf. *Rom.* iii. 28), xvi. 31 (cf. *Rom.* x. 8–13), xx. 28 (cf. *Eph.* i. 7), xxvi. 18 (cf. *Eph.* i. 18).

[2] Cf. *Acts* xx. 34 with 1 *Th.* ii. 9, 1 *Cor.* iv. 12.

[3] Among these are τὸ συμφέρον (1 *Cor.* xii. 7, 2 *Cor.* xii. 1, *Heb.* xii. 10), φείδεσθαι (six times in the Pauline Epistles, twice in 2 *Pet.*), κοπιᾶν (eleven times in the Pauline Epistles (excluding the Pastorals), elsewhere only in the Gospels and *Rev.*), δουλεύειν τῷ Κυρίῳ (*Rom.* xii. 11, *Eph.* vi. 7).

[4] The speech as given in *Acts* contains some words which elsewhere in the New Testament only occur in St. Luke's writings (εὐλαβής, συνεῖναι, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ), and also others which are characteristic of St. Luke (ἐπιστῆναι, ὑποστρέφειν, ἐξαποστέλλειν).

[5] The abbreviations used in stenography were called σημεῖα (Latin, *notæ*), and shorthand writers were termed σημειογράφοι, ταχυγράφοι, and ὀξυγράφοι (Latin, *notarii*).

it is improbable that he possessed written notes of any of St. Peter's discourses. The Apostle doubtless on most occasions spoke (at least to Palestinian Jews) in Aramaic, so that in general his speeches (if any reports were preserved) would have to be rendered into Greek. Though probably much common matter and phrasing recurred in the actual addresses of the various Christian missionaries, there are observable certain similarities in the arguments and language put into the mouths of both St. Peter and St. Paul, suggesting that the speeches as they stand are the work of St. Luke: instances may be seen by comparing ii. 25–27 (Peter) with xiii. 35 (Paul), iii. 25 (Peter) with xiii. 26 (Paul), iii. 17 (Peter) with xvii. 30 (Paul), x. 40–42 (Peter) with xvii. 31 (Paul), x. 43 (Peter) with xiii. 38 (Paul). But if of Apostolic discourses few records, or none, were available for the historian, the stronger is the proof of his great skill in depicting so realistically the mental atmosphere and outlook of the early Church. For example, the speech at Pentecost "moves within the circle of Jewish Messianic hopes," [1] and represents what can scarcely be other than a genuinely primitive form of Christian Apologetic; whilst such addresses of St. Paul as those delivered to the Jews at Antioch and to the philosophical audience at Athens not only differ appropriately from one another in substance and tone, but also contain various characteristics of actual Pauline teaching. The discourses in *Acts* show that if its author did not possess good authority for them he was at any rate endowed not only with unusual literary capacity but likewise with excellent historical imagination.

Acts contains two letters. One is the decree represented as passed at the Council at Jerusalem, and circulated afterwards among the Gentile churches (xv. 23–29). It has, however, been pointed out already that grave doubts rest upon the accuracy of St. Luke's description of the Council (p. 248); and if the gathering of the Council has been antedated by him, and St. Paul was not present at it and did not convey its decree to his converts, the authenticity of the letter, at least in the form in which it is reproduced, is clearly impaired, since in it allusion is made to St. Paul, together with others, as conveying it to Antioch. This conclusion is confirmed by the vocabulary and style, for the following words occurring in it are most commonly found, within the New Testament, in St. Luke's own writings: *forasmuch* (ἐπειδή), *at* (or *with*) *one accord* (ὁμοθυμαδόν), *choose out* (ἐκλέγεσθαι), *for the Name* (ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος), *who themselves* (καὶ αὐτοί), *tell* (ἀπαγέλλειν), *keep* (διατηρεῖν). In spite, therefore, of the presence in it of certain words and phrases that do not occur in St. Luke's writings or only in the letter of Lysias (ἀνασκευάζειν, διαστέλλεσθαι, ἐπανάγκες, εὖ πράττειν, οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ ἡμῶν, together with the greetings χαίρειν (in the infin.) [2] and ἔρρωσο), it may be suspected to be St. Luke's own production. The other letter is the one forwarded by Claudius Lysias to Felix (xxiii. 26–30); and this, too, has a few words found nowhere in the New Testament except in the Third Gospel and *Acts—most excellent*

[1] See Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts*, p. 294 and cf. p. 125 f. Chase thinks that at Pentecost St. Peter spoke in Greek. Notable, in particular, is the use of ὁ παῖς θεοῦ (*Acts* iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30).

[2] Cf. *James* i. 1, and see p. 261.

(κράτιστος), *questions* (ζητήματα), *plot* (ἐπιβουλή), *accusers* (κατήγοροι), *a charge* (ἔγκλημα), whilst it has several more which, though not exclusively Lucan, are characteristic of St. Luke (*ἀνήρ, συλλαμβάνειν, ἀναιρεῖν, ἐπιστῆναι, ἐξαιρεῖν, ἐπιγινώσκειν, ἐγκαλεῖν, κατάγειν, ἑξαυτῆς, παραγγέλλειν*). The only word that appears not to occur in either of St. Luke's two books is *μανθάνειν*; so that it is probable that this letter likewise owes its existence to the Evangelist's skill in composition.

The abruptness with which *Acts* ends (terminating as it does with the statement that St. Paul preached and taught "the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, none forbidding him") is strange enough to call for remark. If the weight of evidence be held to incline to the view that *Acts* was written after 70, if not after 95, it follows that the writer was acquainted with the death of St. Paul at the hands of the Roman authorities; so that his curious silence about the end of St. Paul's trial must be explained by the fact that it did not result in a full acquittal, and by the consideration that, if he mentioned any other ending (whether conviction followed by execution, or liberation merely in consequence of the prosecutors' failure to proceed with the case within the legal period of perhaps two years),[1] he would stultify his purpose of showing that the Romans in general were not unfavourable to Christianity (see p. 241). On the other hand, if the grounds for dating the Third Gospel after A.D. 70 (p. 203) and *Acts* after A.D. 95 be considered inadequate, the strange termination of the latter book can be converted into an argument for placing the composition of the work at an early date, prior to the end, in 61, of St. Paul's trial, the result of which St. Luke at the time of writing did not know.[2] By some who take this line it has been contended that the author contemplated a third work which he did not succeed in writing, though the support for this contention, derived from the use in *Acts* i. 1 of *τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον* in reference to the Gospel (where *τὸν μὲν πρότερον λόγον* might be expected, if only two books were designed), is negligible (see *Mt.* xxvii. 64, *Acts* vii. 12 and note *Joh.* i. 15, xv. 18).

It has already been noted in connexion with some of the Gospels that certain remarkable variations of text occur in the Bezan MS. (D); and similar variant readings, much greater in number, and almost as striking in character, are presented by it in *Acts*. In many instances its peculiar readings are supported by one or two other uncials (C E), by one or two cursives (especially 137) and by some codices of the Old Latin (especially *gig.*). The departures from the best-attested text are sometimes in the direction of greater brevity, but more often in the direction of greater length and completeness. Their nature will best be realized from a selection of examples, others being noticed elsewhere (pp. 519, 536, 560, 567).

Approved Text	D
x. 19 three [3]	*omits.*
xi. 12 making no distinction	,,
xv. 20 } and from what is strangled xxi. 25 }	,,

[1] See Lake, *Interpreter*, Jan., 1909; Hastings, *D.A.C.* i. p. 20.

[2] Harnack holds that *Acts*, up to xxviii. 28, was written during the second year of the Apostle's imprisonment (61 or 62), and that *vv.* 30, 31 are a postscript added soon after a change had occurred in his situation (see *Date of Acts*, p. 94).

[3] Read by ℵ C E etc.; B has *two*.

Approved Text	D
xvii. 18 because he preached Jesus and the resurrection.	*omits.*
iv. 6 *for* John	*substitutes* Jonathan.
iv. 24 *after* heard it	*adds* and perceived the working of God.
v. 15 *after* them	*adds* for they were freed from every infirmity which each of them had.
v. 18 *after* public ward	*adds* and each one went to his own house.
v. 39 *after* them	*adds* neither you nor kings nor tyrants.
vi. 8 *after* people	*adds* through the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.
viii. 24 *after* upon me	*adds* and he did not cease weeping much.
x. 25 *for* And when it came to pass that Peter entered, Cornelius met him	*substitutes* And when Peter drew nigh to Cæsarea, one of the servants ran forward and signified that he had come. And Cornelius sprang forth and met him.
xi. 2 *for* And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem they of the circumcision . . .	*substitutes* Peter then after some time wished to go up to Jerusalem, and having summoned the brethren and having confirmed them, making a long discourse, (went) through the country places teaching them. And he met them [the brethren at Jerusalem] and reported to them the grace of God. But the brethren of the circumcision . . .
xi. 27 *after* Antioch	*adds* and there was much joy.
xi. 28 *for* And there stood up one of them named Agabus and signified	*substitutes* And we having been gathered together, one of them named Agabus spake signifying.
xii. 3 *for* it	*substitutes* his attack upon the faithful.
xii. 10 *after* went out	*adds* and went down the seven steps.
xii. 22 *for* And the people	*substitutes* And he having become reconciled to them of Tyre, the people.
xiii. 8 *after* the faith	*adds* since he heard them gladly.
xiv. 2 *after* the brethren	*adds* but the Lord quickly gave peace (cf. ix. 31).
xv. 20 *after* blood	*adds* and that whatsoever things they wish not to be done to themselves, do not to others.
xv. 29 *after* it shall be well with you	*adds* being influenced by the Holy Spirit.
xv. 34 (mg.) *after* there	*adds* and Judas alone went forth.
xvi. 30 *after* out	*adds* having secured the rest.
xvi. 35 *after* the magistrates	*adds* gathered together in the market place and, remembering the earthquake that had taken place, were afraid and.
xvi. 39 *for* and they came and . . . from the city	*substitutes* and they came with many friends unto the prison and exhorted them to go forth, saying, We were ignorant in regard to you, that ye are righteous men. And having brought them out, they exhorted them, saying, Go forth from the city, lest they collect together again, crying out against you.
xvii. 15 *after* Athens	*adds* And he passed by Thessaly, for he was prevented from proclaiming the Word there.

Approved Text	D
xviii. 17 *after* all	*adds* the Greeks.
xviii. 27 *for* And when he was minded to pass over into Achaia, the brethren encouraged him, and wrote to the disciples to receive him.	*substitutes* And certain Corinthians, sojourning in Ephesus, having heard, exhorted him to pass with them to their country; and he having consented, the Ephesians wrote to the disciples in Corinth to receive the man.
xix. 9 *after* Tyrannus	*adds* from the fifth to the tenth hour.
xix. 14 *for* And there were seven sons of one Sceva a Jew, a chief priest, which did this.	*substitutes* Among whom the sons of a certain Sceva, a priest, wished to do the same, who were in the habit of exorcizing such persons; and entering in unto the possessed man, they began to call over him the Name, saying, We command thee by Jesus whom Paul preacheth to come forth.
xx. 15 *after* at Samos and	*adds* having stayed at Trogyllium.
xx. 23 *after* abide me	*adds* in Jerusalem
xxi. 1 *after* Patara	*adds* and Myra
xxi. 16 *for* bringing one Mnason of Cyprus, an original disciple, with whom we should lodge.	*substitutes* and they brought us to those with whom we should lodge, and having arrived at a certain village, we stopped with Mnason a Cypriot, an original disciple.

From xxii. 29 to the end of the book D is defective, but some variants in xxii. 30–xxviii. 31 deserve notice which occur in the authorities most akin to the Bezan MS., *e.g.* the cursive 137, and the Syriac and the Old Latin versions.

Approved Text.	137, *Syr. or Lat. vet.*
xxiii. 24 *after* the governor	*add* for he was afraid lest the Jews should seize and kill him and he himself should meanwhile be accused of having received money
xxiv. 27 *for* and desiring to gain favour with the Jews Felix left Paul in bonds.	*substitute* and left Paul in custody on account of Drusilla.
xxviii. 19 *after* my nation of	*add* but in order that I might ransom my soul from death
xxviii. 31 *after* none forbidding him	*add* saying that this is Jesus Christ the Son of God, through whom the whole world will begin to be judged.

The quality and extent of the longer readings found in the δ text but absent from the Approved text have suggested that they are not copyists' insertions in the one or omissions in the other, but that both the longer and the shorter texts are authentic, and proceed from St. Luke himself; and that of the two the δ text is the earlier copy (subsequently modified by the author), on the ground that if the δ text is assumed to be the later, its comparative prolixity cannot be accounted for.[1] It certainly contains a number of duplicate phrases and other superfluities lacking in the alternative text (*e.g.* viii. 1 διωγμὸς μέγας καὶ θλῖψις for διωγμὸς μέγας; xvii. 6 βοῶντες καὶ λέγοντες for λέγοντες, etc.); but, on the other hand, it also in many passages has readings superior in lucidity to those occurring in the majority of manuscripts (*e.g.* xiv. 2, cf. p. 531; xix. 14, cf. p. 562; xx. 14, cf. p. 567 and xxi. 16, cf. p. 570). And if it is assumed that the more lucid text is the earlier, which was afterwards altered by its author, it follows that St. Luke's first thoughts were often better than his second.

[1] See Blass, *Acta Apostolorum* (1895), pp. 30–32.

and that he obscured sentences which, as originally penned, were perfectly clear.[1] But on the same presupposition that both texts are authentic productions of St. Luke's, the view that the δ text is the later of the two is also confronted with a serious objection in the restricted currency of the text, which has survived in only a few manuscripts, whereas an improved text might be expected to have the wider circulation. Hence it is probable that the presupposition in question is erroneous; that St. Luke did not prepare two texts; and that what he actually wrote is not preserved exclusively in either the Approved or the δ text.[2]

(*d*) *Epistles and Revelation—The Epistle of James* [3]

The Epistle that goes by the name of James is the first of those which are called Catholic because they are addressed not to some particular Church, but to Christians scattered over a wide area (cf. p. 257). It purports to be written by a James who describes himself merely as a servant (or slave) of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ. The name (which comes from *Jacob* (*Jacobus* [4])) is applied to three persons in the New Testament—the two Apostles, James the son of Zebedee and James son of Alphæus, together with James, "brother" of our Lord. The letter can scarcely have been written by the first,[5] since he was put to death as early as A.D. 44 (p. 522); so that on the supposition that the Epistle is genuine, the authorship really lies between the second and the third, unless the two, as some have argued (p. 364) are one. The absence of any definition serving to distinguish the author from other Jameses favours the conclusion that he was the most important of those who bore the name, and this was he whose relationship to Jesus was likely, after his conversion, to secure for him special regard.

James (if rightly identified with one of the younger sons of Mary), became eventually a leading figure in the Christian Church at Jerusalem (see *Acts* xii. 17, *Gal.* i. 19, ii. 9, *Acts* xv. 13, xxi. 18). His sympathies were Judaistic, and the Jewish Christians who sought to perpetuate within the Church the cleavage between Jew and Gentile seem to have regarded him as their leader (cf. *Gal.* ii. 12), though they probably took up a more extreme position than he. It appears that he was mainly responsible for imposing on Gentile Christians certain requirements, calculated to conciliate Jewish sentiment (*Acts* xxi. 25, cf. xv. 13–29 and pp. 571–2). The influence which he exerted in the Church doubtless accounts for the representation that he was the first bishop of Jerusalem (Eus.

[1] Cf. *Enc. Bib.* i. col. 53.

[2] Cf. Ramsay, *Expositor*, Dec., 1897, p. 460 f. (especially p. 469). For a suggested explanation of some of the features of this text see Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezæ*; cf. also Lake, *Text of New Testament*, p. 85 f.

[3] The order in which the Epistles are arranged is approximately chronological, but has in places been modified in order to keep together certain books rightly or wrongly attributed to the same writer.

[4] For the replacement of the *b* by *m* in English (as also in the Italian *Giacomo* and the Spanish *Jaime*) cf. the French *Samedi* from *Sabbati Dies*.

[5] It is ascribed to the son of Zebedee in a manuscript of the Old Latin version (Zahn, *Int. New Testament*, i. p. 106).

H.E. iii. 7, 9, iv. 5, 3). By Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9, 1) he and some others are stated to have been accused before the Sanhedrin by the high priest Ananus during the interval between the procuratorships of Festus and Albinus (*i.e.* 61–62), and to have been stoned to death as breakers of the Law. Hegesippus (cf. Eus. *H.E.* ii. 23, 3–18) gives a much more detailed, and in many ways improbable, account of his end, which is placed shortly before Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem.

But though the Epistle under consideration, if genuine, most probably proceeds from the James here described, both its authenticity and its origin in the Apostolic age have been denied, and it has been regarded by many (chiefly on the ground of defective external attestation) as dating from the second century A.D.; though a few scholars (in consequence of its rather peculiar contents) have taken it to be in the main a pre-Christian work. It is therefore necessary to illustrate briefly the nature of the external evidence and to consider a little more carefully the internal characteristics.

External Evidence

(*a*) In *Clement of Rome* (*circ.* A.D. 95) there occur certain verbal parallels with the Epistle, *e.g.* ch. 21 *ἐγκαυχωμένοις ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ τοῦ λόγου αὐτῶν* (cf. *Jas.* iv. 16), ch. 46 *ἵνα τί ἔρεις καὶ θυμοὶ καὶ διχοστασίαι καὶ σχίσματα πόλεμος τε ἐν ὑμῖν* (*cf. Jas.* iv. 1). Both writers quote *Prov.* iii. 34.

(*b*) The *Teaching of the XII Apostles* (beginning of second century ?) has the command *οὐ διψυχήσεις πότερον ἔσται, ἢ οὔ* (cf. *Jas.* i. 8).

(*c*) *Ignatius* (d. A.D. 117) uses the word *ἀδιάκριτος* in the sense of "unhesitating," "whole-hearted" (cf. *Jas.* iii. 17).

(*d*) *Hermas* (*circ.* A.D. 130) has so many resemblances to expressions and ideas found in the Epistle that some who reject St. James' authorship of the latter do not deny the dependence of the former upon it.[1]

(*e*) *Justin* (d. *circ.* 160) has in *Tryph.* 49 the phrase (*Χριστῷ*) *ὃν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια φρίσσουσιν* (cf. *Jas.* ii. 19).

(*f*) The *Muratorian Catalogue* (170–180 ?) omits the Epistle, together with *Hebrews* and 1, 2 *Pet.*, but the catalogue is imperfect.

(*g*) *Clement of Alexandria* (d. 200–220) has the following suggestive parallel in *Strom.* iv. *ὁ σοφὸς ἐνδεικνύσθω τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ μὴ λόγοις μόνον ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς* (cf. *Jas.* iii. 13).

(*h*) *Origen* (d. 253) cites numerous passages from the Epistle, and quotes ii. 26 as *ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῇ*, and iv. 10 with the words *φησὶ γὰρ Ἰάκωβος*.

(*i*) *Eusebius* (d. 340) reckons the Epistle among the disputed books (*τὰ ἀντιλεγόμενα*); and elsewhere (*H.E.* ii. 23–25) remarks of James that he "is said to be the author of the first of the so-called Catholic epistles; but it is to be observed that it is regarded as spurious (*νοθεύεται*) —at least not many of the ancients have mentioned it. . . . Nevertheless we know that these (the seven so-called Catholic Epistles) also, with the rest, have been read publicly in most churches."

[1] Cf. Moffatt, *L.N.T.*, p. 467.

Evidence for the use of the Epistle prior to the date of Hermas is not very strong, and the doubts prevailing about it in the time of Eusebius naturally make its genuineness suspected; but whether such doubts are explicable by uncertainty about the Apostolic authority of the writer (who does not style himself an Apostle), or justify the conclusion that the letter does not proceed from James the Lord's brother but is of later origin, must be decided in connexion with the impressions left by the internal evidence of its contents and style.

Internal Evidence

The book, though beginning with the customary superscription of a letter, is, in substance, really of the nature of a homily, and consists of a series of short, practical counsels on various subjects. It is addressed to the Twelve Tribes of the Dispersion, who, since the Epistle in its present form is a Christian document (i. 1, ii. 1, 7, v. 7, 8, also i. 18, 21),[1] are most naturally understood to be Jewish Christians outside Palestine. Taken strictly the words mean the whole body of the Jewish people (cf. *Acts* xxvi. 7) scattered among the Gentiles; and the use of this strange expression for the comparatively few Jews who were converted to Christianity is probably due to the writer's conception of them as the true Israel (cf. p. 389). That both those addressed in the letter and the writer of it were Christians of Jewish origin is probable from various features in it. The former's assembly for worship is called a synagogue (ii. 2); allusion is made to their confession (so characteristic of the Jews) of the Divine unity (ii. 19, cf. *Dt.* vi. 4); and faults conspicuously Jewish are denounced (i. 26, iii. 9, v. 12). The latter uses Hebrew phraseology like "Gehenna" (iii. 6) and "the Lord of Sabaoth" (v. 4), and refers several times to the Law (ii. 9–11, iv. 11, 12); perhaps (in v. 20) draws upon the Hebrew original of *Prov.* x. 12, where the LXX diverges, though elsewhere (ii. 23, iii. 9) he seems to cite the LXX (*Gen.* xv. 6 in i. 26); and employs various Old Testament similes and figures of speech (see i. 10, iv. 4, 14). The most remarkable characteristic of the work is the paucity of the references to Christian doctrines, such as the Messianic dignity of Jesus, the significance of His death, and the fact of His risen life (though see ii. 1).[2] The author's interest is centred in the sphere of conduct, his aim being to encourage patience, to insist on the valuelessness of faith apart from works, and to warn against various prevalent vices and faults. "Much of it might have been written by one who remained at the Old Testament point of view."[3] In consequence it has even been suggested by some that it was originally the production of a Jewish writer, which has been adapted for Christian use by small insertions in i. 1, ii. 1. But the reference to Jesus Christ in the second of these passages has hardly the appearance of being inserted; there are Christian elements in the book besides these; whilst

[1] Cf. also v. 14 with *Mk.* vi. 13.

[2] In v. 11 Job, and not Jesus, is adduced as an example of patience; contrast *Heb.* xii. 1, 2 and 1 *Pet.* ii. 20–23.

[3] Peake, *Int. New Testament*, p. 84.

a Jewish work would almost certainly have contained allusions to the *ceremonial* injunctions of the Law. Moreover the description of those to whom the letter is sent as men that are to be judged by a law of *liberty* (ii. 12), the reference to the gift of the Spirit (iv. 5), and the expectation of the coming of the Lord (v. 7, 8) are difficult to reconcile with the supposition that the writer was a non-Christian Jew; the tone of the book is that of Judaistic Christianity, not of pre-Christian Judaism. By others who recognize that it is a Christian work various features in it have been held to be inconsistent with St. James' authorship, and to indicate that it was written at a date outside the limit of St. James' life. The principal of these are :—

(*a*) The parallels traceable between it and some of St. Paul's Epistles, especially *Romans*, of which it must suffice to notice only a few.

James	*Romans*
i. 2, 3. Count it all joy when ye fall into manifold trials, knowing that the proof of your faith worketh patience.	v. 3. Let us boast in our tribulations, knowing that tribulation worketh patience.
i. 22. Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only.	ii. 13. Not the hearers of law are just before God, but the doers of law shall be justified.
iv. 1. Come not they (wars and fightings) hence, even of your pleasures that war in your members ?	vii. 23. I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind.

From these parallels it has been inferred that the author of the Epistle was acquainted with *Romans*, and as *Romans* was not written until 55 or 56 (p. 287) and St. James perished in 61, indebtedness on the part of the latter is rather improbable.

(*b*) The contention that " by works a man is justified and not only by faith " (ii. 24), which looks like an intentional correction of St. Paul's conclusion that " a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the Law " (*Rom.* iii. 28).

(*c*) The quality of the Greek in which the Epistle is composed, for since there occur in it a number of words very common in classical writers which are not found in other parts of the New Testament,[1] this rich vocabulary is thought to have been beyond the resources of an unlearned Jew like its reputed author St. James.

(*d*) The character of the teaching, with a meagre Christology resembling that of the *Teaching of the XII Apostles* (second century A.D.).[2]

Accordingly the book has been assigned to the period which saw the production of the latter work, *i.e.* the half-century between A.D. 100 and 150.

These reasons are inconclusive. (*a*) If the parallelism implies indebtedness on either side, the priority may be on the side of St. James. (*b*) The suggestion that the passage (ii. 14–26) denying that faith can justify without works is aimed at controverting St. Paul or correcting a perversion of his

[1] Mayor, *St. James*, p. ccxix.

[2] Moffatt, *L.N.T.*, p. 471.

views is not supported by the nature of the argument, for the writer takes as an example of valueless faith the mere belief, not that Jesus is Lord or that He was raised by God from the dead (*Rom.* x. 9), but that God is One; and he may have in view the idea cherished by some Jews that though they were sinners, yet because they knew God, the Lord would not impute sin to them.[1] (*c*) It was not impossible for one born in Galilee of parents occupying a lowly station to acquire not only familiarity with the Greek language, but, if a man of capacity, also something of Greek culture. Moreover, the construction of the sentences is comparatively simple, and the use of particles is limited. (*d*) The character of the teaching may be due to the early, rather than the late, date of the work, for the absence of any exposition of the significance of Christ's death is paralleled by the early speeches in *Acts*. And that the late period to which the origin of the Epistle has been assigned is really improbable appears from the manner in which many passages of the Epistle reflect various parts of the Sermon on the Mount, and others of our Lord's discourses. It is the substance rather than the actual form of our Lord's maxims that is preserved, as will be seen from a comparison of the following passages out of a larger number.

James i. 5.	*Mt.* vii. 7. "Ask and it shall be given you."
ii. 5.	*Lk.* vi. 20. "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the Kingdom of heaven."
ii. 13.	*Mt.* v. 7. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."
iii. 12.	*Mt.* vii. 16. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"
iii. 18.	*Mt.* v. 9. "Blessed are the peacemakers."
iv. 4.	*Mt.* vi. 24. "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."
iv. 10.	*Mt.* xxiii. 12. "Whosoever shall humble himself shall be exalted."
iv. 12.	*Mt.* vii. 1. "Judge not that ye be not judged."
v. 1.	*Lk.* vi. 24. "Woe unto you that are rich."
v. 2, 3.	*Mt.* vi. 19. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth where moth and rust doth consume."
v. 12.	*Mt.* v. 34. "I say unto you, Swear not at all."

It is difficult not to regard the statements and counsels in St. James as reproducing *memories* of our Lord's injunctions and admonitions, but equally difficult not to consider that they would have been verbally much closer if the Epistle had been written in the first quarter of the second century, when the Synoptic Gospels were in existence (p. 192).[2] The "brethren" of our Lord, though they did not believe in His claims whilst He

[1] Cf. Mayor, *Op. cit.*, p. cxxxv.

[2] Contrast the *Teaching of the XII Apostles*, where there occur quotations from the Gospels such as "Bless them which curse you, and pray for your enemies." . . . "For what thank have ye, if ye love them which love you? do not even the Gentiles the same?" . . . "If any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. If any impress thee one mile, go with him two; if any take thy cloak, give him also thy tunic" (see *Lk.* vi. 27–29, 32, *Mt.* v. 39, 40).

was with them, can scarcely have failed to be acquainted with the principles of His life and with the tenor of His utterances, caught from Him before or during His public ministry.

On the whole, then, acceptance of the traditional authorship is confronted with slighter obstacles than either of the suppositions (1) that it is a late production falsely attributed by its actual author to James, in order to secure for it authority (which is unlikely in view of the absence of any title like "Apostle" being attached to the name (contrast 2 *Pet.* i. 1)); (2) that the author was an unknown James (of first century date) whose name led to his becoming confused with the "brother" of the Lord (which is improbable, since an obscure and unauthoritative writer would scarcely have addressed a letter to an extensive, instead of a local, circle of readers). The doubt expressed in Eusebius about its genuineness (p. 256) is certainly a fact of importance, but does not seem entitled to outweigh counter-considerations.

Supporters of the view that the Epistle is the work of James the Lord's "brother" and of pre-Pauline date mostly place it very early, *e.g.* between 40–50 (in which case it must precede in point of time all the other New Testament writings). One reason for dating it within this decade is the assumption that, if it were written after 50, it must have contained allusions to the settlement reached at the Council of Jerusalem (usually assigned to *circ.* A.D. 49). But even if St. Luke's account of the Council is correct and the Council described in *Acts* xv. took place in 49, the contention is not very convincing; and since considerable doubt attaches to the accuracy of the narrative in *Acts* xv. (see p. 248) and the date of the concessions required of the Gentile Christians was probably later than 49 (p. 538), there is no necessity to confine the Epistle narrowly within the fifth decade A.D. And if its origin be placed rather later than 50, at some date between St. Paul's Second and Third Missionary journeys (say A.D. 52), certain facts are accounted for. St. Paul's work in Asia Minor during his First Journey, when reported to James (*Gal.* ii. 1–10), would draw the latter's attention to the Jewish Christian converts in those parts, whose needs would the more appeal to him as St. Paul's special province seemed to be the Gentiles. If the Epistle was dispatched before St. Paul started on his Third Journey, that Apostle might find copies of it in the course of his tour through Galatia and Phrygia (*Acts* xviii. 23), which would account for such resemblances as exist between it and the Epistle to the *Romans* (written in 55–56). On this view it may be a little later in date than 1 and 2 *Thessalonians*. The place of origin may be assumed to have been Jerusalem; certainly the allusions in i. 11, iii. 12, v. 7 (end) are consistent with conditions prevailing in Palestine.

An interesting suggestion [1] which explains many of the peculiarities of the letter is that it was written by James the Lord's "brother," after his conversion, to his *unconverted* countrymen. By the best of these he was held in esteem (see Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9, 1, Eus. *H.E.* ii. 23, 10); and in the hope of predisposing them to faith in Jesus, he sought in the Epistle to bring before them the spiritual beauty of His teaching, without naming Him (the references to Him in i. 1, ii. 1 being regarded as inser-

[1] See J. H. Moulton in the *Expositor*, July, 1903.

tions by one who wished to adapt the work to Christian use). But to this, as to another, view, the explanation of the words *Jesus Christ* in ii. 1 as a gloss presents difficulties (p. 257).

The Epistle contains sixty-four words which are not found elsewhere in the New Testament; thirteen of them are apparently used for the first time by St. James.[1] Certain words and phrases have been noted as common to the Epistle and to the speech and letter attributed to St. James in *Acts* xv., *viz.* the salutation *χαίρειν* and the words *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, ἐπιστρέφειν, τηρεῖν, διατηρεῖν, ἀγαπητός*; cf. also the address *ἀκούσατε, ἀδελφοί μου* (*Jas.* ii. 5) with *ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ, ἀκούσατε μου* (*Acts* xv. 13). But see p. 251.

The Epistles to the Thessalonians

The Church of Thessalonica

Of the founding of the Thessalonian Church an account will be given on p. 548. From the narrative in *Acts* it might be inferred that the Church consisted partly of Jews, but mainly of "God-fearing" Gentiles. The evidence, however, of 1 *Th.* makes it plain that of the Gentiles who were converted the majority had once been pagans. This appears from (*a*) St. Paul's statement that those to whom he wrote "had turned to God from idols" (1 *Th.* i. 9); (*b*) the exhortation to them to refrain from immorality (1 *Th.* iv. 3 f.), which is more natural if addressed to former heathens than to Gentiles who had been previously God-fearers. There is thus a serious omission in *Acts* xvii. 4, if the text found in most manuscripts (including ℵ and B) is correct—*καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν* (*i.e.* the Jews) *ἐπείσθησαν . . . τῶν τε σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος πολύ*. But certain codices (including AD 33), supported by the Vulgate, replace the last words by *τῶν τε σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πλῆθος πολύ*, and it may be urged in favour of this reading that it gets rid of the expression *οἱ σεβόμενοι Ἕλληνες* which does not occur elsewhere.

The only allusion in *Acts* to the time spent by St. Paul at Thessalonica is the statement that he preached in the Jewish synagogue on three Sabbath days (or perhaps "for three weeks"). But the fact that the Apostle appears to have converted a number of Gentiles directly from heathendom almost necessarily implies that he spent at the place much more than the three weeks (at the most) suggested by *Acts*. This conclusion is supported by the circumstances (*a*) that during his residence there he had to maintain himself by his trade (1 *Th.* ii. 9); (*b*) that whilst there he *twice* received gifts of money from the Christians at Philippi (*Phil.* iv. 16), a place 100 miles away; (*c*) that he was there long enough to establish some kind of organization for the Church (1 *Th.* v. 12); (*d*) that from thence he probably engaged in mission work elsewhere in Macedonia (1 *Th.* i. 7). Accordingly the whole interval spent in the place may have amounted to some months.

[1] Mayor, *St. James*, p. ccxviii.

Place of Origin, Occasion, and Date of the Epistles

The Epistles purport to have been written by St. Paul, Silvanus (or Silas), and Timothy, so that the three must have been together when the letters were composed. Some MSS. (A C K_2) and the Syriac and Ethiopic versions attach to the end of both letters a note stating that they were written from Athens. It was to Athens that St. Paul went from Beroea, and there he was joined certainly by Timothy (1 *Th.* iii. 1) and probably by Silas likewise (*Acts* xvii. 14, 15). But before the first of the two letters was written Timothy was sent back to Thessalonica (1 *Th.* iii. 1, 5), seemingly as a substitute for the Apostle himself (whom some cause hindered from going (1 *Th.* ii. 18)); and if Silas had also reached Athens, he, too, had been dispatched on some mission, since St. Paul speaks of being left at Athens by himself. It may therefore be inferred that 1 *Th.* was written not from Athens, but from a city where St. Paul was once more joined by his companions, this being Corinth, whither he journeyed from Athens, and where both Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia (*Acts* xviii. 5).

The occasion for writing 1 *Th.* was a report brought back from Thessalonica by Timothy (iii. 6). The report was in part satisfactory, and in part disappointing; for it seems to have represented that the Christians there were showing under persecution much patience and mutual affection, but that these virtues were accompanied by a tendency to sensuality (iv. 3–4), and some unsettlement of mind (due to anxiety about their friends who had died before the Lord's Second Advent). It is also probable that information had reached St. Paul that he had been traduced by certain enemies (perhaps Jews), who had misrepresented his motives, and accused him of being actuated by self-interest. In order to encourage the Thessalonian Christians in well-doing, to warn them against their temptations, to relieve them of their fears, and to clear his own character St. Paul wrote 1 *Th.* in the course of his stay at Corinth, where he spent a year and a half (*Acts* xviii. 11). It was not composed until sufficient time had elapsed to allow the excellent example set, in some respects, by the Thessalonian Church to become known in Achaia (1 *Th.* i. 7, 8), so that, if the Apostle reached Corinth in the summer of A.D. 50, the date of the letter may be the end of that year, or early in 51.

The Second Epistle contains nothing which directly throws light upon the place, occasion and date of its composition; but if the First Epistle was sent from Corinth, it is highly probable that the Second was dispatched from the same place. The occasion which produced it was possibly some information about the Thessalonians (brought by the unnamed friend who had carried to them the First Epistle) which confirmed the impression already received of their many virtues; but indicated that they had drawn from the Apostle's previous letter hasty conclusions concerning the imminence of Christ's Second Coming. Consequently there was needed from him some qualification of his former language, which might prevent them from abandoning their ordinary avocations through anticipations of the nearness of the end of the world. Since in subject matter and diction the Second Epistle closely resembles the First, it must, if genuine, have

followed very closely its predecessor; and may be dated early in A.D. 51. Probably these two letters are the earliest of St. Paul's that have been preserved.

Authenticity of the Epistles

The genuineness of all the Epistles bearing St. Paul's name has been questioned by various scholars; but it does not fall within the scope of the present work to discuss the extravagances of criticism, so that in the case of several of the Epistles their authenticity will be assumed. There are, however, some which have been suspected for reasons deserving of consideration, and among them are 1 and 2 *Th.*

In general the absence from these Epistles of the phrases most distinctive of St. Paul's theology renders it highly improbable that they are forgeries, for anyone who wished to make his own productions pass for St. Paul's would naturally introduce as much as possible of the Apostle's characteristic phraseology. Moreover it is eminently unlikely that a forger, writing after St. Paul's death, would have attributed to him the expectation that he would survive until the return of Christ (1 *Th.* iv. 15–17). Nevertheless the Pauline authorship of both has been impugned.

(1) Against the genuineness of the First Epistle the most solid objections are based on (*a*) 1 *Th.* ii. 16, (*b*) 2 *Th.* ii. 2.

(*a*) In 1 *Th.* ii. 16 the concluding sentence "But the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost" seems most intelligible if understood as a reference to the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, in which case the Epistle cannot proceed from St. Paul. It is, however, possible either to interpret the words not of external overthrow but of spiritual blindness and obduracy, viewed as a proof of God's wrath (cf. *Rom.* xi. 8, 25); or (since this is not the *prima facie* sense) to understand the past tense ἔφθασεν as anticipatory, implying the certainty of the vengeance; or to consider the clause a gloss introduced into the text after A.D. 70. (*b*) In 2 *Th.* ii. 2 the final words of the sentence εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς . . . μήτε διὰ πνεύματος μήτε διὰ λόγου μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν have been thought to refer to a forged letter which was in circulation, and which (it has been suggested) must be the present First Epistle. But if the words δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν were meant to be taken together (in the sense of "by a letter purporting to come from us") the expression used would probably have been δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς παρ' ἡμῶν (cf. *Acts* ix. 2, xxii. 5); and it seems likely that the real meaning of the whole passage is "That ye be not quickly disturbed . . . either by spirit (*i.e.* prophesying) or word (*i.e.* oral teaching) or letter, as if such disturbance really came through us" (ὡς δι' ἡμῶν going with σαλευθῆναι).

(2) It is the Second Epistle that has been most widely suspected of being unauthentic. The chief cause of such suspicion is its great similarity in general to 1 *Th.*,[1] coupled with the contrast between its eschatological

[1] Cf. the following parallels—

I. i. 1–3	=	II. i. 1–3	I. iv. 11	=	II. iii. 11–12
i. 4	=	ii. 13	v. 23	=	iii. 16
ii. 9	=	iii. 8	v. 28	=	iii. 18

section (ii. 1–12) and the corresponding section in 1 *Th.* iv. 13–18. In consequence it has been argued that the letter was composed after St. Paul's time by a writer who wished to circulate the idea about the Man of Sin contained in ii. 1–12 by enclosing it in a letter modelled upon a genuine Epistle of St. Paul's. But the allusion to the Temple in ii. 4 points to the letter having been composed before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70; and it is improbable that a forged letter written at that early date would be accepted at Thessalonica. The similarity of the two Epistles is sufficiently explained if they were written by St. Paul within a short period of one another, his thoughts when composing the second moving on the lines followed by him when engaged on the first. And the difference between the two eschatological passages 1 *Th.* iv. 13–18 and 2 *Th.* ii. 1–12 involves no contradiction. The expectation of the Lord's near advent expressed in 1 *Th.* is not abandoned in 2 *Th.*; it is only asserted that His coming will not occur until a preliminary sign of the end (the revelation of the Man of Sin) has taken place. Some scholars have held that the second Epistle is really earlier than the first.[1] Space only permits notice of one or two reasons urged in favour of this position. It is argued (*a*) that the writer would not call attention to his autograph as a proof of genuineness (2 *Th.* iii. 17) except in the *first* letter sent to his readers; (*b*) that the reference in 1 *Th.* iv. 11, "That ye study . . . to do your own business and to work with your hands *even as we charged you*," must refer to a command in a previous letter, and such is found in 2 *Th.* iii. 10; (*c*) that the tone of 2 *Th.* is more Jewish than that of 1 *Th.*[2], which is natural if it is the earliest letter, since the Jewish element in the Church was probably stronger at first than it was later. But (*a*) attention is drawn to his autograph in 1 *Cor.* xvi. 21, although this was not the first letter sent to Corinth (see 1 *Cor.* v. 9); (*b*) the allusion to a prior command may relate to the Apostle's oral teaching (as in 2 *Th.* iii. 10); (*c*) before St. Paul wrote either letter, the Gentiles preponderated in the Church, and there was no consideration requiring him to write first to the minority.

The Epistle to the Galatians

The Galatian Church

The identity of the community which constituted the Galatian Church, and which received from St. Paul the Epistle to the *Galatians*, is a warmly debated question; and in order to understand the point at issue, it is

[1] See *J.T.S.* Oct., 1913, pp. 66 f.

[2] This impression is favoured by the reference to "the man of sin," which would be more intelligible to Jews than to Gentiles, and by the reading in ii. 13 ἀπαρχήν (supported by B F G_2 P_2) instead of ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (given by ℵ A D E K_2 L_2) which, if original, is inappropriate to the Thessalonian Church as a whole (since it was not the first to be founded by St. Paul in Macedonia or elsewhere), but becomes intelligible if understood of the Jewish section of the Church, for it was amongst the Jews that the Apostle won his first converts (*Acts* xvii. 4) in this city.

necessary to consider to what peoples the name *Galatians* could be applied, and to indicate the districts which they occupied.

The people who were originally designated by this term were a division of the Celtic race. It was not the only name by which they were known, for besides being called by Greek writers *Γαλάται*, they were also described as *Κελτοί* and *Γάλλοι*. Of the three terms, *Κελτοί* is the earliest that occurs (see Hdt. ii. 33) and *Γάλλοι* the latest, the last being a transliteration of the name (*Galli*) employed by the Romans. The regions which they occupied when they first figure in history were in Western Europe (Hdt. iv. 49), the present France, whence they had penetrated to the British Isles. But in the fourth century B.C. they began to migrate southwards. Some crossed the Alps, invaded Italy, and sacked Rome (390 B.C.), others a century later pressed into Thessaly and Greece, but met with a repulse at Delphi (279 B.C.). A detachment of this latter body transported themselves over the Hellespont, and in the course of fifty years devastated a large part of Asia Minor, as far as the Taurus. But after sustaining a severe defeat from Attalus, King of Pergamum, about 232 B.C., they were confined to a district some 200 miles long and 100 broad lying along the 40th parallel of latitude (about that of central Mysia), and between the 29th and 33rd meridians of longitude. This was divided between the three tribes of which the invaders were composed, the Tolistobogii, who settled round Pessinus, the Tectosages, whose centre was Ancȳra, and the Trocmi, whose principal town was Tavium.

The territory thus occupied had previously been in the possession of the Phrygians. These were likewise immigrants from Europe, who had crossed the Hellespont about 1000 B.C., and established themselves in most parts of the peninsula of Asia Minor, south of the Propontis and the Euxine, the best known of their settlements being Troy. Though at one period a dominant people, they eventually degenerated, so that they offered little resistance to the warlike, though less civilized, Galatæ. The latter became the ruling class amid a larger subject population, to whom they left the industrial occupations of the cities and the labour of cultivating the soil, whilst they devoted themselves to pasturage and to war.

The Phrygians, like the Galatæ, had also, on their entry into Asia, found in possession an earlier people whose racial affinities can only be conjectured; they are supposed to have been allied to the Lycaonians, who retained their own tongue as late as the first century A.D. Other elements in the mixture of nationalities that resided in Galatia and the surrounding regions were Romans, Greeks, and Jews; so that the population of the country was of an extremely diverse character in St. Paul's time.

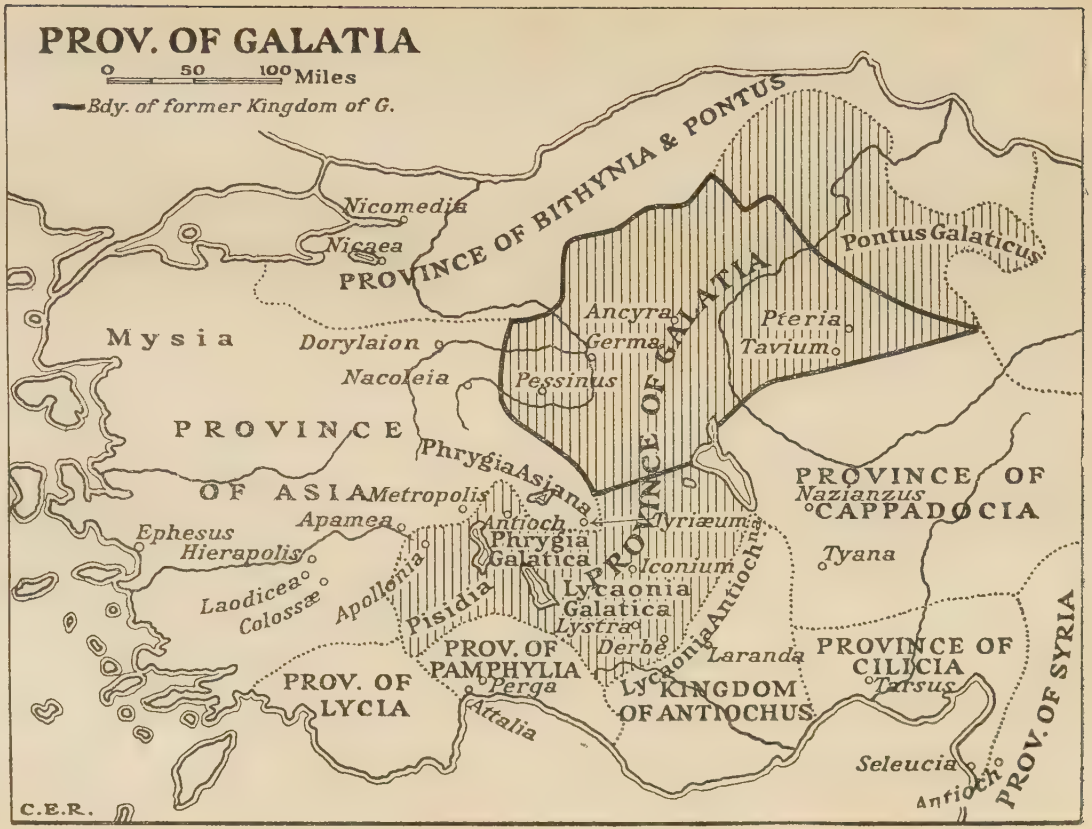
In the course of the second century B.C. the Galatians became unwilling subjects of the Kingdom of Pontus; but the overthrow of Mithradates Eupator (111–67) by the Romans brought them under the influence of a still greater power. Rome at first allowed them their independence; and in 64 B.C. Pompey gave to each of the chiefs of the three Galatian tribes the status of tetrarch, whilst Deiotarus, tetrarch of the Tolistobogii (for whom a speech was once delivered by Cicero) was eventually made king of Galatia. But when one of his successors, Amyntas, whose

possessions comprised Pisidia, Pamphylia, and parts of Phrygia and Lycaonia besides the old kingdom of Galatia, died in 25 B.C., his dominions were incorporated in the Roman Empire, and with the exception of Pamphylia, which was treated separately, were constituted a single province.

It is from the inclusion of the territory of the three Galatian tribes within the larger Roman province of Galatia that there has arisen the uncertainty about the Galatian Church. The appellation *Galatia* may denote either the Roman province, which extended northward and southward almost from the Euxine to the Ægean (or more exactly from the border of Bithynia-Pontus to that of Pamphylia), or only that part of it which once formed the Kingdom of the Galatæ; and the description *Galatians* could be used of the inhabitants of any portion of the province, or could be applied in a distinctive sense to those (in the north of it) who were Galatians by descent, and whose chief towns were Pessĭnus, Germa, Ancȳra, Pteria, and Tavium. In contrast to these, the population of the southern part of the province was mainly Phrygian and Lycaonian by race, and Galatian only politically; and the districts occupied were probably known as *Phrygia Galatica* and *Lycaonia Galatica*, since there were districts of ancient Phrygia and Lycaonia outside the province of Galatia, which were called *Phrygia Asiana* and *Lycaonia Antiochiana*, and from which it must have been desirable to distinguish them. The chief towns in this portion of the province were Antioch (usually called Pisidian, because on the borders of Pisidia), Iconium, Lystra and Derbe, the two former being Phrygian and the two latter being Lycaonian. It is in consequence debatable whether St. Paul, in writing his Epistle to "*the Galatians*," directed it to the people who dwelt in North Galatia, and who were Galatians by race as well as by inclusion in the Roman province, or to the people who lived in South Galatia, and who were Galatians only in virtue of a political arrangement. The use of the term *Galatia* (cf. 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1) and *Galatians* by St. Paul himself settles nothing, for he habitually employed geographical names (like *Asia*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*) in the Roman sense, and so probably meant by *Galatia* the Roman province,[1] and would describe as *Galatians* any of its inhabitants, whether living in the north or the south of it. St. Luke, on the other hand, who, besides employing the Roman provincial names (*Asia*, *Bithynia*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*), is fond of using geographical names in an historic or a popular sense like *Phrygia* (*Acts* ii. 10), *Lycaonia* (xiv. 6), *Pisidia* (xiv. 24), *Mysia* (xvi. 7), *Hellas* (xx. 2), would perhaps have employed *Galatia* to denote the district that had anciently been the territory of the Galatæ; but he does not happen to mention the name at all, and only has the adjective *Galatic* in two passages, which are ambiguous. The passages are as follows:—

(*a*) *Acts* xvi. 1–8. The historian, in his narrative of St. Paul's Second Missionary journey (49–52 A.D.), after relating that the Apostle, accompanied by Silas, "went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches"

[1] Cf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 9, *Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias*



*** *To illustrate the North and South Galatian Theories, and St. Paul's First Missionary Journey.*

(xv. 41), goes on to state that "he came also to Derbe and Lystra" (xvi. 1), and that he and his company, now increased by Timothy, "as they went on their way through the cities delivered to them" certain decrees to keep, so that the Churches previously established there "were strengthened in the faith and increased in numbers daily" (xvi. 4, 5). The narrative then continues: "And they went through[1] the Phrygian and Galatic region (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*), having been prevented by the Holy Spirit from speaking the Message in Asia; and when they had come opposite Mysia, they attempted to go into Bithynia."

(*b*) *Acts* xviii. 23. After the historian in the preceding context (*v.* 22) has described the return of St. Paul from his Second Missionary journey, he goes on to relate his departure upon his Third journey as follows: "And having spent some time (at Antioch) he departed and went through the Galatic region and Phrygia (*τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*) in order, stablishing all the disciples."

These two passages are explained differently according as "the Phrygian and Galatic region" in the first, and "the Galatic region" in the second are identified with (1) the former kingdom of Galatia, constituting the northern part of the Roman province (a view which may be styled the North Galatian theory), or (2) the southern part of the Roman province (a view which may be called the South Galatian theory). These theories have been presented by different scholars in somewhat varying forms; but each will be here considered under what appears to be its most plausible aspect.

1. According to the North Galatian theory St. Paul's movements were as follows. (*a*) On his Second journey late in 49 he proceeded through Syria and Cilicia by way of Laranda to Derbe, Lystra, and other towns in South Galatia; then, having reached the border between the provinces of Galatia and Asia (perhaps at Antioch or Apollonia), and being prohibited from preaching in the latter province, he turned northward along a road passing through Asia to Nacoleia and Dorylæum; and next, bending eastward, entered the northern part of Galatia, which (it is held) is described by St. Luke as "the Phrygian and Galatic region" because historically it had been successively both Phrygian and Galatian (p. 265). According to this view "Galatia" was not evangelized until 49–50. (*b*) On his Third journey he passed in succession first through North Galatia (reached from Syrian Antioch in a north-west direction by way of Tyana and Nazianzus, and supposed to be described by St. Luke as "the Galatic region" because inhabited by a people who were Galatians ethnologically as well as politically), and secondly through Phrygia, travelling in a south-westerly direction through the hilly country of central Asia (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*) towards Ephesus.

2. According to the South Galatian theory St. Paul's course was as follows. (*a*) On his Second missionary journey, after coming to Derbe and Lystra (evangelized in 47–48) and strengthening the Churches there,

[1] In *Acts* xvi. 6 all the best MSS. (ℵ A B C D E) have *διῆλθον*, not *διελθόντες*, read by the mass of later authorities.

he sought from Lystra or Iconium to cross into Asia (perhaps near Tyriæum); but being forbidden to preach in Asia, turned south-west and proceeded through that part of South Galatia which trends from the neighbourhood of Tyriæum westward, and which (it is probable) was called *Phrygia Galatica*, and with which, it is assumed, St. Luke's phrase, "the Phrygian and Galatic region," is synonymous. When this region had been traversed, he turned north along the road leading to Bithynia, through Nacoleia and Dorylæum. At the last-named place he was opposite to Mysia (lying on his left); and as he and his companions felt themselves prevented by the Spirit of Jesus from preaching in Bithynia, the borders of which they had nearly reached, they passed through Mysia (though refraining from preaching there since it was included in Asia), and so proceeded to Troas. (*b*) On his Third journey St. Paul followed the same route as on the Second journey (viz. through Laranda) to the towns (Derbe, Lystra, etc.) previously visited in South Galatia, which St. Luke, on the second occasion, calls simply "the Galatic region"; and from thence traversed Phrygia, or strictly that part of Phrygia which was outside the province of Galatia, and which would have been more correctly described as *Phrygia Asiana*, journeying westward to Ephesus, but following, not the regular route along the Mæander, but a road on high ground to the north of the river (p. 75).

In a comparison between the two Galatian theories the most substantial argument in favour of the North Galatian theory is that in *Acts* xvi. 4, the words "as they went on their way through the cities" suggest that St. Paul and his companions traversed *all* the places evangelized in the First missionary journey, *i.e.* Pisidian Antioch no less than Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium, before entering the Phrygian and Galatic region (*Acts* xvi. 6); in which case this latter must have been distinct from South Galatia. Nevertheless, the arguments against the North Galatian and in favour of the South Galatian theory preponderate.

(*a*) A journey *northward from* North Galatia could not be said to bring St. Paul and his company "over against" Mysia (for the preposition cf. xxvii. 7) since the chief towns of North Galatia were in the latitude of Mysia (p. 265).

(*b*) The assumption that a large district like North Galatia was first evangelized on St. Paul's Second journey (accomplished between 49 and 52) leaves, after the time already spent in Syria and Cilicia (*Acts* xv. 41) and among the cities of South Galatia (*Acts* xvi. 1–5), a scant margin for the Apostle's subsequent labours in Macedonia, Greece (where he spent more than eighteen months, *Acts* xviii. 11) and Ephesus; and the difficulty is only partially reduced by the suggestion that merely the western half of North Galatia, and not the whole of it, was covered in a missionary tour,[1] so that the interval spent there would be much less.

(*c*) The words in *Galatians* ii. 5, "to whom (*i.e.* the Judaizers) we gave place in the way of subjection not even for an hour that the truth of the Gospel might *continue with you*," where the writer is referring to the

[1] See Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 94.

interview he had with James, Peter and John in A.D. 49, suggests that he had been among the "Galatians" prior to that year, which was not the case if "Galatia" is taken to be North Galatia, and to have been visited first in 49–50 (p. 267).

(*d*) The allusion to Barnabas in *Gal.* ii. 13, "even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation," is much more intelligible on the assumption that he was personally known to the Galatians, as was the case on the South Galatian theory (since he accompanied St. Paul when, on his First journey, he went to Pisidian Antioch and its adjacent cities in the south of the Roman province), than if he were not, as the North Galatian theory requires.[1]

(*e*) Since St. Paul included Macedonia and Greece in his Third Journey, it would have been more natural for him to have gone thither from North Galatia by way of Troas, instead of proceeding first to Ephesus, which he could have taken on his return. The fact that from "the Galatic region" he went straight on to Ephesus (*Acts* xviii. 23, xix. 1) points to the identification of that region with South Galatia, "the upper country" through which he passed (*Acts* xix. 1) being the higher ground north of the valleys of the Lycus and Mæander.[2] To assume that in proceeding from Antioch "through the Galatic region and Phrygia" to Ephesus he passed through North Galatia involves the supposition that he pursued a most circuitous route, covering some hundreds of miles. On the other hand, the circumstance that he did not go to Ephesus when in South Galatia on his Second journey (*Acts* xvi. 6 f.) is explained by the prohibition then imposed against preaching in Asia.

(*f*) The contention urged against St. Paul by his opponents that he preached circumcision (*Gal.* v. 11) finds on the South Galatian theory an easy explanation in his circumcision of Timothy, who was a native of Lystra, a town of South Galatia (*Acts* xvi. 3).

(*g*) Jewish emissaries would more easily be tempted to follow St. Paul and disturb the peace of the churches he had founded, if the latter lay along the *via Egnatia*, as did those of South Galatia, than if they were situated in the remoter regions of North Galatia.

(*h*) It is suggestive that among St. Paul's companions on his way to Jerusalem from his Third journey (*Acts* xx. 4) with offerings for his countrymen (xxiv. 17) there were delegates, on the South Galatian theory, from all the Roman provinces which he had visited, Gaius and Timothy (from Derbe and Lystra) representing the province of Galatia. On the other hand, on the North Galatian theory there were no representatives from the "Galatian" Church to which the Epistle to the *Galatians* is addressed.

These reasons create a strong impression in favour of the South Galatian theory. The opposing view depends mainly upon the assumption that when St. Paul was forbidden to preach in Asia, he had crossed *the whole* of South Galatia. But this assumption is not self-evident, and

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[1] On the other hand, Barnabas is mentioned in letters written to churches which it is not known that he visited (see 1 *Cor.* ix. 6; *Col.* iv. 10).

[2] See Lake, *Early Epistles*, etc., p. 260.

therefore the inference that the Phrygian and Galatic region, next traversed, must have been other than part of South Galatia is not necessitated. And though no complete proof is forthcoming that this phrase, "the Phrygian and Galatic region," was used to describe South Galatia, yet fairly close parallels occur; and on the whole, it seems more probable that it designates a country which was both in Phrygia and in the province of Galatia, than that it denotes one which had in a distant past been successively inhabited by Phrygians and Gauls.

Date, Occasion, and Place of Origin

Conclusions respecting the date of the Epistle are largely affected by the opinions entertained about (*a*) the locality of the Galatian Church addressed in the letter, (*b*) the question whether the meeting between St. Paul and certain of the elder Apostles alluded to in *Gal.* ii. occurred on the occasion of the council at Jerusalem held later than his return from his First missionary journey in 48 and described in *Acts* xv. In regard to (*a*) the conclusion has just been reached that the Galatians to whom the letter was sent were Christian communities of the cities of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe in South Galatia. But the question marked (*b*) requires to be discussed, since the identification of St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem mentioned in *Gal.* ii. with that related in *Acts* xv. is keenly disputed.

In *Gal.* i. 18–23 St. Paul refers to his *first* visit to Jerusalem (perhaps in A.D. 35), three years after his conversion, and though there are some serious discrepancies between what he says about it and what is related by St. Luke in *Acts* ix. 26–30, the same occasion is probably meant in both passages. But the visit of which St. Paul gives an account in *Gal.* ii. 1–10 is held by some scholars not to have occurred at the time indicated in *Acts* xv., but on the occasion when St. Paul was one of the delegates sent to convey relief from Antioch to Jerusalem during the famine in 46 (as briefly recorded in *Acts* xi. 30 [1]). In favour of this view it has been argued (*a*) that the famine-visit in *Acts* xi. 30 and the visit described in *Gal.* ii. are each represented as the Apostle's *second* visit; (*b*) that on the famine-visit St. Paul was accompanied by Barnabas only, whilst on the visit mentioned in *Gal.* ii. Barnabas was likewise his sole companion on a footing of equality, though Titus was also with him as a subordinate; (*c*) that the famine-visit was undertaken as the result of a prediction by Agabus, a prophet, whilst the visit of *Gal.* ii. was similarly in consequence of a revelation. The circumstance that, when Barnabas and Paul carried the money sent by the Antiochenes to the Jewish Church, they gave it into the hands of the presbyters and not of the Apostles, whose leaders were at the time at Jerusalem, is explained by the fact that it was not the function of the latter to administer relief funds (cf. *Acts* vi. 2). There are, however, very serious difficulties in the way of this supposed identification. (i) One is raised by the chronology. The famine-visit occurred,

[1] In *Acts* xi. 30 mention is only made of Judæa, but that the visit included Jerusalem appears from *Acts* xii. 25.

if not early in St. Paul's ministry, at least earlier than the time assigned to the visit of *Gal.* ii. For if St. Paul was converted not earlier than 33, and first visited Jerusalem in 35, his second visit on the occasion of the famine in 46 took place only eleven years after his first. But the visit recounted in *Gal.* ii. occurred fourteen years (according to the natural interpretation of the words, *Ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν κ.τ.λ.*) after the first, *i.e.* in A.D. 49.[1] (ii) A second difficulty is the difference in the relative positions of Paul and Barnabas at the two periods. At the famine-visit Barnabas still took priority of St. Paul in virtue of his greater age and experience, but by the time when the visit of *Gal.* ii. occurred St. Paul was the more important and influential personage of the two, claiming that he, in a degree beyond others, had been entrusted with the Gospel of the Uncircumcision (*Gal.* ii. 7). (iii) And a third and most formidable difficulty is furnished by the nature of the controversy at the meeting of St. Paul and the elder Apostles related in *Gal.* ii.—a controversy which is almost out of the question at the time of the famine-visit. Before the meeting with the Apostles recounted in *Gal.* ii. St. Paul had been taking a foremost part in the evangelization of heathen Gentiles, like those at Lystra (*Acts* xiv. 8), and the question of their submission to circumcision had by that time become acute, just as represented in *Acts* xv. 1. But there is no evidence that the same question had been raised as acutely respecting the Greeks to whom the Gospel was preached at Antioch prior to the famine-visit (*Acts* xi. 20), especially as these Greeks may have been "God-fearers." These objections to the identification of the visit of *Galatians* ii. with the visit at the date of the famine appear to be insuperable, and it remains, therefore, to regard it as one with the visit related in Acts xv. The latter, indeed, is represented by St. Luke as the *third* of St. Paul's visits to Jerusalem, whereas the interview with the Apostles in *Gal.* ii. occurred, according to St. Paul, on his *second* visit; but it is reasonable to suppose that St. Paul omitted to mention the famine-visit because it did not result in a meeting with any of the Apostles. The view that *Gal.* ii. and *Acts* xv. relate to the same occasion involves, indeed, the conclusion that St. Luke's account is extremely inaccurate and misleading (see p. 535 f.); but the errors which seem to be comprised in that account do not call for notice here, and it is sufficient to use the identification of the visit in *Gal.* ii. with the visit described in *Acts* xv. as a help towards dating the Epistle.

The journey of St. Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem to discuss the question of circumcising the Gentile converts (*Gal.* ii. 1–10) took place after the return of the two Apostles from their First missionary journey, seemingly in A.D. 49; and the letter to the Galatians must have been written after this date. But it was probably not written *immediately* after this journey, for in *Gal.* iv. 13 St. Paul implies that previously to writing it he had been twice among the Galatian Churches; and if no distinction is drawn between the visits paid to the South Galatian cities on the outward and the homeward routes (*Acts* xiv. 21) but both are

[1] The date (33) for St. Paul's conversion is not certain (p. 345).

counted as one, then the second occasion when St. Paul was in Galatia occurred in the course of his Second missionary journey between 49 and 52 (*Acts* xvi. 1–6). Accordingly the Epistle must have been composed either during that journey (after Galatia had been traversed) or after the Apostle's return from it. On the former hypothesis, it may have been written at Corinth between 50 and the beginning of 52. On the latter supposition, the place of origin was perhaps Antioch (*Acts* xviii. 22), and its date the summer of 52, during the months elapsing between the Second journey and the Third. It is against the first alternative that the Epistle contains no greetings from Silas and Timothy, both known to the South Galatians and both with St. Paul at Corinth (*Acts* xviii. 5), unless the letter was written before their arrival,[1] which the unlikeness of *Galatians* to *Thessalonians* (sent from Corinth, p. 262) renders improbable. It is also in favour of the second alternative that it brings the Epistle rather closer in point of chronology to the Epistle to the *Romans* (written early in 56, see p. 281), with which it has some features in common.[2] At the same time an ample interval is left between these two Epistles to account for a difference in tone between them, for whereas in *Galatians* there is manifest a feeling of bitterness towards the writer's countrymen, this, at the date when *Romans* was composed, appears to have become allayed.[3] It has been objected, indeed, to the date here advocated that in the Epistle itself there is no allusion to any impending visit to Galatia,[4] though, according to the view here adopted, it was followed almost at once by St. Paul's departure to that region (see above). But it may well have been that, as St. Paul had only just returned, after a long absence, to Antioch, he at first thought that a severe remonstrance by letter would meet the situation; and that it was only on later reflection, after the Epistle had been sent, that the exigency appeared too serious to be dealt with in this way, and his actual presence seemed required to cope with it successfully. Of the Pauline letters preserved in the New Testament it was probably the third, being preceded by 1, 2 *Th.* alone.

Advocates of the South Galatian theory who identify the famine visit of 46 with the visit described in *Gal.* ii.,[5] and who regard the return visit to Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch, in *Acts* xiv. 21, as distinct from the visit on the outward journey a few weeks before, can assign the Epistle to 48, after St. Paul's return to Antioch from his First journey (*Acts* xiv. 26), and so make it decidedly the earliest of his letters. But supporters of the North Galatian theory (if, in iv. 13 *πρότερον* means "on the former of two occasions" and not merely "formerly," as in *Joh.* ix. 8, 1 *Tim.* i. 13) must place it later than the tour through "the

[1] On this supposition *Galatians* is slightly the earliest of the Pauline Epistles.
[2] See Lightfoot, *Gal.* pp. 45–48.
[3] Cf. Rendall, *Expos.* Ap. 1894, p. 261.
[4] Rackham, *Acts*, p. 336.
[5] This identification renders it necessary to assume (very unnaturally) that in *Gal.* ii. 1 the space of *fourteen years* includes the *three years* of i. 18, and is reckoned from the Apostle's conversion in A.D. 33, otherwise this last event has to be pushed back to A.D. 30, which seems too early after the Crucifixion in A.D. 29.

Galatic region " mentioned in *Acts* xviii. 23, and must assume that it was written in the course of the Third missionary journey between 52 and 55, in either Ephesus (*Acts* xix. 1–10) or Greece (*Acts* xx. 2), or Macedonia (*Acts* xx. 3), or else later than the Third journey, after 56. A few MSS. and versions add at the end of the Epistle ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, making its date 59–61.

The occasion which evoked the Epistle was information to the effect that emissaries of the Jewish party were insisting that the Galatians should submit to circumcision, and keep the other requirements of the Jewish Law. It was to combat this teaching that St. Paul dispatched the letter, which is marked by great vehemence and indignation. It was probably dictated to an amanuensis, but the Apostle attached to it a postscript rather longer than usual (vi. 11–18).

The Epistles to the Corinthians

The Church at Corinth

Corinth was the city at which St. Paul spent, at least as a free man, a longer time than anywhere else in Europe. Of his successful establishment of a Christian Church there an account is furnished on p. 555. Most of his converts were drawn from the Roman colonists (p. 67) and the native Greeks ; and it appears from 1 *Cor.* i. 26 that the Christians were mainly, though not quite exclusively, of humble rank. Their external circumstances were happier than those of the Thessalonians (p. 262), for in consequence perhaps of the tolerance created by the presence in the city of the many religious cults introduced by sailors and travellers, there was little persecution. In character the Corinthian Church exhibited many of the qualities which distinguished the Corinthians as a whole. It was marked by party spirit, litigiousness, sexual licence, proneness to idolatry, disorder in public worship, unruliness, insolence, and disloyalty towards those in authority. The defects which chiefly evoked the censure of St. Paul were moral ; but there also prevailed intellectual doubts and difficulties relating to the resurrection of the dead (1 *Cor.* xv. 12).

Date, Occasion, and Place of Composition of 1 *and* 2 *Cor.*

The time when St. Paul founded the Church at Corinth, the period within which the two Epistles preserved in the New Testament were written, and the place from which they were dispatched, can be determined with approximate accuracy. But the full number of the visits paid by the Apostle to Corinth and of the letters he sent to it and their true sequence are so uncertain and obscure that the occasions which elicited the two Epistles will best be understood if they are included in a summary review of the whole history of his relations with his Corinthian converts, so far as it can be ascertained. And it will save space, and conduce to clearness if, instead of a discussion of alternative constructions of the

history, there is presented as a working theory the conjectural scheme of events which most commends itself,[1] attention at the same time being drawn to the indecisiveness of part of the evidence. Some anticipation of what is related elsewhere is unavoidable.

(1)[2] St. Paul first visited Corinth in the course of his Second missionary journey (A.D. 50), and stayed there until the middle of 52.

(2) In 52 he left the city for Ephesus, where he spent only a short time, and then went to Syria and Palestine. In the autumn of the same year he started on his Third missionary journey and again reached Ephesus, where on this occasion he spent in all two years and three months (*Acts* xix. 1, 8, 10). Here he planned another visit to Macedonia and Achaia ; but before setting out for these countries he sent two of his companions, Timothy and Erastus, before him into Macedonia, whilst he himself continued to stay for a while in Asia (*Acts* xix. 22).

It was whilst St. Paul was at Ephesus that some correspondence took place between him and the Corinthian Church, and communications about the Church reached him from other sources.

(*a*) A letter (the first of four) was written by St. Paul *to* the Corinthians warning them against associating with people guilty of immorality—an admonition which was misunderstood. The dispatch of such a letter is implied in 1 *Cor.* v. 9 ; and the plural " letters " in 2 *Cor.* x. 10, 11 makes it clear that another communication besides 1 *Cor.* had passed between St. Paul and the Corinthians, when 2 *Cor.* x. was written. It has been suggested that of this letter a fragment is preserved in 2 Cor. vi. 14–vii. 1. This passage, urging believers not to associate with unbelievers and idolaters, interrupts the context, for the words of the preceding *vv.* (vi. 12, 13), " Ye are straitened in your affections . . . be ye also (as well as I) enlarged," find their fitting sequel, not in *v.* 14, but in the exhortation, " Make room (in your hearts) for us," occurring in the more remote passage vii. 2 f. ; whereas the advice contained in the intermediate section 2 *Cor.* vi. 14–vii. 1, which is directed against unions between believers and unbelievers, is appropriate to a letter like that to which St. Paul refers, commanding Christians to have no dealings with unchaste persons.

(*b*) Information *about* the condition of the Corinthian Church, as regards the prevalence there of a spirit of partisanship (1 *Cor.* i. 11), and possibly of the occurrence of a grave case of immorality (cf. 1 *Cor.* v. 1), came to the Apostle through some members of the household of a lady called Chloe, who either resided at Corinth or had connexions with it.

(*c*) A letter was received by St. Paul *from* the Corinthian Church (1 *Cor.* xvi. 17), containing a number of requests for the Apostle's advice and some statements calculated to interest him. This is an inference from the manner in which the Apostle, in our 1 *Cor.*, deals with certain matters that are introduced by a recurring formula (1 *Cor.* vii. 1, 25, viii. 1, xii. 1, xvi. 1, 12), suggestive of subjects submitted for his considera-

[1] The scheme follows in the main those of Lake (*Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 120–175) and Plummer (2 *Corinthians*, pp. xiii.–xxxvi.).

[2] In each of the sections thus numbered is mentioned a journey of St. Paul's either *to* or *from Corinth*.

tion, and from the nature of certain allusions occurring in the same Epistle (see xi. 2, xv. 1).

The existence in the Church at Corinth of the disorders reported by the household of Chloe caused St. Paul to dispatch thither Timothy, who with Erastus was going in that direction,[1] by way of Macedonia (*Acts* xix. 22), and who (it was hoped) would be able to check the abuses which had taken place (1 *Cor.* iv. 17, xvi. 10). But since the land route through Macedonia was circuitous, and a communication conveyed by sea would reach Corinth before Timothy, St. Paul also wrote to the Corinthians a second letter, our 1 CORINTHIANS. In this letter he dealt with the matters about which news had reached him through the servants of Chloe, and also replied to the letter that had arrived from Corinth. He condemned with vigour the party-feeling, licentiousness, and other faults which (he was informed) had manifested themselves in the Corinthian Church; answered a number of inquiries concerning marriage, the eating of meat offered to idols, spiritual gifts, and other subjects mentioned in the letter that had come from Corinth; expressed his purpose of going himself into Macedonia, and of proceeding from thence to Corinth (where he hoped to winter); excused himself for not going first to Corinth by sea and thence to Macedonia (since this would involve a merely passing visit); gave directions about the fund to be raised for the poor at Jerusalem[2]; and commended Timothy to the consideration and care of the Corinthian Christians.

This letter, our 1 *Corinthians*, was written at Ephesus or in its neighbourhood, perhaps six months before the close of St. Paul's stay there. Neither the date of his departure from Antioch on his Third journey, nor the time spent in passing through the Galatic region and Phrygia (*Acts* xviii. 23) is known; but if the scheme of dates given on p. 348 be approximately correct, according to which he left Antioch late in 52, and if a sufficient interval be allowed for work in the districts named, he probably did not reach Ephesus until the early part of 53. As he stopped more than two and a quarter years there, his stay in the city must have lasted at least until the summer of 55, it being his purpose when he wrote 1 *Cor.* to remain there until Pentecost (1 *Cor.* xvi. 8), whilst in all likelihood he really stopped until the autumn (see below). He clearly wrote 1 *Cor.* before the Pentecostal season of the last year of his stay; and on the assumption that the Third missionary journey began in the autumn of 52, the date of 1 *Cor.* will be the early spring of 55.[3]

The conclusion that 1 *Cor.* was written from Ephesus is confirmed by a statement to this effect attached to the end of the Epistle in the uncial P_2, and some other manuscripts. On the other hand, the uncials F_2L_2 and some Latin manuscripts represent it as written at Philippi in Macedonia. This finds some superficial support in the phrase used in xvi. 5, *Μακεδονίαν*

[1] Erastus was probably a Corinthian (p. 281) and returning home.

[2] Directions about the fund had been given in Galatia (1 *Cor.* xvi. 1), which St. Paul had visited in the early part of his Second journey, before his arrival at Corinth (*Acts* xvi. 6).

[3] Perhaps about the time of the Feast of Passover; cf. 1 *Cor.* v. 7, 8.

διέρχομαι, but this need only mean "I intend to pass through Macedonia"; and that the province of Asia was the country of origin is practically placed beyond doubt by the fact that the letter conveys to the Corinthians the salutation of the Churches of Asia (xvi.19), and of Aquila and Priscilla, who were at Ephesus during the period when it was written (*Acts* xviii. 18, 26). It has been objected to Ephesus as the city whence it was sent that the writer in xv. 32, xvi. 8 refers to Ephesus as if he were not there. But it may be reasonably supposed that just as St. Paul, in common with other writers of the time, could use the epistolary aorist *ἔγραψα* instead of the present *γράφω* because the former tense would become appropriate by the time his letters reached those for whom they were intended, so he might refer by name to the place whence he happened to be writing (instead of using *here* or *this place*) because such mention of it would similarly be more convenient for his readers at a distance. The letter was probably carried by Titus (who had a companion, 2 *Cor.* xii. 18), for in it, as has been said, St. Paul gives orders for collecting the money required for the relief of the Jewish Church (xvi. 1, 2), and Titus seems to have been instrumental in setting the collection on foot (2 *Cor.* viii. 6).

It has been seen that Timothy was sent to Corinth by way of Macedonia, before 1 *Cor.* was composed. If he arrived at his final destination, he must have been unable to allay the dissensions, or to put an end to the scandals in the Church. No particulars, however, are given of his mission, and he may not have reached Corinth at all; but if he did, it must be assumed that he returned to Ephesus unsuccessful.

(3) The failure of Timothy to deal with the situation in the Corinthian Church seems to have induced St. Paul himself to leave Ephesus at once for Corinth, probably travelling by sea, for the voyage was, under normal conditions, a short one. A visit to Corinth under circumstances which caused the Apostle great distress, is implied in 2 *Cor.* ii. 1, and it is styled the *second* in xiii. 2; whilst it is clear from 2 *Cor.* xii. 14, xiii. 1 that the visit contemplated in these last passages and finally carried out (see below, p. 279) was the *third*, not the second, which it would have been if none had previously occurred except the one in A.D. 50 (p. 274). Apparently St. Paul's authority had been disputed, probably by some Jewish Christians who had recently come to Corinth, perhaps from Jerusalem (cf. 2 *Cor.* xi. 4, 22), who contended that their views corresponded to Christ's own teaching (cf. 2 *Cor.* x. 7), and who also supported their pretensions of superiority to St. Paul by claiming a right to maintenance which he had not done (2 *Cor.* xi. 7–13, xii. 13); and he seems for the time to have failed to regain his influence. In the course of this visit, which by some scholars is placed in a different connexion,[1] it is probable that St. Paul was insulted by some members of the Corinthian Church (2 *Cor.* ii. 5–7, vii. 12).[2]

[1] By Zahn and others the visit in question is thought to have preceded the writing of 1 *Cor.* But it is fairly clear from 1 *Cor.* ii. 1, iii. 2, xi. 2 that only one visit to Corinth had occurred when 1 *Cor.* was written—viz. that on the occasion when the Church there was founded.

[2] Whether the wronged person in 2 *Cor.* vii. 12 was really St. Paul is not quite certain.

(4) The Apostle returned speedily to Ephesus, apparently as unsuccessful in his attempts to subdue the disorders at Corinth as Timothy had been; and from Ephesus he wrote in great sorrow another letter (the third of the series), which was conveyed by Titus, and in which he adopted a very stern tone. Such a letter is alluded to in 2 *Cor.* ii. 4, vii. 8; and it has been conjectured with much probability that a part of this severe letter is preserved in 2 Cor. x.–xiii. Several features in this section combine to favour such a conclusion. (*a*) Whereas the language of the first nine chapters of 2 *Cor.* is conciliatory, eulogistic towards, and full of confidence in, those addressed, is plainly designed to remove any soreness created by previous occurrences, and is imbued with intense thankfulness, that of the last four chapters fluctuates between hope and fear, and is marked, in general, by self-assertion, vaunting, indignation, sarcasm, and threats. In particular, whilst the second chapter breathes the writer's sense of relief at the steps taken to vindicate him by the punishment of some offender, and appeals for the latter's restoration (ii. 5–8, cf. vii. 9–12), and the ninth chapter concludes with an expression of deep gratitude for the generosity of the Corinthian Church in contributing to the collection for the needy Christians of Jerusalem, on the other hand the tenth opens with a menacing tone towards certain members of that Church, and the thirteenth declares that the writer, if he should visit Corinth again, will not spare (xiii. 2). In fact, the whole character of the last four chapters corresponds to that of the letter written "out of much affliction and anguish of heart and with many tears," mentioned in 2 *Cor.* ii. 4, vii. 8, and does not look like the sequel of a confident appeal for funds, such as occupies so much of chapters viii. and ix. (*b*) The circumstance that in ch. i.–ix. there seem to occur allusions to matters contained in ch. x.–xiii. renders it probable that the latter chapters are prior in date to those which in the present arrangement precede them. The most noticeable of such allusions are the following:—

x.–xiii.	i.–ix.
x. 6. Being in readiness to avenge all disobedience when your obedience shall be fulfilled.	ii. 9. For to this end also did I write that I might know the proof of you, whether ye are obedient in all things.
xiii. 2. If I come again, I will not spare.	i. 23. To spare you I forbore to come to Corinth.
xiii. 10. I write these things while absent, that I may not, when present, deal sharply.	ii. 3. I wrote this very thing, that I might not, by coming, have sorrow.

(*c*) The hope expressed by the writer in x. 16 of being able to preach the Gospel "even unto the parts beyond you" (*i.e.* Corinth), suggests that ch. x.–xiii. were not written, like ch. i.–ix. (see below), from Macedonia, but, like the second letter (1 *Cor.*), from Ephesus. If (as is natural) the parts meant are Italy and Spain (see *Rom.* xv. 24, 28), they would be more appropriately described as "beyond Corinth," if the writer were east of Corinth, than if he were situated to the north of it. These features constitute a plausible argument for disconnecting the last few chapters

of 2 *Cor.* from those to which they are now attached, and assigning them to a different occasion, although there is no textual evidence or traditional support for the proposed separation. If this account of the last four chapters is accepted, it may be assumed that having lost their beginning they were appended to the first nine because these had lost their conclusion. Parallels for such procedure are furnished by the attachment of the latter part of the Epistle of Polycarp to the former part of the Epistle of Barnabas, and by the addition to the Epistle of Diognetus of two chapters belonging to a different work.[1]

(5) Having delayed at Ephesus probably longer than he intended when he wrote 1 *Cor.*, and abandoning the route which he had originally planned (2 *Cor.* i. 15–16), St. Paul, accompanied by Timothy, eventually left in the summer of 55 for Macedonia (*Acts* xx. 1), passing through Troas, where he was disappointed at not finding Titus (2 *Cor.* ii. 12, 13), from whom he expected a report concerning the situation in Corinth. In Macedonia he at last was met by Titus (2 *Cor.* vii. 6), who brought good news. St. Paul's severe letter, aided presumably by Titus' own efforts on the spot, had effected an improvement in the Corinthian Church (2 *Cor.* vii. 6–15) ; and the person who had insulted the Apostle had been punished by a vote of the majority (2 *Cor.* ii. 6, mg.). St. Paul, full of joy at the change in the position of affairs at Corinth, wrote from Macedonia a fourth letter, our 2 CORINTHIANS (*lacking ch. x.–xiii.*),[2] in which he explained, amongst other things, his reason for not having repeated so painful a visit to Corinth as the preceding had been (i. 23, ii. 1), and in which he expressed a wish that the contribution of money for the poor of Jerusalem, which had been in preparation for some time, should be in readiness against his arrival at Corinth (2 *Cor.* ix. 1–5). This communication was conveyed by Titus, who was accompanied by two others (2 *Cor.* viii. 17, 18, 22, 23). The success which Titus had already met with clearly rendered him an appropriate messenger, and he was himself eager to complete the collection which he had helped to begin when he took 1 *Cor.* to Corinth (2 *Cor.* viii. 6, 17, xii. 18).[3]

2 *Corinthians*, consisting of ch. i.–ix. only, was certainly written from Macedonia (cf. viii. 1, ix. 2), through which St. Paul had expressed his intention of passing when he wrote 1 *Cor.* xvi. 5 (p. 275) ; and according to a subscription found in the uncial K_2, and in some cursives and versions, it was sent from Philippi. The date was probably the autumn of 55, later than October. The first month of the Macedonian year, as well as of the Jewish civil year, coincided with Sept.–Oct., so that the preceding spring, when 1 *Cor.* was composed, could be described as "last year" (*ἀπὸ πέρυσι*, 2 *Cor.* viii. 10 referring to 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1, 2). Of the individuals who accompanied Titus with the letter, one is identified in the subscription appended to K_2 as St. Luke. The conjecture is not improbable, for if Philippi was the place whence the letter was dispatched, St. Luke may have

[1] Plummer, 2 *Cor* p. 385

[2] Probably lacking also vi. 14–vii. 1 (p. 274).

[3] In viii. 17, 18, 22, ix. 3 the aorists *ἐδέξατο*, *ἐξῆλθεν*, *συνεπέμψαμεν*, *ἔπεμψα* are epistolary aorists and equivalent to presents.

remained there ever since the occasion when he went thither with St. Paul, in the course of the latter's Second journey (*Acts* xvi. 11–40).

After writing 2 *Cor.* i.–ix. (a letter overflowing with expressions of satisfaction) St. Paul proceeded from Macedonia into Greece. His original design had been to go to Corinth by sea and from thence to Macedonia, returning from the latter country again to Corinth[1] (2 *Cor.* i. 15, 16); but he had been prevented from carrying it out. He probably reached Greece in November or December, A.D. 55, and stayed there three months (*Acts* xx. 3). Though the city where he stopped is not named, it cannot be doubted that it was Corinth; so that to that place he seems to have gone three times.

(6) At the end of the three months he decided to return to Syria by sea; but a plot against him formed by the Jews led him to alter his route, and early in 56 he started on his homeward journey through Macedonia (*Acts* xx. 3).

The Epistle to the Romans

The Roman Church

It is tolerably clear from the contents of the Epistle that the Church at Rome consisted of both Jews and Gentiles. The transportation of large numbers of Jews as slaves to the Roman capital was one of the consequences of the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. (p. 44), so that even as early as 59 B.C. Cicero could allude to the great amount of money sent yearly by the Jews of Italy to the Temple at Jerusalem (*pro Flacco*, § 67). That those to whom the letter was sent comprised many Jews appears from the writer's statement in vii. 1, that he is speaking to "men that know the Law"; from the regard shown by him to Jewish objections to certain aspects of his teaching (iii. 1, 31, vii. 7, 13); from the allusion to Abraham as "our forefather according to the flesh" (iv. 1); from the discussion of the rejection of the Gospel by Israel as a whole (ix.–xi.); and from the exhortation to discharge faithfully all duties to the State (xiii. 7), since the Jews were more than once driven from Rome for turbulence (p. 78). And that numbers of non-Jews also were included is equally evident from the direct address to the recipients of the letter as Gentiles in xi. 13; from the enumeration of them with other Gentiles in i. 6, 13; from the reference to the writer's special vocation to be a minister to the Gentiles (i. 5, xv. 15–16); and from the warning lest their Christian privileges (rejected by the Jews) should foster self-conceit (xi. 25).

How Christianity first reached Rome is obscure. That the Church

[1] The *return* visit contemplated on this occasion explains the "second benefit" alluded to in 2 *Cor.* i. 15. The following καί is explanatory, not connective (cf. Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 118). But some suppose that the visit when the Corinthian Church was founded was the *first* benefit; that the second visit (p. 276), as being distressful, is omitted; and that the visit of *Acts* xx. 2 was the *second* benefit (Plummer, 2 *Cor.* p. 32).

there was not founded by St. Paul is certain, for the letter to it was composed some years before that Apostle went thither (see xv. 24 and p. 281). Nor is it likely that it owed its origin to another Apostle, since in this very letter St. Paul declares that it was his aim not to take as the sphere of his preaching a region already evangelized by any one definitely known (xv. 20). Probably the Christian faith had been introduced into the Roman capital by traders or immigrants who, going thither on business or for other reasons, had carried their religion with them. There was naturally extensive intercourse between the East and Italy, for the Egnatian road was a great channel of communication by land (p. 75); whilst there were sea-routes both from the nearer ports of Asia (through Corinth) and from the more remote coasts of Syria and Egypt (p. 76). If there was an expulsion of Jews from Rome in A.D. 49, and this had any connexion with disturbances between Jews and Christians (p. 78), a Christian Church must have been founded there before that date.

Numerous traditions preserved in Patristic writers connect St. Peter with Rome, where he is represented to have laboured together with St. Paul, to have been bishop of the Church for twenty or twenty-five years, and to have suffered martyrdom. The date of his arrival is sometimes stated to have been the third year of Caligula, *i.e.* A.D. 39 or 40, and sometimes the second year of Claudius, *i.e.* 42 or 43; whilst his death is variously assigned to the thirteenth or fourteenth year of Nero, *i.e.* 67 or 68. But St. Peter could scarcely have been at Rome as early as 42 or 43, since he was imprisoned by Herod Agrippa I at Jerusalem shortly before the King's death in A.D. 44 (*Acts* xii.); and, as has been said, it is unlikely that any Apostle had been at Rome prior to the year when St. Paul wrote to the Church there (55 or 56, p. 281). In view, too, of the silence of *Acts* xxviii., it seems very improbable that St. Peter could have been there during the two years of St. Paul's imprisonment (59–61). If, then, St. Peter really visited the Roman capital as a free man (and the tradition, though doubtless erroneous in detail, is sufficiently widespread to render this probable), the most plausible period would be *between* 61 and 64. Had he been at Rome in the latter year, during the persecution of the Christians, he would scarcely have escaped the fate that overtook his fellow-believers at that time; he probably perished three years afterwards.

The Date, Occasion, and Place of Composition

A clue to the period in St. Paul's ministry when the letter was written is afforded by the allusion in xv. 26 to the completion of a certain contribution intended for the poor among the Christians at Jerusalem, which the writer was about to convey thither. This collection St. Paul brought with him when he returned to Jerusalem from his Third Missionary journey in A.D. 56 (*Acts* xxiv. 17); and it is reasonable to infer that the letter was composed and dispatched to Rome from some place at which the Apostle stayed in the course of that journey. That the destination of the

letter was Rome need not be doubted (see i. 15), though in i. 7, 15 the words *ἐν Ρώμῃ* and *τοῖς ἐν Ρώμῃ* are omitted by G_3, and were not read by Origen.[1] The locality whence it was sent is more uncertain. Several references in the last chapter suggest that it was Corinth; and if this chapter really belongs to the letter (see below), the bearer of the Epistle was Phœbe, who was a member of the Church at Cenchreæ, the eastern port of Corinth (xvi. 1). St. Paul's host at his place of sojourn was Gaius (xvi. 23), and a Gaius was one of the few persons whom he had baptized at Corinth (1 *Cor.* i. 14–16). The treasurer (*οἰκονόμος*) of the city where the letter was written was Erastus, who is represented in 2 *Tim.* iv. 20 as staying at Corinth. These allusions in the letter point to Corinth as the place of origin; and though Corinth is not actually mentioned in St. Luke's account of the Third journey in *Acts* xviii. 23–xxi. 15, as a city in which St. Paul stayed when in Greece, it was the seat of Roman authority there and had a Church. This conclusion is further confirmed by one or two other coincidences between the Epistle and the narrative in *Acts*. Timothy and Sosipater (or Sopater) are among those who join with the writer in the salutation with which the letter concludes (xvi. 21); and these two were also among the companions of the Apostle when in the course of his Third journey he returned from Greece (*Acts* xx. 2–4). And though by reason of the doubts attaching to the connexion between ch. xvi. and the rest of the letter, these references cannot be relied on for dating the Epistle, yet, since the letter was written just before St. Paul's departure for Jerusalem (xv. 25), Corinth, the principal city in Greece (the country whence the Apostle turned his face homeward, *Acts* xx. 3), is still the most probable place of origin. The occasion of the letter was the fact that on the outward stage of his Third journey he had contemplated, when at Ephesus, a visit to Rome (*Acts* xix. 21); but when he was in Greece he was unable to gratify his wish; and accordingly desired to explain the cause. Feeling himself under the necessity of returning to Jerusalem with the money collected in Macedonia and Achaia (cf. 2 *Cor.* viii. 1 f., 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1 f.) before proceeding further westward, he wrote to the Roman Christians to tell them of the alteration of his plans, and to express his intention of seeing them as soon as his urgent business of taking relief to Jerusalem had been dispatched (xv. 22–28). The date of the Epistle will accordingly be very early in A.D. 56, prior to the plot laid against him by the Jews, which led him to return to Asia through Macedonia, instead of by the direct sea route (*Acts* xx. 3[2]). It is thus of later origin than the Epistles to the *Corinthians*, as shown by the contrast between 2 *Cor.* viii. (with its allusion to a contribution only then begun at Corinth), and *Rom.* xv. 26 (which refers to a contribution completed in Achaia), though it was not separated from these by any long interval.

But whilst the immediate motive for the letter was the need of accounting for the postponement of a contemplated visit, there were circumstances

[1] G_3 has *πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ κλητοῖς ἁγίοις*.

[2] The fear of the Jews *at Jerusalem* which St. Paul entertained when writing the letter (xv. 30) is reflected in *Acts* xx. 22, 23.

that caused St. Paul to take the opportunity of giving his opinions on certain important questions of Christian doctrine. As has been shown, the Roman Church consisted of both Jews and Gentiles. The Jewish Christians generally, as he knew by the trouble he had had with the Galatian Church (p. 273), entertained views which in certain points he considered to be gravely erroneous; and it was always possible that they would seek to imbue the Gentile Christians with the same errors. One of the features distinguishing Jewish Christianity was a belief in the permanent obligation of the Mosaic Law. Another was probably an underrating (as St. Paul deemed it) of the importance of Jesus' death, which, to judge from the speech of St. Peter at Pentecost (*Acts* ii. 23) and on other occasions (*Acts* iii. 13, 14, iv. 10, x. 39), was regarded indeed as being a murder of more than ordinary heinousness (since the Victim was the Messiah, as shown by His resurrection), but was not considered to be of greater moment spiritually than the death of the many prophets who had perished at the hands of their countrymen.[1] And since St. Paul was writing to Rome, the centre of a large population and the capital and most influential city of the Empire, he availed himself of the occasion to place before the Church there his deliberate conclusions about the authority of the Law, and about the significance of the death and resurrection of Jesus. The Epistle is consequently the most theological of the writer's letters, and is the most valuable source from which to obtain some knowledge of his distinctive views.

The Integrity of the Epistle

Doubts of different degrees of seriousness have been raised in regard to the authenticity of the whole or part of the last two chapters, and in regard to their connexion with the rest of the Epistle. The circumstances creating these doubts are that the final doxology (xvi. 25–27) is differently situated in different manuscripts, the uncial L_2, a number of cursives, and Syr. (hl.) omitting it at the end of ch. xvi., and having it, instead, at the end of ch. xiv., whilst A P_2 have it in both places, and G_3 omits it in both; that in the codex Amiatinus of the Vulgate a heading summarizing the contents of ch. xiv. is followed immediately by a summary of xvi. 25–27; and that Cyprian, Tertullian and Marcion do not quote from ch. xv., xvi. From these facts it has been inferred by some that *both* these two chapters are not really part of the Epistle; but the plausibility of this inference is very different in the case of each of the two.

(1) In regard to ch. xv. it is decidedly small. (*α*) The MS. authority for the position of the doxology at the end of ch. xiv. is not great, for almost all the best MSS. (ℵ B C D) and several versions place it after xvi. 23 or 24. (*β*) The beginning of ch. xv. (1–6) is a conclusion to the preceding argument in ch. xiv., without which the previous chapter is incomplete: *vv.* 7–13 support the argument by quotations from the Old Testament; whilst the subsequent passage (*vv.* 14–end) relates to

[1] Cf. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 408, 409.

the collection for Jerusalem, to which references occur in 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1 f., 2 *Cor.* viii. 1 (letters which were composed almost contemporaneously with *Romans*, though before it). The omission of ch. xv., as well as of ch. xvi., by Marcion was probably due to his objection to the Old Testament, from which ch. xv. contains citations (cf. also *v.* 4), and to the statement that Christ was a minister of the Circumcision (*v.* 8). Where the same two chapters were omitted (after his example), as would appear to have been the case in Africa, the position of the doxology at the close of xiv. 23 in A L_2 P_2 can be accounted for by the supposition that it was added for the purpose of Church reading, in order to give to the Epistle an appropriate termination.[1]

(2) In regard to ch. xvi. it is otherwise. The chapter is preceded by a benediction (at the close of ch. xv.), which is appropriate to the *end* of a letter; and is itself marked internally by features which appear strange in a letter sent to *Rome*. Verses 3–16 contain salutations to an exceptionally large number of persons, and *vv.* 17–18 show intimate knowledge of disputes in the Church addressed—circumstances which are surprising in light of the fact that the Roman capital was a city which St. Paul had never previously visited. As Aquila and Priscilla (Prisca), whose names occur in xvi. 3, were at Ephesus when St. Paul wrote 1 *Cor.* from that place (see 1 *Cor.* xvi. 8, 19), and were probably also there at a later date (2 *Tim.* iv. 19), it has been suggested that this chapter is part of a letter sent, not to Rome but to *Ephesus*, where the Apostle's friends must have been numerous, and where his knowledge of the Christian community was great. It is true, indeed, that the names found in ch. xvi. can almost all be paralleled from inscriptions found in Rome;[2] that Aquila and Priscilla had originally been residents at Rome, and having been compelled to leave by Claudius (*Acts* xviii. 2), may naturally be supposed to have returned thither after the death of the Emperor in 54; that Rufus, who is greeted in *v.* 13, seems to be the same as the Rufus mentioned in *Mk.* xv. 21 (a Gospel written at Rome, p. 172); that the names of Aristobulus and Narcissus (*vv.* 10, 11), whose slaves are greeted, coincide with those of a grandson of Herod, who lived in retirement and died at Rome, and of a notable Roman freedman who was put to death in the reign of Nero; and that the name of Prisca (or Priscilla) has been associated with a church on the Aventine hill since the fourth century, and with a cemetery in the catacombs.[3] Nevertheless, most of the names in the chapter occur in other places besides Rome; and the difficulties of regarding the chapter as belonging to a letter sent to Rome are really serious. (*a*) It is strange that so many persons who had laboured with, or befriended, St. Paul (*vv.* 3, 9, 12, 13), or had been fellow-prisoners with him (*v.* 7) should all have gone to Rome, and that the Apostle should be familiar, in some cases, with their activity there (*vv.* 6, 12). (*b*) It is

[1] See Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. xcvi., xcvii. Zahn holds that the doxology originally stood after xiv. 23 (*I.N.T.* i. p. 382 f.).

[2] See Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 421 f.

[3] Lake, *Early Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 332, 333; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 419, 420.

rather curious that there should have been "a church" in the house of Priscilla and Aquila both at Ephesus (1 *Cor.* xvi. 19) and at Rome (as stated here, *v.* 5). (*c*) It is hard to understand how St. Paul, who had never been at Rome, should have been acquainted with the divisions in the Church there, and the character and methods of the persons occasioning them (*vv.* 17, 18), or, if he had come to know of them by report, should not have indicated the source of his information. On the other hand, the references at once become plain if this chapter was originally part of one to the Church of Ephesus, where St. Paul had laboured for some years, where Priscilla and Aquila were staying shortly before he came there (*Acts* xviii. 24–26) and before he wrote *Romans*, where the allusion to Epænetus as the first-fruits of Asia would be appreciated (*v.* 5), and where St. Paul had anticipated that religious dissensions would arise (*Acts* xx. 29, 30). These considerations point to Ephesus as the destination of the letter to which the chapter originally belonged,[1] and which was probably written from Corinth, to commend Phœbe to the Ephesian Church (*v.* 1). The allusion to Andronicus and Julius as the writer's fellow-prisoners may be explained by reference to the many imprisonments mentioned by St. Paul in 2 *Cor.* xi. 23, of one of which Ephesus may have been the scene.[2] This fragment of a letter to Ephesus was perhaps attached to the Epistle to the *Romans*, on the occasion of a copy of the latter (which was of a character likely to cause its circulation outside Rome itself) having reached Ephesus.

(3) In ch. xvi. the majority of the best uncials (ℵ A B C) have the words "The grace of our Lord," etc., only at *v.* 20; D E F_2 G_2 have it only in *v.* 24; L_2 has it in both these places; and P_2 has it after *v.* 27. The preponderance of textual authority is in favour of *v.* 20 as the right position. The chapter was doubtless meant to end originally at *v.* 20, then a post-script (*vv.* 21–24) to the letter (to Ephesus) was added (partly by Tertius, the Apostle's amanuensis), and to this was finally appended by the Apostle himself the doxology in *vv.* 25–27 to round off the conclusion. By some scholars, however, this doxology (marked by an anacoluthon) is considered to be an unconnected fragment.[3]

Attempts have been made to explain the peculiarities just described by supposing that St. Paul issued the Epistle in two forms (or recensions)—as a letter addressed to the Roman Church and as a circular letter suited for other Churches. The supposition that it served as a circular letter will account for its having been received at Ephesus, where a fragment of another letter became appended to it (if ch. xvi. originally had no connexion with the other fifteen chapters). The hypothesis, however, of two recensions does not find much support in the usage of St. Paul, who certainly in one case, when wishing a letter to reach more than one Church, directed that it should be sent on by the Church that first received

[1] Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 135 f.

[2] Cf. also the allusion in 2 *Cor.* i. 8 to the afflictions sustained by St. Paul in Asia, and 2 *Cor.* vi. 5 (*in imprisonments*).

[3] See Bacon, *I.N.T.* p. 104 (note).

it (see *Col.* iv. 16); whilst the instance of a circular letter, supposed to be furnished by *Ephesians*, is probably illusory (p. 291).[1]

The Epistle to the Colossians

The Church at Colossæ

The town of Colossæ (or as it was called later, Colassæ) was comprised in the country of Phrygia, but belonged administratively to the Roman province of Asia (p. 66). It was situated on the Lycus, a small affluent of the Mæander, which in the time of Herodotus ran underground for half a mile (Hdt. iii. 30), though this feature, if the site of the place has been correctly identified, has now disappeared. Styled by both Herodotus (fifth century B.C.) and Xenophon (431–355 B.C.) an important city, it is described by Strabo (b. about 63 B.C.) as a small town (*πόλισμα*), the inhabitants of which derived much revenue from a dye to which the place gave its name. During the reign of Nero in A.D. 60 or 64 (according to Tacitus and Eusebius respectively) it, together with the cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis, was destroyed by an earthquake,[2] and perhaps (unlike Laodicea) it never recovered from the disaster.

The Christian Church at Colossæ was not founded by St. Paul, for in his letter to it he represents his acquaintance with its religious life as depending not upon personal knowledge, but upon hearsay (i. 4, 9); and he seems to include the members of it among those who had never seen him (ii. 1). The circumstance seems strange in view of the fact that the main road from South Galatia to Ephesus passed through it; but the perplexity is cleared up by the statement in *Acts* xix., that when St. Paul, in the course of his Third Missionary journey, travelled from the Galatic district and Phrygia to Ephesus, he did not take the regular route (p. 269). But if the Apostle never visited Colossæ personally, he was doubtless responsible for its evangelization. During his protracted residence at Ephesus between A.D. 52 and 53, it is reasonable to suppose that in prosecuting his missionary labours in the province of Asia (*Acts* xix. 26), he largely used the aid of some of his disciples. In the case of Colossæ he employed the services of Epaphras (*Col.* i. 6, 7), whose efforts to disseminate the Christian faith extended to Laodicea and Hierapolis also (*Col.* iv. 12, 13), and who was probably helped by Philemon (*Phm.* 1). Nothing is known of the nationality of Epaphras beyond the fact that he probably belonged to Colossæ (*Col.* iv. 12), and was presumably not of Jewish origin, since he is not comprised in iv. 11 amongst those of the Circumcision. Certainly the Colossian Christians were in the main Gentiles, for St. Paul speaks of "the mystery among the Gentiles which is Christ in you the hope of glory" (*Col.* i. 27); alludes to their uncircumcision

[1] See a long discussion in Lake, *Earlier Epp. of St. Paul*, p. 335 f.

[2] By Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 27) Colossæ is not mentioned, but the shock which destroyed Laodicea doubtless extended to the towns in its vicinity as represented by Eusebius.

(ii. 13); and refers to their lives before their conversion in terms not generally appropriate to Jews (i. 21). The Christian community at Colossæ seems to have met in the house of Philemon (*Phm.* 2), and Archippus was a leading member and minister in it (*Col.* iv. 17).

Place, Date, and Occasion of the Letter

The Epistle, which contains greetings from Timothy, was composed when St. Paul was a prisoner (iv. 3, 10); and though he was in confinement at Cæsarea (56–58) before being carried to Rome (where he was in captivity from 59 to 61), it seems more probable that it was written from the latter than from the former place. The Apostle, it is true, was not treated rigorously at either city (*Acts* xxiv. 23, xxviii. 30, 31), and Aristarchus (iv. 10) was at both places with him, for he accompanied him on the voyage from Palestine to Italy (*Acts* xxvii. 2). But the runaway slave, Onesimus, who was the companion of Tychicus, the bearer of the letter (iv. 9), would be more secure at Rome than at Cæsarea; and if the Epistle had been sent from Cæsarea, the allusions to friends who were sending greetings (iv. 10–14) would have doubtless included the name of Philip the Evangelist,[1] who was a resident there (*Acts* xxi. 8). Moreover, it is improbable that the evangelistic work alluded to in the letter (iv. 11) could have been carried on at Cæsarea, whereas it was possible at Rome (*Acts* xxviii. 30); and a fact also pointing to Rome is the expectation, entertained by the Apostle at this time, of an early decision of his case (*Phm.* 22, a letter written simultaneously with *Col.*, see p. 293). The date of its composition was probably 59 or early in 60, for there is no allusion in it to the earthquake which, according to Tacitus, destroyed the cities of the Lycus valley in the latter year.

Information about the Colossian Church had reached St. Paul through Epaphras (i. 8), and had rendered him anxious about it. There had been introduced into it doctrines which in the field of both thought and conduct were inconsistent with the true faith of the Christian Church. These doctrines attached importance to circumcision (ii. 11), to matters of food, and to the observance of Sabbaths, new moons, and other feasts (ii. 16); so that they point to contact with Judaism. It does not appear, however, that the advocates of these views contended, like Judaistic Christians in general, that circumcision and obedience to the Mosaic Law were essential to salvation, but only that they conduced to Christian perfection; and they were characterized by certain tenets distinct from those of the Judaizers, such as the worship of angels and the practice of abstinence not only in respect of meats and drink but perhaps also of marriage (ii. 21), amounting to asceticism. The angels seem to have been regarded as elemental powers controlling the planets and other luminaries (ii. 18, *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*), and perhaps determining, through the motions of these, the days and seasons which were religiously observed. Prayer to the angels as intercessors, instead of appeals addressed directly

[1] Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 159.

to God, was claimed to be a mark of humility and of spiritual superiority (ii. 18), whilst the ascetic practices mentioned seem to imply that contact with material things was avoided so far as possible, as involving pollution by evil. The innovators thus appear to have made pretensions to a deeper wisdom and to a more refined purity than were possessed by their fellow-Christians (ii. 23). It is an attractive suggestion that the views current among the Colossians were akin to those of the Essenes, for, as has been shown, these were especially careful to do no work on the Sabbath, drank no wine, abstained from marriage, and believed in the existence of angels (see p. 104). The communities of the Essenes, indeed, lived in Palestine, not in the Roman province of Asia; but it is not improbable that sympathy with some of their doctrines prevailed amongst Jews resident elsewhere; and numbers of Jews are known to have been settled in Lydia and Phrygia, whither they were deported from Babylonia by Antiochus the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 4). But though there are affinities between the errors of the Colossian Church and the beliefs of the Essenes, the importance assigned to angels, which is among the principal of the errors combated by St. Paul, seems to go beyond anything known to have been distinctive of Essenism. These angel mediators bear some resemblance to the hierarchy of subordinate agencies which in the system of the later Gnostics were thought to intervene between the Deity and the material world; so that, on the whole, the views introduced into Colossæ by certain teachers (ii. 8) under the name of "philosophy" were most likely syncretistic—a mixed product of Judaism and of local speculations of the kind that subsequently developed into Gnosticism. To counteract such St. Paul insisted upon the sufficiency, for redemption and reconciliation, of Christ, in whom dwelt all the plenitude of the Godhead in corporeal form, through whom all things were created and in whom all things consisted, who was the head of all the angelic powers worshipped by the Colossians, and in whom they were circumcised with a circumcision which divested them of all the corrupt affections of the flesh. In Him was to be found the true wisdom and the perfect knowledge (ii. 3, cf. i. 9) to which those who sought to mislead the Colossians falsely laid claim (ii. 8).

The Epistle was conveyed to Colossæ by Tychicus, a native of the province of Asia (*Acts* xx. 4), who was accompanied by Onesimus, a slave who had escaped from his master, and whom St. Paul was sending back (see p. 293). The Epistle to Colossæ was not the only one written to the Christians of Asia about this time by St. Paul. A letter was also carried by Tychicus, intended, mediately or immediately, for Laodicea, a city some twelve miles west of Colossæ; and in the Colossian letter directions were given (iv. 16) that the communications received by these two churches should be exchanged.[1] It has been suspected by some that the Epistle styled *To the Ephesians* is really the letter which the Colossians were to get from Laodicea; and the resemblance between *Col.* and *Eph.* is certainly

[1] In *Col.* iv. 16 *the epistle from Laodicea* obviously means a letter which the Colossians were to receive from the Laodiceans, to whom it had been sent by St. Paul.

so striking that, if they are both St. Paul's, they must have been written within a very short period of one another; or else one has been composed, on the basis of the other, by a later writer. The question, however, of these two alternatives is best reserved for consideration in connexion with *Eph.*

The Epistle to the Ephesians

Authenticity

The authenticity of *Ephesians* has been denied more persistently than that of any of the letters associated with St. Paul, except the Pastoral Epistles. This is not occasioned by any serious deficiency in the external evidence, for it is reckoned as St. Paul's in the Muratorian Fragment, and it has early attestation from Patristic writers, as will appear from the following instances of its use.[1]

(*a*) Clement of Rome (d. *circ.* A.D. 95) ch. 46, "Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that has been shed upon us, and one calling in Christ?" (cf. *Eph.* iv. 4–6); ch. 36, "The eyes of our hearts were opened" (cf. *Eph.* i. 18); ch. 38, "Let each man be subject to his neighbours" (cf. *Eph.* v. 21).

(*b*) Ignatius (d. 110–120) *ad Eph.* i., "Being imitators of God" (cf. *Eph.* v. 1); *ad Pol.* 5, "To love our partners as Christ loved the Church" (cf. *Eph.* v. 29).

(*c*) Polycarp (d. 156) ch. 1, "By grace are ye saved, not by works" (cf. *Eph.* ii. 5–9).

(*d*) Irenæus (d. 202) *adv. hær.* v. 2, 3, "As the blessed Paul saith in his letter to the Ephesians that we are members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones" (cf. *Eph.* v. 30).

These quotations suffice to prove that it was in existence at the end of the first century, or beginning of the second century A.D., and that by the end of the second century it was believed to be St. Paul's.

The reasons that have caused its genuineness to be doubted are internal, and are of the following nature.

(1) It bears an extremely close resemblance to *Colossians*, it being stated that out of the 156 verses of *Eph.*, seventy-eight contain expressions identical with those in *Col.*,[2] and that the parts of the latter which are not represented in *Eph.* are almost confined to the warnings against the false teaching prevalent at Colossæ (*Col.* ii.) and the personal salutations and messages (*Col.* iv. 10, 18). It is impossible here to compare all the similar passages,[3] but besides the beginning and the conclusion (*Col.* i. 1, 2 = *Eph.* i. 1, 2; *Col.* iv. 7, 8 = *Eph.* vi. 21, 22) the following parallels are typical:—

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[1] See Abbott, *Eph. and Col.* pp. ix.–xiii.; Bacon, *Int. N. T.* p. 116 note.

[2] Davidson, *Int. to N.T.* ii. p. 200.

[3] A very full list of parallel passages is given in Moffatt, *I.N.T.* pp. 375–381; see also Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, ch. vi.

(*a*) *Col.* i. 13, 14. The Son of his love, in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins.	*Eph.* i. 6, 7. The Beloved, in whom we have our redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses.
(*b*) *Col.* ii. 19, From whom all the body being supplied and knit together (*ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συνβιβαζόμενον*) through the joints and bands increaseth with the increase of God.	*Eph.* iv. 16 From whom all the body fitly framed and knit together (*συνβιβαζόμενον*) through every joint of the supply (*τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας*) . . . maketh the increase of the body.
(*c*) *Col.* iii. 6. Because of which things cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of disobedience.	*Eph.* v. 6 Because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of disobedience.
(*d*) *Col.* iii. 9. Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his doings and have put on the new man.	*Eph.* iv. 22. That ye put away, as concerning your former manner of life, the old man . . . and that ye . . . put on the new man.

Cf. also the following:—

(*e*) *Col.* ii. 13, 14.	*Eph.* ii. 1, 5, 15.
(*f*) *Col.* iii. 16.	*Eph.* v. 19.
(*g*) *Col.* iii. 22.	*Eph.* vi. 5, 6.

(2) The vocabulary of the Epistle is rather peculiar. Some thirty-eight words (exclusive of proper names and quotations from the Old Testament) occur in it, which are found nowhere else in the New Testament; and about the same number are said not to occur elsewhere in St. Paul (if the Pastorals are assumed to be not genuine), though found elsewhere in the New Testament.[1]

(3) The style is involved and rather verbose, being characterized by lengthy and badly articulated sentences (*e.g.* i. 3–10, 15–21, iii. 1–7, 8–12, 14–19), by the frequent occurrence of particular constructions (such as the use of the genitive case and of the preposition *ἐν*), and by a tendency to pleonasm (*e.g.* i. 5, *τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ*, i. 11, *τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ*, ii. 2, *τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος*, iv. 23, *τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν*.

(4) Two phrases in particular have been deemed suspicious, *viz.* the reference to *Apostles and prophets* (ii. 20), and to the *holy Apostles and prophets* (iii. 5), suggesting that the writer was not himself an Apostle; and the claim in iii. 3, 4 to have understanding in the mystery of Christ, suggesting that the writer wished his teaching to be taken for St. Paul's, and appealed to the letter he was composing to justify his pretensions.

In view of these features it has been concluded by many that *Eph.* is an expansion of *Col.*, lacking the local references and personal greetings of the latter; and was produced by a later writer for the benefit of the Church in general. But the reasons for denying its Pauline origin are not convincing. (1) Its resemblance to *Col.* is more intelligible if it was written by St. Paul about the same time as the latter, than if composed by another person, who by extracting on a large scale phrases from *Col.*,

[1] Notable among them is *ὁ διάβολος* for which elsewhere St. Paul uses *ὁ Σατανᾶς*. The phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις* is found five times in *Eph.*, but nowhere else in St. Paul (though he has *ἐπουράνιος* five times (1 *Cor.* xv. 40, etc.)).

constructed a patchwork counterfeiting an original work. For the composition of such, involving great trouble, there seems to be lacking any adequate motive, in view of the co-existence with it of *Colossians*, its model. (2) The number of words peculiar to the Epistle can be paralleled from other letters of St. Paul; for example, *Galatians*, a work not quite so long as *Ephesians*, has not less than thirty-one; and *Philippians*, only two-thirds as long, has at least as many. It may be noticed that seven words, if not more, are common to *Colossians* and *Ephesians*, but absent from every other Pauline Epistle. (3) The style appears not so much to be unlike that of St. Paul as to exhibit extreme examples of features occurring in letters of indisputable genuineness; for long and loosely-jointed sentences are found in *Rom.* i. 1–7, *Col.* i. 9–12. Moreover the connective διό, which is frequent in the acknowledged Pauline Epistles (occurring twenty-one times) appears five times in this Epistle. (4) The pre-eminent place which St. Paul assigned in the Church to the Apostles appears from 1 *Cor.* xii. 28, where "Apostles"[1] are named first and "prophets" are enumerated next; nor is the use of the epithet ἅγιοι in connexion with them impossible for St. Paul, since it is clearly to be understood in the sense of "consecrated" (by calling), not "saintly" (in personal character)[2]; and St. Paul's modest estimate of himself is manifest in iii. 8. Nor is there anything incompatible with St. Paul's authorship in iii. 3, 4, since the appeal to the contents of the letter as proof of his inspiration is natural in an Epistle sent to churches which he had never visited (p. 285).

On the whole, then, both the likenesses and the differences between *Col.* and *Eph.* seem sufficiently accounted for (*a*) by the usual explanation that both letters were written under similar circumstances (*Col.* iv. 3, *Eph.* vi. 20), but that in *Col.* he was addressing a Church in which certain erroneous doctrines had been introduced, whilst in *Eph.* he was writing to churches (p. 292) where no such teaching was current, but where much of the contents of the previous letter was likely to be of service; (*b*) by the supposition (if the features of style seem to require it) that St. Paul dictated the two letters to different persons who acted on occasions as his secretaries. *Colossians* was clearly written by an amanuensis (*Col.* iv. 18); and it is not unreasonable to suspect that the Apostle was similarly aided in the penning of *Eph.*, though not by the same individual.

Destination

But whilst it is probable that the Epistle was written by St. Paul, it is equally probable that it was not written to the Church of Ephesus. (1) In i. 1 the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are omitted by the uncials ℵ and B, and by the corrector of the cursive 67. (2) The Patristic writers Tertullian, Origen, and Basil furnish evidence of the existence of manuscripts from

[1] The term need not be confined to the Twelve, but taken to include all travelling missionaries of the Gospel.

[2] Cf. Peake, *Int. to N.T.* p. 57.

which the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* were absent. Tertullian (*circ.* 220) affirms that Marcion falsified the title of the Epistle, asserting that it was sent to the *Laodiceans*; but in support of the charge of falsification he appeals not to the evidence of the text but to the truth of the Church, so that in the manuscripts used by both himself and Marcion the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, which would have settled the matter, cannot have been included.[1] By Basil (*circ.* 350) it is stated that his predecessors (*οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν*) and the most ancient manuscripts which he had consulted alike recorded the latter half of the opening verse in the form *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰήσου*. (3) The contents of the letter are very difficult to reconcile with the supposition that it was intended expressly for the Ephesians, amongst whom St. Paul had lived and worked for nearly three years (*Acts* xx. 31, cf. xix. 8, 10, 22), for (*a*) it seems to be implied that the writer's knowledge of the Church addressed, and its knowledge of him, had been obtained by report only, as in the case of the Colossians (i. 15, iii. 2, iv. 21), and that he had had no share in founding it; (*b*) there is a complete absence of salutations and of personal reminiscences, such as occur in *Colossians*, though that was written to a Church which St. Paul had never visited. It is almost incomprehensible that an Epistle "more like a treatise than a letter,"[2] in which no individual friends are greeted, should have been sent to a Church with the members of which the Apostle had the affectionate relations represented in *Acts* xx. 17–38.

If the letter was not directed to Ephesus, it must have been either (1) a circular letter meant for several churches in the province of Asia, but for none of them in particular, so that no name was inserted in it by the writer; or else (2) it was dispatched to some individual Church other than Ephesus, the name of which was lost at an early date.

(1) The first of these alternatives has been held to be favoured by the absence of local or personal allusions, and it has been suggested (*a*) that in i. 1, after the words *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι* a blank was left,[3] in which the name of each Church that the letter reached could be inserted when it was read; or (*b*) that no name was intended to be mentioned, but that the words *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς* were meant to signify "to the saints that are also faithful," or "to the saints existing and faithful," or "to the saints who are really such, and faithful." It can be urged against the various forms assumed by this explanation (*a*) that for the hypothesis of a blank space in a circular letter no support is afforded by other Epistles intended for readers scattered over a wider area than a single city, since in these either a comprehensive address occurs (as in 1 *Cor.* i. 1, 1 *Pet.* i. 1), or the name of the Church receiving the letter first is used, and a direction added that the communication is to be forwarded to a second Church (as in *Col.* i. 2, iv. 16); (*b*) that the proposed

[1] Tertullian's words are *Ecclesiæ quidem veritate epistulam istam "ad Ephesios" habemus emissam, non "ad Laodicenos," sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit.* This passage in Origen is given at length in T. K. Abbott, *Eph. and Col.* p. ii.; J. A. Robinson, *Eph.* p. 292.

[2] T. K. Abbott, *Eph. and Col.* p. iii.

[3] In this case an *ἐν* might be expected after *τοῖς οὖσιν*.

translations of *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιστοῖς* are unnatural, and that the presence, originally, of a place-name after *τοῖς οὖσι* is rendered extremely probable by the close parallels of *Rom.* i. 7 *πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ρώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ*, 2 *Cor.* i. 1 *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ*, and *Phil.* i. 1 *πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις*.

(2) Since the difficulties attaching to the first alternative render the second the most probable, it remains to consider what name (other than Ephesus) has been accidentally lost after *τοῖς οὖσι*. It is clear from *Col.* iv. 16 that a letter was received from St. Paul by the Church at *Laodicea*; and this has been identified with the present Epistle. The identification is plausible and may be accepted, but it is not necessary to suppose that the *first* destination of this letter was Laodicea, and that the words that originally followed *τοῖς οὖσι* were *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ*. It is a serious objection to such a supposition that greetings to the brethren at Laodicea are conveyed to them in a communication sent, in the first instance, to the Colossians (*Col.* iv. 15). In view of this, it may be here suggested that the name lost after *τοῖς οὖσι* is that of *Hierapolis* (cf. *Col.* iv. 13). This place, situated six miles to the north of Laodicea, would be the first of the three cities in the Lycus valley to be reached by Tychicus, the bearer of "*Ephesians*" (vi. 21), if he travelled from Rome to them by the overland route along the *via Egnatia* (p. 75), and through Neapolis, Troas, Pergamum and Sardis; and, as it was not visited (so far as is known) by St. Paul, it may well be that neither he nor his friends at Rome had personal acquaintances there. The absence of any mention of the city in *Revelation* favours the inference that the Christian Church there was small. If "*Ephesians*" were really directed to Hierapolis in the first instance, it was probably intended to be sent on next to Laodicea, and afterwards to Colossæ (*Col.* iv. 16). It is noteworthy that in the passage just cited the Apostle describes the letter which the Colossians are to read as the Epistle *from* (not *to*) *Laodicea*, which suggests that the letter in question was not sent *directly to* the Laodiceans. The words *ἐν Ἱεραπόλει* may have been obliterated in i. 1 through some injury to the papyrus on which the letter was written; and the absence of them (it may be presumed) has been faithfully reproduced in ℵ and B. But since any writing of St. Paul's would be valued at Ephesus, no doubt copies of the letter to Hierapolis would reach it, or be made there; and later transcribers of these might easily assume that the city where such copies occurred was the original destination of the letter, and so supply the lost words by *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, which are found in all uncials except the two just named.

Occasion and Date

If the Epistle was really written by St. Paul, its close relation to *Colossians* shows that it must have been composed when his mind was still full of the ideas and phraseology that occur in the latter, so that the occasion and time of its production are determined by those of the companion Epistle. As has been seen, *Col.* was written during St. Paul's

imprisonment, probably at Rome,[1] at the end of 59 or the beginning of 60, and was conveyed to Colossæ by Tychicus. The dispatch of this letter, elicited by the erroneous teaching which was penetrating the Colossian Church, afforded an opportunity of sending by the same messenger another (the present) letter, written under the same circumstances (iv. 1, vi. 20), to the adjoining town of Hierapolis, whence it was to be passed on to Laodicea. Although the letter to Hierapolis would reach first those for whom it was intended (p. 292), yet if it was to be transmitted to Laodicea and then to Colossæ, it would not arrive at the latter town until after the receipt there of the Epistle to the Colossians (as implied in *Col.* iv. 16).

The Epistle to Philemon

Destination, Occasion, and Date

This Epistle is the only private letter of St. Paul's (apart from the Pastorals) that has been preserved, and was penned by his own hand (*v.* 19). It was addressed by St. Paul (who in writing it associated Timothy with himself, cf. *Col.* i. 1, *Phil.* i. 1) to Philemon (together with Apphia[2] and Archippus, probably his wife and son). Philemon seems to have been a resident at Colossæ, where the Christian community met at his house (*Phm.* 2). He had been converted to Christianity by St. Paul himself (*v.* 19), doubtless during the latter's long residence at Ephesus (*Acts* xix. 8–10); and perhaps subsequently taken part in spreading the Gospel among his fellow-citizens (*v.* 1). The occasion which elicited the letter was the return to him, at the instance of St. Paul, of Onesimus, a Colossian slave[3] (*Col.* iv. 9), who had escaped from him, taken refuge at Rome (see p. 286), and there been won to the Christian faith by the Apostle, who, though wishful to keep him owing to his helpfulness (*vv.* 11–13), yet sent him back with a letter explaining the circumstances. Onesimus accompanied Tychicus, who was the bearer of the Epistle to Colossæ; and the letter to Philemon was obviously composed at the same time and place as the latter, since all the persons mentioned in it as sending their salutations (*vv.* 23, 24) occur amongst those named in *Col.* iv. 10–17; so that if the argument (p. 286) that *Colossians* was written from Rome be sound, the conclusion follows that *Philemon* was sent from the same city, the date being probably 59, or the beginning of A.D. 60.

The Epistle to the Philippians

Philippi was the first place where the Christian faith was preached in Europe. Of the character of the Christian Church established there a

[1] There is a suggestive coincidence between the phrase (vi. 20) *πρεσβεύω ἐν ἁλύτει* and *Acts* xxviii. 2 *τὴν ἄλυσιν ταύτην περίκειμαι*, the singular being used in each case.

[2] This is thought to be a Phrygian name and not the Roman *Appia*.

[3] The name was specially common amongst slaves.

very favourable impression is derived from St. Paul's letter to it. His high opinion of it is manifest in more than one expression of commendation and affection (ii. 12, iv. 1). Though it was almost entirely Gentile, it was not marked by the licence which was so often rife in Gentile Churches. The letter, indeed, contains warnings against those who seemingly abused the Apostle's doctrine of righteousness through faith, and made it a pretext for profligacy, but there is no suggestion that such antinomianism was widespread in the Philippian Church. Nor again does it appear that emissaries of the Judaistic Christians were active there. Cautions are given against yielding to the claims of Judaism; but there is no hint that those who advocated such claims had in any way diverted the allegiance of the Philippians from St. Paul. Their principal fault was a tendency to dissensions, which seem to have been due not to doctrinal differences but to personal rivalries and ambitions (iv. 2). In consequence of such, St. Paul presses upon them the need of unity, counselling them to avoid disputes and disunion, to cultivate self-effacement, and to keep in mind the humility of Christ (i. 27, ii. 2–8).

Place of Origin, Date, and Occasion of the Epistle

The letter was written by St. Paul when a prisoner. Since he was a captive for at least two years both at Cæsarea and at Rome and had been imprisoned for shorter periods in other places (2 *Cor.* vi. 5, xi. 23), Ephesus being probably among them (cf. p. 284), it is, in the abstract, possible that it was composed at any of these cities. But that Rome was really the place of origin is favoured by various allusions. (*a*) Timothy is included with the writer, as in the case of *Col.* and *Philem.* (probably written from Rome, p. 293). (*b*) Reference is made to the fact that his imprisonment for the Christian faith had become known to the Prætorian guard (i. 13), for that this is the sense of τὸ πραιτώριον (which might otherwise signify the Government House at Cæsarea, and its occupants), is favoured by the addition to it of καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν. (*c*) The writer expected shortly a favourable decision of his case (ii. 24, cf. i. 26), which is against Cæsarea. (*d*) He sends greetings from Christians belonging to the Emperor's household (iv. 22). These features in the letter do not exclude Ephesus, for (*a*) Timothy was there (*Acts* xix. 22); (*b*) the Apostle was probably imprisoned there; (*c*) Prætorian troops and (*d*) members of the imperial household were there (as proved by inscriptions) [1]; but they point with greater plausibility to Rome. If this conclusion be accepted, the date of it must fall within 59–61, the two years which St. Paul spent in prison at the capital whilst awaiting trial. The occasion which led to its dispatch was the intended return to Philippi of Epaphroditus, the messenger who had brought to St. Paul funds supplied by the Philippians, and who, having recently recovered from a serious illness, was desirous of seeing his friends again (ii. 25–27). The Apostle took advantage of his journey to send by him [2] a letter to the Philippian

[1] These are quoted in McNeile, *St. Paul*, p. 229.
[2] In ii. 25 the aorists ἡγησάμην and ἔπεμψα are epistolary.

Church, perhaps in answer to a letter from it (cf. ii. 25), conveying to its members his gratitude for their kindness, and giving them information about himself and his prospects, at the same time addressing to them such admonitions as they seemed to him to require. In the salutation (as has been said) he unites with himself Timothy (who was known to the Philippian Christians (*Acts* xvi. 1 f. and p. 542 f.) and had joined him at Rome); but the Epistle is written throughout in the first person singular.

It has been questioned whether the letter was composed at an early or a late period in St. Paul's imprisonment; but the considerations that favour the latter view preponderate. (i) Sufficient time had elapsed for his influence as a prisoner for the Christian faith to extend to his surroundings (i. 12, 13). (ii) Several communications must have passed between Rome and Philippi, for (*a*) news had reached Philippi of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome; (*b*) money had been sent from Philippi to Rome through Epaphroditus (iv. 18), who after his arrival had fallen ill; (*c*) information of his illness had been received at Philippi (ii. 26); (*d*) word must have come of the Philippians' distress at the tidings (ii. 26). (iii) After the departure of Epaphroditus, the only person in full sympathy with St. Paul was Timothy (ii. 19, 20), so that it may be inferred that Aristarchus and Luke, who had accompanied the Apostle to Rome (*Acts* xxvii. 2), can have been no longer there. Moreover when *Phil.* was written Timothy was shortly leaving Rome (*Phil.* ii. 19), whereas nothing is said about his departure in *Col.* or *Philem.* (iv) A crisis in his imprisonment was close at hand (ii. 23); and though he professes himself hopeful of the result of the trial (which was clearly impending when he wrote), the tone of the Epistle is not so buoyant as that of the letter to Philemon, which was written at the same time as that to Colossæ (p. 293). (v) When *Philippians* was written, St. Paul seems to have contemplated a visit to Macedonia in the event of his release (*Phil.* ii. 24), whereas when composing *Philemon* he had looked forward to a visit to Colossæ (*v.* 22), so that the change of plan presumes some interval between these two letters. The date of *Phil.* may therefore be plausibly assigned to the beginning of 61. The only counter-balancing arguments of any weight are (*a*) various parallels in thought and expression between this Epistle and that to the *Romans* (written in 56), suggesting that a shorter interval separated these than elapsed between the other Epistles of the captivity and *Romans* [1]; (*b*) the less lofty heights of doctrine attained in this Epistle, as compared with the letters to the Colossians and Ephesians, pointing to the existence of a less advanced stage of Church development at Philippi than at Colossæ or Ephesus, so that it is argued that *Philippians* is prior in time to *Colossians* or *Ephesians*.[2] But the difference in the teaching may be explained by a difference in the character and circumstances of the Churches concerned, as easily as by any sequence in time.[3] Advanced

[1] Cf. i. 10 with *Rom.* ii. 18, ii. 2 with *Rom.* xii. 16, ii. 3 with *Rom.* xii. 10, ii. 10 with *Rom.* xiv. 11, iii. 4, 5 with *Rom.* xi. 1, iv. 18 with *Rom.* xii. 1. See further in Lightfoot, *Phil.* pp. 43, 44.

[2] See Lightfoot, *Phil.* pp. 41–46.

[3] Cf. Vincent, *Phil.* xxiv.; Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 170.

theological speculations may be current earlier in one place than another, and a wise teacher adapts his instructions to his disciples' needs. It would have been superfluous for St. Paul in a letter to Philippi to deal with errors which had not appeared there, though prevalent at Colossæ.

The letter appears not to have been dictated uninterruptedly. The conclusion, begun at iii. 1, is re-commenced at iv. 8 ; and there is a benediction both in iv. 7 and iv. 23. The argumentative and denunciatory tone of the passage iii. 2–iv. 1 (so unlike the rest of the Epistle) has suggested to some that it is part of a different letter.

The Pastoral Epistles

The Pastoral Epistles, unlike all the other letters ascribed to St. Paul (except *Philemon*), are addressed not to Churches but to individuals. The three letters (1, 2 *Timothy*, *Titus*), which are collectively thus designated on account of the pastoral duties enjoined in them, exhibit so much resemblance to one another that, if authentic, they must have been written within a short interval of each other, and in any discussion of their origin they are best treated as a group. Of no others of the letters associated with the name of St. Paul is the genuineness so widely disputed, partly on external grounds, but chiefly in consequence of their contents and style. The chief feature in the external evidence against them is their rejection by Marcion (*circ.* A.D. 140), who, since he sought to free the Church from the influence of Judaism, and accordingly attached great value to St. Paul's writings, would probably have included these Epistles in his New Testament canon if he had not entertained doubts about their authenticity. It is, however, mainly for internal reasons that their genuineness has been called in question, so that consideration of the external evidence may be more advantageously deferred till later (p. 303). These internal reasons are : (1) The allusions in them to various circumstances and incidents to which there are no references in *Acts*, and which are not very easily fitted into the period of history covered by *Acts*. (2) The character of the protestations and admonitions addressed in them to Timothy and Titus, which appears out of keeping with the long and intimate friendship subsisting between St. Paul and both of them. (3) The emphasis laid upon Church organization, to which it is thought St. Paul would have attached less importance. (4) Suspicions raised by the nature of the erroneous teaching denounced, which has been regarded as pointing to conditions prevailing after St. Paul's lifetime. (5) The stress placed upon " works," which is unlike St. Paul's habit. (6) The contrast presented by the style to that of St. Paul's undisputed letters, and the large number of words either peculiar to each of the three Epistles or occurring in these collectively but nowhere else in the New Testament.

(1) Preparatory to considering in detail the allusions to temporal and local circumstances comprised in the Epistles, it will be convenient to summarize what is narrated elsewhere respecting the relations of St. Paul to the two individuals to whom the letters are inscribed.

(*a*) Timothy, the son of a Greek father but a Jewish mother, and a native of Lystra, was converted during St. Paul's First missionary Journey, probably by the Apostle himself (1 *Cor.* iv. 17), and was taken as his companion in the course of his Second Journey. He was with him in Macedonia, was left behind at Beroea, joined him at Athens, was sent back to Thessalonica, rejoined him at Corinth and, though his subsequent movements are not described, he may have accompanied St. Paul to Ephesus and have stayed there (*Acts* xviii. 19). At any rate he was at that city when the Apostle visited it during his Third journey (*Acts* xix. 1), and was sent by him, towards the close of his stay there (which lasted more than two years and three months), to Corinth by way of Macedonia (p. 276). He returned quickly from Corinth and then went again with St. Paul to the same locality. From Corinth he returned with the Apostle, but instead of travelling by land, went by sea to Troas and joined him there (*Acts* xx. 4). After this he is not again named in *Acts*. He was with St. Paul at Rome (*Col.* i. 1, *Philemon* 1, and *Phil.* i. 1), and from thence the Apostle thought of sending him to Philippi (*Phil.* ii. 19). He is nowhere again mentioned except in the Pastoral Epistles.

(*b*) Titus, born of Gentile parents (*Gal.* ii. 3), was at Antioch when St. Paul went thither after his First journey, and was taken by him to Jerusalem, when he had an interview with the elder Apostles in 49. On St. Paul's Second journey he was with him at Ephesus, and probably went three times to Corinth on missions for the Apostle. (*α*) He was most likely the bearer of 1 *Cor.*; (*β*) he carried the severe letter with which 2 *Cor.* x.–xiii. is plausibly identified (p. 277); (*γ*) on returning from Corinth by way of Macedonia, he met St. Paul there, and was sent back with another letter, comprised in 2 *Cor.* i.–ix. (p. 278). After this there is no allusion to him in the New Testament outside the letters here discussed.

Of the three Epistles the one which contains the largest number of allusions to persons, places and circumstances is 2 *Tim.* These allusions, notably the directions in iv. 13–14, together with the urgent commands in iv. 9, 21, are not exactly of the character likely to proceed from a forger; but they are difficult to harmonize with one another and with the recorded events of St. Paul's life.

(i) Two passages—i. 15–18 (with which cf. i. 8, ii. 9) and iv. 6–18—point to a period when St. Paul was in prison at Rome. The first refers to the kindly services there of a certain Onesiphorus; the second implies that St. Paul, when he wrote, was lonely and had been in danger of death; and it repeats a figure of speech used in *Phil.* ii. 17. Demas, who, when *Colossians* and *Philemon* were written from Rome (probably early in the imprisonment, p. 293), was with St. Paul, had now forsaken him and gone to Thessalonica. Mark, who was at Rome when the same two letters were written, must have left, and his return was desired. Others who are not mentioned either in *Col.* or in *Philemon* had also departed, one (Crescens) to Galatia, another (Titus) to Dalmatia, and only Luke remained. The circumstantial evidence of these passages is consistent with a date between 59 and 61, and suggests that the Epistle in whole or in part, was written at Rome, about the same time as, though later than, *Philip-*

pians, and not long before the writer's execution. Tychicus, who carried *Colossians* to its destination (*Col.* iv. 7), had been dispatched to Ephesus, presumably on his way to Colossæ (*v.* 12). The first hearing (*prima actio*) of the Apostle's trial had taken place (*v.* 16), and had issued in a remand (*ampliatio*), whereas when *Phil.* was composed the trial had seemingly not begun (cf. *Phil.* ii. 23). Timothy, to whom the letter purports to be written, and whom St. Paul had with him when *Phil.* was composed, had seemingly gone to Asia, and being expected to return to Rome by way of Troas, was requested to bring with him some articles which St. Paul, if he was writing from Rome early in 61, must have left there some three years before.

(ii) On the other hand, the short passage iv. 19–22*a* [1] does not appear to be reconcilable with a date during the imprisonment at Rome recorded in *Acts*. Clearly *v.* 21*b*, conveying salutations from a number of people, is inconsistent with the statement in *v.* 10 that only Luke was with the writer. Allusion to the fact that St. Paul had left Trophimus sick at Miletus leads to the inference that this section was written shortly after the Apostle had been at that place whilst still a free man (as happened during the Apostle's Third journey (*Acts* xx. 15)). But inasmuch as Trophimus was with St. Paul at Jerusalem at the termination of his Third journey (*Acts* xxi. 29), it seems necessary to conclude further that the section was written at some city where St. Paul stayed some little time prior to going to Jerusalem, and where Trophimus could have rejoined him. A city which would meet these requirements is Cæsarea, where St. Paul spent many days on his way from Ptolemais to the Jewish capital (*Acts* xxi. 10). From here it may be supposed that this short section was written by St. Paul in the spring of 56 to some friend at a place (Ephesus ?) where he must have had many disciples. The friend, however, can hardly have been Timothy, for Erastus is mentioned as having stayed at Corinth (he is not in the list of those who accompanied St. Paul from Greece to Asia, *Acts* xx. 4), and Timothy must have been acquainted with this circumstance, since he was one of the Apostle's companions who joined him at Troas on his last journey to Jerusalem (*Acts* xx. 5). The connexion with Asia of Onesiphorus, to whose household greetings are sent, is implied in 2 *Tim.* i. 18; while the residence at Ephesus of Aquila and Prisca (Priscilla), who are likewise saluted, appears from *Acts* xviii. 18–26.

So far as this reasoning is sound, it follows that 2 *Tim.* is not a coherent whole but consists of portions of at least two letters, composed at different dates, which have been united together. Parallels, if not certain, at least probable, are afforded by the combination in 2 *Cor.* of two distinct letters (p. 277), and the attachment to *Romans* of a fragment of a letter seemingly sent to Ephesus (p. 283).

Another possible analysis is to assign i. 15–18 and iv. 6–10 (only) to Rome and iv. 11–21*a* to Cæsarea *after St. Paul had been transferred thither from Jerusalem* by Claudius Lysias (*Acts* xxiii. 31 f.). This explanation makes more intelligible the

[1] In contrast to 22*a*, which is addressed to a single individual, 22*b* is a salutation to several persons.

request for the cloak and other articles which the Apostle may have left at Troas on his journey to Jerusalem less (perhaps much less) than two years before. The "first defence" will then be the hearing before the Jewish Sanhedrin (*Acts* xxii. 30); the desertion of friends may be that of the Jewish Christians; the support given by the Lord (*v.* 17) may refer to what is related in *Acts* xxiii. 10; the "proclamation" to the Gentiles may have in view the defence at Cæsarea before the Roman governor Felix and his retinue; and the deliverance from the lion may be explained by the adjournment of the case in spite of the eagerness of the Jews for the Apostle's conviction (*Acts* xxiv. 22). This analysis, however, leaves the reference to Trophimus and Miletus (*v.* 20) quite obscure; and it is difficult to think that St. Paul could have looked forward to spending the winter with his correspondent (*v.* 21) unless he were a free man.

The Epistle which, next to 2 *Tim.*, preserves most references to the circumstances in which it was written (wholly or in part) is *Titus*. In i. 5 it is implied that the writer had been with Titus in Crete, and had left him there. No precise indication is furnished of the place of origin of the letter; but in iii. 12 the writer directs Titus, on the arrival of a messenger (Artemas or Tychicus) to join him at Nicopolis. There were more towns than one which bore this name (in Cilicia, Thrace, and Epirus respectively); but it is generally assumed that the place meant was in the last-mentioned country, near the entrance of the Ambraciot gulf. If this is correct, the letter might be written from any town lying between Crete and North-West Greece. It is not easy to adjust to the narrative of St. Paul's movements in *Acts* a visit to Crete; but it is certain that *Acts* is a very imperfect record; and in view of this incompleteness a voyage to Crete may easily be among its omissions. The period which affords most room for the occurrence of such a visit is the interval of nearly three years spent at Ephesus (52–55) during his Third journey; and it may be supposed that he went to the island with Titus, whom he left there on his departure, and afterwards sent to him the letter here considered (perhaps from Ephesus) through the agency of Apollos [1] and Zenas. But if so, Titus came back to Ephesus before 55, for he was the bearer of various letters to Corinth from that city for the Apostle. Scope for the missionary work in Crete that is here implied is afforded by no other occasion within the period covered by *Acts*, for when the Apostle was in the island at the end of 58, on his way to Rome, he was there only through stress of weather, was a prisoner, and was seemingly not accompanied by Titus (see *Acts* xxvii. 2). Whether the contemplated journey to Nicopolis was ever accomplished there is nothing to show. Possibly the Apostle intended to break new ground in Epirus *via* Macedonia; but in consequence of his anxiety about the Corinthian Church (p. 278), changed his plans, and proceeded from Macedonia to Achaia and Corinth as related in *Acts* xx. 1, 2 (p. 279).

In 1 *Tim.* the only local reference is in i. 3, where the writer alludes to a previous exhortation to Timothy to stay at Ephesus whilst he himself goes to Macedonia. Since Timothy accompanied St. Paul to Macedonia on his Second journey in 49 (*Acts* xvi. 1, 11) and on his Third journey in

[1] Apollos, who had left Ephesus for Corinth before St. Paul's arrival at the former city (*Acts* xix. 1), must have returned.

52 (*Acts* xx. 4, 2 *Cor.* i. 1, p. 297), the occasion here implied, when he left Timothy at Ephesus, must be passed over by St. Luke in *Acts*. The only period to which such an occasion can be assigned is the long stay at Ephesus between 52 and 55; but the fact that within this period he went to Corinth (p. 276) and possibly to Crete (see above), renders the supposition less probable than it might otherwise appear to be.

This review of the allusions to St. Paul's movements in these Epistles seems to show that though it is not easy, it is not insuperably difficult to explain some, if not all, as having occurred within the period of history included in *Acts*. Eusebius, indeed, repeats a tradition that the Apostle was released after the two years mentioned in *Acts* xxviii. 30, became again a travelling evangelist, and was imprisoned at Rome a second time, during which captivity he wrote 2 *Tim.* (*H.E.* ii. 22, 2); whilst the Muratorian fragment represents that he went from Rome to Spain. If St. Paul was not put to death until 64 or 67, there is ample space between 61 and even the earlier of these dates for journeys not only to Spain but also to the East (Ephesus, Crete, Macedonia, Greece, Miletus, Troas); and many find it easier to accept the tradition of a release in 61 and a second imprisonment than to adjust to the history comprised in *Acts* the allusions in these letters. But the assumption of a release in 61 involves the assignment of the composition of *Acts* to a date anterior to such an occurrence, since it is incredible that St. Luke knew of St. Paul's liberation without saying a word about it when he wrote *Acts* xxviii.; and the objections to placing *Acts* so early are serious enough (p. 240) to render preferable the dating of the Pastorals prior to 61, if their genuineness can be successfully defended against the other suspicious features occurring in them, which remain to be considered.

(2) Even though the circumstantial allusions may admit of being more or less plausibly explained, the general tenor of the letters is not very favourable to their authenticity. For on the hypothesis that St. Paul, before writing 1 *Tim.*, had left Ephesus on a short visit to Macedonia, leaving Timothy behind (1 *Tim.* i. 3, cf. iii. 15), there hardly seems occasion for so considerable a letter of instructions to him as the one in question, seeing that the writer himself must have spent a long while in training and organizing the Ephesian Church, and certainly Timothy can scarcely have required at this late date a solemn assurance of St. Paul's apostleship (1 *Tim.* ii. 7). Similarly, if St. Paul, before writing the Epistle to *Titus*, had been recently in Crete, and had left Titus there to carry on his work, a description of the qualities essential for a bishop (or overseer) (*Tit.* i. 7 f.) seems rather superfluous. These features become more intelligible on the hypothesis that the Epistles are not *wholly* genuine, but whilst comprising authentic extracts from St. Paul's correspondence, have been expanded and modified by some later adapter for the purpose of giving to Church officials counsel which he judged to be in accordance with St. Paul's mind.

(3) The suggestion that, as the letters now stand, they include elements which do not proceed from St. Paul, but have in view conditions existing after his time, is favoured not only by the stress laid upon ecclesiastical

organization, but also by certain features of that organization. St. Paul was not indifferent to rule and order in the Church : both he and Barnabas when in South Galatia are expressly said to have appointed elders in every Church (*Acts* xiv. 23) ; elders from Ephesus were addressed at Miletus and styled bishops (*Acts* xx. 17, 28) ; bishops and deacons are greeted in the Epistle to the *Philippians* (i. 1) ; and there is nothing inherently unlikely in the representation that St. Paul commissioned Titus, as his delegate, to appoint elders in the cities of Crete (*Tit.* i. 5). But the space given in these letters to the subject of Church officers is more than might be expected from St. Paul ; there is a conspicuous absence of references to the gifts of the Spirit (save for the allusions to prophecies in 1 *Tim.* i. 18, iv. 14) ; and in addition to bishops (or overseers) and deacons, there appears also an organized body of widows (1 *Tim.* v. 9).

(4) The kind of false teachers whom the writer has in view is not easily determined, for their characteristics are only vaguely described. It is clear that some of those whose doctrines are denounced were Jews, who were led away by " fables (*μῦθοι*) and endless genealogies " (1 *Tim.* i. 3–11, *Tit.* i. 14, iii. 9), such fables and genealogies perhaps being legends (supposed to be edifying) about the patriarchs and heroes figuring in the Scriptures.[1] But others were probably Gentiles of incipient Gnostic tendencies, who were disposed to regard matter as evil and to advocate asceticism (1 *Tim.* iv. 3–5), to multiply mediators between God and man (1 *Tim.* ii. 5) and to disparage the Old Testament (2 *Tim.* iii. 16, 17), and for whose teaching the writer wished to furnish a corrective. New departures in intellectual or religious development are very difficult to date with certainty ; but on the whole the phases of thought against which these Epistles are directed seem to belong to a period rather later than St. Paul's lifetime.

(5) Much importance is attached in these letters to correctness of belief. In several passages here, but probably nowhere else in St. Paul (though see *Rom.* i. 5 mg.), *ἡ πίστις* appears to designate the intellectual content of the Christian faith formulated as a body of doctrine (1 *Tim.* iii. 9, iv. 1, 6, v. 8, vi. 10, 21, 2 *Tim.* iii. 8, iv. 7 and perhaps *Tit.* i. 13).

(6) Much stress is put upon good works (1 *Tim.* ii. 10, v. 10, 25, vi. 18, 2 *Tim.* iii. 17, *Tit.* ii. 14, iii. 4) ; no others of the Epistles attributed to St. Paul " lay at all the same emphasis on right living as the index to right belief." [2]

(7) Both the style and the vocabulary are unlike those of St. Paul's acknowledged correspondence. There is a variation in the opening salutation, " grace, mercy, and peace " being substituted for the " grace and peace " found in *Thess.*, *Gal.*, *Cor.*, *Rom.*, and the Epistles of the Captivity ; though this is of little significance. There is a comparative absence of the impetuous manner of the Apostle that elsewhere often results in broken sentences (*Eph.* iii. 1–7, iv. 1–6) [3] ; clauses are arranged

[1] Cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 135, 136. Reference is made, by way of illustration, to the book of *Jubilees*.

[2] Bernard, *Pastoral Epistles*, p. 46.

[3] An incomplete sentence occurs in 1 *Tim.* i. 1–4.

with a good deal of symmetry (1 *Tim.* v. 10, 2 *Tim.* ii. 11–13, *Tit.* i. 7–8); and there is much repetition of stereotyped phrases ("sound doctrine" (4 times), "faithful is the saying" (5),[1] "knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*) of the truth" (4), "keep (the) deposit" (3)). The vocabulary peculiar to these epistles is very noteworthy. There are at least 130 substantives, verbs, and adjectives which do not occur anywhere else in the New Testament; and the total number of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* has been calculated to amount to 176, a figure "proportionately twice as great as in any other" of the letters bearing St. Paul's name.[2] Certain words which, though not *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in the New Testament, yet are not found in any other reputed Pauline epistle are frequent here (*ἀρνέομαι* 6 times, *βέβηλος* 4, *ἐκτρέπομαι* 4, *ἐυσέβεια* 10, *μῦθος* 4, *παραιτέομαι* 4, *προσέχω* 6, *ὑγιαίνω* 8). Conversely, numerous words which occur frequently in the other epistles, and which may be deemed characteristically Pauline, are here lacking; among such are *ἀκροβυστία* (found elsewhere in Paul 19 times), *γνωρίζω* (18), *δικαιόω* (27), *ἐλεύθερος* (16), *ἐνεργέω* (17), *καταργέω* (25), *κατεργάζομαι* (20), *καυχάομαι* (35), *οὐρανός* (21), *περισσεύω* (26), *περιπατέω* (32), *πράσσω* (18), *σῶμα* (91), *φρονέω* (24), *χαρίζομαι* (16). Certain adverbs, particles, and prepositions, not uncommon in other letters, are also wanting, *e.g.* *ἄρα* (15 times elsewhere), *ἄρα οὖν* (12), *διό* (27), *διότι* (10), *ἔπειτα* (11), *οὐκέτι* (15), *οὖν* (38), *ὥστε* (39). No doubt the diction of an author varies greatly with his subject-matter; and the unique occurrence in these letters of terms like *ἀντίθεσις*, *γενεαλογία*, *ἐπισκοπή*, *λογομαχία*, *νεόφυτος*, *πάροινος*, *πρεσβῦτις*, *τεκνογονεῖν*, *ὑδροποτεῖν*, *φίλαυτος*, with many others, is amply explained by the nature of the topics dealt with. Again, the absence from the Pastorals of the words cited above is paralleled by the absence of some of them from genuine Pauline letters (for *γνωρίζω*, *κατεργάζομαι*, *φρονέω*, and *χαρίζομαι* are missing from 1, 2 *Thess.*, *ἀκροβυστία* from 1, 2 *Th.*, 2 *Cor.*, and *Phil.*, and *δικαιόω* from the same, as well as from the other Epistles of the Captivity). Even the non-occurrence of certain of the particles just noted is not unexampled elsewhere, for *ἄρα* is absent from *Phil.* and *Col.*, *οὐκέτι* from the same and 1 *Cor.*, and *ἔπειτα* from *Rom.* and 2 *Cor.*[3] Nevertheless, though these considerations impair, they do not destroy the force of the argument based upon the difference of phraseology subsisting between these Epistles and the rest of the letters associated with St. Paul's name.

In view of these peculiarities of both matter and manner (and it is the combination that is significant), it is difficult to think that the Pastorals are throughout St. Paul's handiwork. It is not improbable, indeed, that portions of original letters written by the Apostle have been used in their composition,[4] for it is unlikely that an admirer of St. Paul's, in producing a letter ostensibly proceeding from him, would have represented him as

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[1] Turner, who favours the Pauline authorship, suggests that this phrase is the marginal note of an appreciative reader (*The Study of the N. T.*, p. 21).

[2] Bernard, *Pastoral Epistles*, p. xxxvi.

[3] See *Expositor's Greek Test.* iv. pp. 69, 71.

[4] The abruptness of 2 *Tim.* i. 15–18 in its present context is very marked.

forsaken both in Asia and at Rome (2 *Tim.* i. 15, iv. 16).[1] But if so, authentic fragments seem to have been made the basis of complete Epistles which in their entirety are not the Apostle's. The practice of composing letters to represent the sentiments and views of another person seems to have been not uncommon in antiquity.[2] St. Paul himself refers to the possibility of letters circulating in the Thessalonian church which falsely purported to come from him (2 *Th.* ii. 2). Under these circumstances it seems the most plausible explanation of the conflicting features of the Pastoral Epistles to suppose that a writer, believing himself to be in accord with St. Paul's teaching, and possessing some remains of his correspondence, expanded such into these letters, in order to combat erroneous speculations in the Church by opposing to them sound teaching and an objective standard of belief. He probably lived at a time when ecclesiastical organization was growing in importance, and seemed to offer a safeguard against the spread of moral and intellectual error. Timothy and Titus are thus representative figures, standing for those whom the writer really wished to admonish and instruct.

If genuine portions of Pauline correspondence are embodied in the letters, the largest element is to be found in 2 *Tim.*, the smallest in 1 *Tim.* It is, of course, impossible to distribute with any confidence the several sections of 2 *Tim.* and *Tit.* between St. Paul and the writer who may have incorporated Pauline fragments; but it may be suggested that the following passages are authentic:—

2 *Tim.* i. 1–10 ? 15–18 [3]; ii. 1–10 ? iii. 10–12; iv. 6–18,[3] 19–22.[4]

Titus i. 1–5; iii. 12–15.[5]

In 2 *Tim.* it seems probable the iv. 1–5 is not part of the authentic material, since there is an inconsistency between *v.* 5 (implying that the person addressed is to remain where he is), and *v.* 9 which bids him join the writer (St. Paul ?) as soon as possible. In the case of 1 *Tim.* there are no sufficient criteria for discriminating between what comes from the Apostle, and what does not. Possibly the Epistle is altogether the work of the pseudonymous writer who, in mentioning a journey to Macedonia (i. 3) and expressing a hope of returning shortly (iii. 14, cf. iv. 13), only seeks to give verisimilitude to a letter falsely purporting to be composed by St. Paul.

The date of the Epistles as they stand cannot be much later than the end of the first century A.D., for though the evidence of acquaintance with them by Clement of Rome (A.D. 95) and Ignatius (*circ.* 110) seems doubtful, that adduced from Polycarp (d. 156) appears undeniable. The most cogent parallels are as follows [6]:—

Clement, *ad Corinth.* i. § 2. *ἕτοιμοι εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν* (cf. *Tit.* iii. 1, 2 *Tim.* ii. 21).

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[1] Cf. Conybeare, *Myth, Magic, and Morals*, p. xxvi.

[2] Cicero on one occasion wrote to Atticus, *Si qui erunt, quibus putes opus esse meo nomine litteras dari, velim conscribas curesque dandas* (*ad Att.* iii. 15).

[3] Dating from 59–61.

[4] Dating from 56 ?

[5] Dating from 52–55.

[6] See *Expositor's Greek Testament*, iv. pp. 76, 79.

§ 45. *τῶν ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει λατρεύοντων* (cf. 2 *Tim.* i. 3).

Ignatius, *ad Polycarp.* § 3. *ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες* (cf. 1 *Tim.* i. 3, vi. 3).

§ 6. *ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε* (cf. 2 *Tim.* ii. 4).

§ 7. *ἕτοιμοί ἐστε εἰς εὐποιΐαν θεῷ ἀνήκουσαν* (cf. *Tit.* iii. 1).

Polycarp, *ad Philipp.* § 4. *ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία. εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν* (cf. 1 *Tim.* vi. 10, 7).

§ 5. *ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ* (cf. 2 *Tim.* ii. 12).

§ 9. *οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα* (cf. 2 *Tim.* ii. 2).

As regards the localities where the three Epistles were written, notes, not always consistent or plausible, are appended to them in certain manuscripts.

1 *Tim.* is associated with Laodicea in A K_2 L_2 but with Nicopolis in P_2.

2 *Tim.* is also assigned to Laodicea by A, but to Rome by K_2 L_2 P_2.

Tit. is connected with Nicopolis by A H_3 K_2 L_2 P_2.

These statements seem to be merely conjectures based on names mentioned or implied in the letters themselves and on the assumption that they proceed from St. Paul.

The Epistle to the Hebrews

The Epistle to the *Hebrews*, though lacking in the best manuscripts an author's name, is ascribed in several later codices (L_2 P_2 and many cursives) to St. Paul. Of the Patristic writers who refer to it, some attribute it without hesitation to St. Paul; others imply the existence of doubts about his responsibility for it; whilst others again either themselves assign, or repeat traditions assigning, its origin to some other writer. As regards its destination the title *To (the) Hebrews* found in MSS. and versions seems, indeed, definite enough, but it is not part of the letter; and even if it were, it is not free from ambiguity, and nothing is said about the locality to which the letter was sent. Consequently it is desirable to consider in some detail both the external and the internal evidence bearing upon its authorship, the place of its origin, the persons addressed, and its date.

Authorship

The earliest views respecting the authorship of the book vary with the regions where they were current, there being a decided difference of judgment among writers belonging to the eastern churches compared with those of the western churches.

(i) In Egypt the view generally prevailed that the Epistle proceeded

indirectly, though probably not directly, from St. Paul. The following expressions of opinion are preserved by the historian Eusebius :—

(*a*) Clement of Alexandria (d. after 203) is reported as saying that the Epistle is the work of St. Paul, and that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language; but that Luke translated it carefully and published it for the Greeks, and hence the same "colour" of expression is found in this Epistle and in *Acts*. He is further represented as explaining that the words, "Paul the Apostle," were probably not prefixed because, in sending it to the Hebrews who were prejudiced and suspicious about him, he wisely did not wish to repel them at the very beginning by giving his name (*H.E.* vi. 14).

(*b*) Origen (185–253) is quoted (Eus. *H.E.* vi. 25) as stating that the diction of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was not marked by the rudeness of speech with which the Apostle charged himself (2 *Cor.* xi. 6), but that in its composition it is better Greek; and again, that the thoughts of the Epistle are admirable and not inferior to those of St. Paul's writings. He further expresses the opinion, "I should say that the thoughts are those of the Apostle, but that the phraseology and composition are those of some one who remembered the Apostolic teachings and made notes, as it were, of what was said by his teacher"—and he reports the view of some that the author was Clement of Rome, of others that it was Luke (*H.E.* vi. 25).

(*c*) Dionysius (a student under Origen, and subsequently Bishop of Alexandria, d. 265), quotes *Heb.* x. 34 as St. Paul's.

(ii) On the other hand, in the western churches of Italy and Carthage the Pauline authorship was denied. At Rome, Gaius, a writer of the early third century, counted only thirteen letters of the Apostle, not including *Hebrews* (Eus. *H.E.* vi. 20), and both he and Irenæus are said by Stephanus Gobarus (a writer of the sixth century) to have expressly denied St. Paul's authorship of the Epistle. That the Roman Church disputed its authenticity on the ground that it was not by St. Paul is expressly affirmed by Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 3, vi. 20); and St. Jerome re-asserts the same statement, remarking that the custom of the Latins did not receive it among the canonical Scriptures as St. Paul's. The denial in the Roman Church of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle is the more significant from the fact that the letter was known there at a very early date, the first traces of its use being found in the writings of Clement of Rome (*circ.* A.D. 95). At Carthage, Tertullian (*circ.* 220), quoting *Heb.* vi. 1, 4–6, attributed its origin to Barnabas.

This evidence, which, on the whole, is adverse to the conclusion that the letter proceeds from St. Paul, must now be examined in the light of the contents and style of the book.

Internal Evidence

This may be considered under the heads of (*a*) incidental allusions; (*b*) dominant theological ideas; (*c*) vocabulary and stylistic features.

(*a*) The letter differs from all the Epistles commonly regarded as St.

Paul's by beginning without any personal greeting from the writer to those whom he addresses. Both he and they appear to have been Jews by race, since he exhorts his readers to renounce with him fellowship with those who had crucified and killed Jesus (xiii. 13) and this implies that the readers of the Epistle had been previously in close association with them. But the circumstance that the letter was sent to Christian *Jews* (Hebrews in the racial sense) is rather unfavourable to St. Paul's authorship, for it was the Gentiles and not his own countrymen that he considered to have special claims upon his care. The writer reckons himself amongst such as received the tidings of salvation from the actual hearers of the Lord (ii. 3), whereas St. Paul strenuously contended that he had received through revelation the Gospel which he taught (*Gal.* i. 12, cf. *Eph.* iii. 3). A reference, indeed, occurs to St. Paul's frequent companion Timothy, who appears to have been recently released from prison (xiii. 23); but Timothy must have been a friend of many others beside the Apostle. Clearly the features here noticed are opposed for the most part to the supposition that the letter is the production of St. Paul.[1]

(*b*) Some of the elements of likeness and unlikeness between the theology of the Epistle and that of the Pauline writings are reviewed elsewhere (p. 668), so that here it will suffice to notice only a few points emerging from a comparison. Common to the writer and St. Paul are an extremely high estimate of Christ as the Divine Son, the Creator and Sustainer of the world, and exalted, after enduring death, to heavenly glory (*Col.* i. 15–17, *Phil.* ii. 9, *Heb.* i. 3); the use of expressions borrowed from the Jewish sacrificial system in order to describe His death; the temporary value assigned to that system; and the stress laid upon "faith" as the condition of salvation. But the attitude of the two writers to the Jewish Law is quite different: and the contrast drawn between the Law and grace by St. Paul is absent from the Epistle, Christ being regarded not as the annuller but as the fulfiller of the Law [2]; whilst faith, which is in St. Paul an act of trust in Christ, is in this author an act of trust in God and in the Unseen (such as was shown by the great characters in the Old Testament). And whilst the essence of Christ's redemptive work for mankind was, in the mind of St. Paul, His death in the flesh and His renewed life in the Spirit, whereby the strength of sin was destroyed in believers and power to live a new life was communicated to them, in the mind of the writer of *Hebrews* it was partly the expiation of sin through His blood, partly the example of His patient life, and partly His intercession in heaven. There is only one reference to the Resurrection—xiii. 20.

(*c*) There is a decided dissimilarity between St. Paul's literary manner (even though this varies a good deal) and that of the writer of *Hebrews*. The style of the former is impetuous, marked on some occasions by abrupt

[1] In x. 34 the reading τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου has the support of ℵ and the Old Latin, but τοῖς δεσμίοις is found in AD 33 and most of the versions.

[2] Cf. Stevens, *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, p. 78. Nevertheless the writer speaks of an "annulling of a foregoing commandment on account of its weakness and unprofitableness" (vii. 18).

transitions, by broken constructions (*e.g. Gal.* ii. 6–10), by frequent rhetorical questions, or by impassioned pleadings (see, for instance, *Rom.* iii. iv. vi., 1 *Cor.* vi.), and at other times by long and almost breathless statements (see *Eph.* i. ii., *Col.* i.). But the latter's style is distinguished by a tranquil and measured movement; he has his thoughts well under control; his arguments are effectively articulated; and his work has a more literary quality than any other in the New Testament. One striking contrast is observable in the way in which St. Paul's own personality comes into prominence throughout his correspondence, as compared with the almost complete self-suppression of the author of this Epistle. This is exemplified by the fact that the pronoun *ἐγώ* (in the nominative) occurs more than 60 times in St. Paul (exclusive of quotations), whilst in *Hebrews* it is found nowhere outside of quotations. Characteristic features of diction cannot be illustrated extensively here; and vocabulary is always very largely determined by subject-matter. Nevertheless the use of particular conjunctions and other connectives often throws light upon identity or difference of authorship, and of such several that are frequent in the Pauline Epistles are absent or rare in *Hebrews*, and *vice versa*. Thus *ἄρα* or *ἄρα οὖν* is found 27 times in St. Paul, but only twice in *Hebrews*; and *νυνί* appears eighteen times in St. Paul but only once or twice in *Hebrews*. The rhetorical question *τί οὖν*; or *τί οὖν λέγω* (*ἐροῦμεν*); so common in *Romans* has no place in *Hebrews*. Conversely *ὅθεν* ("wherefore") is absent from the Pauline Epistles, but occurs six times in *Hebrews*. Very significant is the circumstance that whereas the combinations *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (especially *ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*) and *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς* are extremely common in St. Paul, the first is used by the author of *Hebrews* only three times, and the latter never, the simple *Ἰησοῦς* or *Χριστός* or *ὁ Χριστός* being otherwise uniformly employed. And another conspicuous difference is the formula with which quotations from the Old Testament are introduced. St. Paul generally prefaces them with *καθὼς* (*καθάπερ*, *ὥσπερ*) *γέγραπται* or *κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον* [1]; but the author of *Hebrews* uses *καθὼς λέγει* (or some equivalent), the subject of the verb being God or the Son or the Holy Spirit.

The united effect of these differences is fully to confirm the judgment of the early Western Churches that the Epistle is not the work of St. Paul. It is not likely to be a translation of an Aramaic letter, written by him, which has been rendered into Greek by a companion like St. Luke (as Clement thought), for the argument in ix. 15, 16 turns upon the ambiguity of the *Greek* word *διαθήκη*. The authorship must therefore be sought elsewhere. As has been seen, it was attributed by some in ancient times to Barnabas, Luke, and Clement of Rome; and it has been assigned in modern times to Silas, Apollos, Aquila, Priscilla, Philip and St. Peter, though the last, at least, was an actual disciple of Jesus (contrast ii. 3). The choice between these (if the author is to be looked for in the New Testament) may be postponed until after a consideration of the place where it was probably written, and the community to which it was sent.

[1] In *Rom.* ix. 17 there is used the phrase *λέγει ἡ γραφή*.

Destination, Place of Origin and Date

The first two of these questions are conveniently dealt with together, since the most plausible answer to one or other of them is furnished by the salutation forwarded through the writer from "Those of Italy (xiii. 24, *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*). This phrase suggests that the author was either writing *from* Italy to a definite group of persons outside that country who had connexions in Italy, or *to* Italy from a land where he was surrounded by some Italian friends. On the surface, indeed, the title of the Epistle *To Hebrews* seems most appropriate to the Jews of *Jerusalem* who spoke Aramaic, and were distinguished as "Hebrews" from their fellow-countrymen of the Dispersion, who, as speaking Greek, were styled "Hellenists" (*Acts* vi. 1); but various features in its contents almost decisively negative this conclusion. It is very improbable that Jewish Christians resident at Jerusalem should all have owed their faith to the teaching of Jesus' *disciples* (ii. 3, xiii. 7) and not to Jesus Himself; that a letter to such would be composed in Greek, or be filled with citations from the LXX and not from the Hebrew Bible; that a body which at one time received help from Gentile Christians (*Acts* xxiv. 17) should here be commended for relieving others (vi. 10); and that there should occur no allusion to the Temple, but only to the Tabernacle. And the fact that the earliest quotation from the letter occurs in the writings of Clement of Rome (*circ.* A.D. 95) strongly favours the inference that the second of the alternatives stated above is the true one, and that the letter was sent *to* Italy, and, most likely, to the capital Rome. At Rome there were large numbers of Jews (p. 78), some of whom had been converted to Christianity, so that the title *To Hebrews* (if taken to mean Jews by descent though not by language) is not inconsistent with the supposition that Rome was the destination of the Epistle. Other suggested destinations besides Rome (Antioch, Ephesus, Cæsarea, Alexandria) are little better than guesses.

If the letter was really sent to Rome, then, since the writer had lived amongst those whom he addresses, and looked forward to rejoining them (xiii. 19, 23) he is most plausibly to be sought for amongst those individuals of the Apostolic age who had been at Rome; but who at the time of writing were living somewhere outside Italy (there being no clue to the precise locality). This condition (as far as is *certainly* known) is met neither by Barnabas [1] (p. 541), who possessed a faculty for exhortation (*Acts* xi. 23, cf. iv. 36 and *Heb.* xiii. 22), and who, being a Levite (*Acts* iv. 36), might be expected to be interested in the Jewish sacrificial system; nor by Apollos, who was a Hellenist and whose eloquence, Alexandrian learning,[2] and knowledge of the Scriptures (*Acts* xviii. 24) would render him competent to write such a letter; nor by the Evangelist Philip. It is satisfied, however, by St. Peter, by St. Luke, by Silas (probably), and

[1] He is, however, represented in certain traditions as having visited Rome (Zahn, *I.N.T.* i. p. 433).

[2] The Epistle exhibits numerous parallels to the phraseology of the Alexandrian Philo: see Farrar, *Hebrews*, pp. 38–41.

by Aquila and Priscilla. Certain resemblances have been traced in the book to St. Peter's Epistle; but St. Peter was himself one of our Lord's disciples, and not a follower of them, as the writer seems to have been (ii. 3), and he was probably deficient in his command of Greek (p. 174), whereas the author writes good Greek. The inference that Silas went to Rome is derived from the assumption that 1 *Pet.* is genuine (p. 312) and was written from that city by Silas with considerable freedom at St. Peter's dictation (1 *Pet.* v. 12). But Silas was a member of the Church of Jerusalem (*Acts* xv. 22) whereas the author of *Hebrews* was probably a Hellenist. Luke went to Rome with St. Paul (*Acts* xxvii. 1) and most likely left it after the latter's execution: and facts favouring his authorship are his capacity for writing excellent Greek (see *Lk.* i. 1–4), and some points of contact between his vocabulary and that of the Epistle (*e.g.* the frequent use of τε, which is rare in the New Testament except in *Lk.*, *Acts* and *Rom.*, the occurrence of κατανοέω twice in the Epistle, eight times in *Lk.*, but only four times in the rest of the New Testament, and the numerous instances of καθ' ἡμέραν and καὶ αὐτός (pp. 204, 238); whilst a few words (like ἀρχηγός, ἀστεῖος, διαβαίνω, διατίθεμαι, εὔθετος, ἱλάσκομαι, πόρρωθεν) are found only in *Lk.* and *Heb.* But to be set against this agreement in diction are certain differences, notably the absence of some Lucan words and phrases like ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, παραχρῆμα, and especially of the preposition σύν. Moreover, it is extremely improbable that Luke, who was a Gentile, would have elaborated such a comparison between Christianity and the Law of Moses as appears in this Epistle. Aquila and Priscilla resided at Rome until they were expelled with other Jews by Claudius (*Acts* xviii. 2), and since the others who satisfy the condition of acquaintance with Rome have been eliminated, the book may be conjecturally assigned to either of these. Some scholars [1] found an argument in favour of Priscilla upon the circumstance that the letter does not at present begin with a salutation from the writer, for, if the author were a woman, there would be a temptation to suppress the fact in view of St. Paul's dislike of female teachers. But the occurrence of the masculine participle in a self-allusion by the writer (xi. 32) is against this identification unless the grammar is intended as a disguise, or is the substitution of a copyist. If the letter was written by either Aquila or his wife, the place of origin may have been Ephesus, for they were both there when St. Paul wrote *Rom.* xvi. (see *v.* 3), if that chapter was really sent thither from Rome (see p. 283).

The persons to whom the letter was addressed must have previously been adherents of Judaism, since only for those who were contemplating a relapse to Judaism would the author's argument for the superiority of Christianity to the religion of Moses have any force; and only from those who accepted the Old Testament would his appeals to its evidence evoke a response. But amongst such there might be proselytes from heathenism, or individuals belonging to the class of "God-fearers," and it is perhaps these, who (he apprehended) might fall away not from Christ

[1] See Peake, *Hebrews*, p. 37 f.

only but from the living God, and return to heathen vices (iii. 12, xii. 16, xiii. 4). Christians of Gentile, as well as of Jewish, race could be regarded as the seed of Abraham (ii. 16), since Christians constituted the true Israel (*Gal.* iii. 29, cf. *Rom.* iv. 1, 12). Nevertheless that those to whom the Epistle was sent had been Jews by religion and were also for the most part Jews by birth seems clear alike from particular passages like vi. 6, x. 29, xiii. 13), and from the general drift of the contents. The word "Gentiles" indeed, does not occur in it.

For the settlement of the date few indications are afforded by the book. If it were sent to Christians of Jewish origin in Palestine, the absence of any reference to the Temple and the Temple sacrifices seems to exclude a date previous to 70, and to point to its being written many years after the destruction of Jerusalem, for, had the memory of that event been recent, allusion to such a judgment of God would have added force to the writer's arguments. But if, as seems probable, it was addressed to a body of Christian Jews at Rome (p. 308), the fact that the writer deals with the ritual of the Tabernacle as described in the Old Testament Scriptures, and not with that of the Temple, is not surprising, and is compatible with a date prior to A.D. 70. And the allusion to sufferings (x. 32–34, xii. 4, 7) finds a natural explanation in the hostility felt at Rome towards the Christians, which rendered it easy for Nero in 64 to incite the populace against them. The Jewish religion was tolerated by the Roman State (p. 79) whereas the Christian was not, and there would be a tendency for Jewish Christians in times of trouble to revert to their earlier faith. Nevertheless, it looks, in view of xii. 4, 7, as if those addressed had only experienced imprisonment and confiscations, and the full horrors of the persecution following the burning of the city had not yet begun. A plausible date would, therefore, seem to be shortly before A.D. 64. If it was composed, as some think, during the reign of Domitian (81–96) [1] it is difficult to understand how the author could say that those to whom he wrote had not yet resisted unto blood.

The First Epistle of St. Peter

Both of the letters bearing St. Peter's name claim to be written by the Apostle, but the authenticity of the First is much better established than that of the Second. The genuineness of the First, indeed, is supported by such strong external attestation that discussion of its authorship might here be dispensed with (as in the case of most of St. Paul's Epistles), were it not for certain internal peculiarities which throw some doubt upon its origin.

Authorship

Patristic evidence for the existence and authority of the Epistle in the Church is generally allowed to be both ample and early.[2] Under these

[1] See McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 463–4.

[2] Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 335.

circumstances it seems unnecessary to adduce illustrations at any length, and it will suffice to quote the following parallels :—

1. *Clement of Rome* (d. 95–100)	1 *Pet.*
vii. 4. *γνῶμεν ὡς ἐστιν τίμιον* (*i.e. τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*).	i. 19, *τιμίῳ αἵματι . . . Χριστοῦ.*
xlix. 5, *ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.*[1]	iv. 8, *ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.*[1]

Clement also uses the words *ἀγαθοποιΐα*, *ἀδελφότης*, *ἀπροσωπολήμπτως*, *ὑπογραμμός*, which, within the New Testament, only occur in 1 Pet.[2]

2. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (*circ.* 100)	1 *Pet.*
i. 4, *ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.*	ii. 11, *παρακαλῶ . . . ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.*

3. *Polycarp* (d. 156)	1 *Pet.*
i. 3, *εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ*	i. 8, *εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες, πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ.*
vii. 2, *νήφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχάς.*	iv. 7, *νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς.*

4. *Irenæus.* (d. 202) quotes in *adv. hær.* (iv. 16, 5, v. 7, 2) from the Epistle, introducing the citation with the words, " Peter says " (cf. Eus. *H.E.* v. 8).

5. Eusebius states that Papias (*circ.* 130) used testimony from the First Epistles of both St. John and St. Peter (*H.E.* iii. 39, 17) ; and after dividing Christian writings into three classes *Accepted* (*ὁμολογούμενα*), *Disputed* (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*) and *Spurious* (*νόθα*), he places 1. *Pet.* in the first class (cf. iii. 25, 2). The Epistle is not enumerated in the Muratorian Canon, but that catalogue appears to be mutilated at the beginning and end, and may have suffered loss in the middle also.

But though the external evidence for the early origin and circulation of the First Epistle is thus convincing, its Petrine authorship has been questioned on various grounds. The principal of these are the following. (*a*) The Greek is too correct and idiomatic to proceed from St. Peter, who though doubtless sufficiently acquainted with the Greek language to speak it, yet required the assistance of an interpreter when at Rome (p. 169). (*b*) The Epistle contains fewer references to incidents in our Lord's ministry and to His teaching than might be expected from an Apostle, especially one who enjoyed a special degree of intimacy with his Master. (*c*) It exhibits both in ideas and language a close resemblance to some of the Epistles of St. Paul, so that it is surprising to find " the first and nearest of the Twelve so much more affected, apparently by the teaching of Paul

[1] The quotation comes from *Prov.* x. 12, where the LXX rendering is *πάντας τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικοῦντας καλύπτει φιλία.*

[2] Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude*, p. 8, where, however, *ἄσπιλος* and *παροικία* are wrongly included.

than of Jesus."[1] It has also been held to show unmistakable traces of its writer's acquaintance with the Epistle to the *Hebrews* (cf. 1 *Pet.* i. 2 with *Heb.* xii. 24). (*d*) The persons to whom the letter was addressed were residents in five districts (constituting four Roman provinces) in Asia Minor—Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia (see p. 65)—with which St. Peter cannot be shown, independently of this epistle, to have had any connexion.

The weight of these reasons, substantial though they are, is much reduced by several considerations.

(*a*) The comparative scholarliness of the Greek, which is exemplified by the frequent use of *μὲν . . . δέ* (i. 20, ii. 4, iii. 18, iv. 6), by such an arrangement of the article as is seen in *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία* (iii. 20, cf. i. 17, iii. 3, iv. 14, v. 1, 4) and by the paucity of Hebraisms, though a certain number of such occur (*τέκνα ὑπακοῆς*, i. 14, cf. iv. 3, i. 13, etc.), may be due to an amanuensis. This is not likely to have been St. Mark, though he is mentioned as joining in the salutations sent by the writer of the letter (for there is little likeness between the style of the Epistle and that of the Second Gospel), but may have been Silvanus. It was certainly in some sense through the agency of Silvanus that the letter was written (v. 12), and though the expression employed may, and probably does, imply that he was the bearer of the letter to its destination, it is equally probable that it means that it was also composed by him, though whether St. Peter dictated it in Aramaic, which was rendered by the amanuensis into Greek, or whether he spoke in Greek, which was corrected or improved by his assistant, or whether he left the latter free to express as he deemed best the thoughts communicated, cannot, of course, be decided.

(*b*) The small number of references to our Lord's works and words can be accounted for in some measure by the fact that the Apostles and early preachers of Christianity were certainly more concerned to encourage their hearers with the hope of their Lord's Second Coming from heaven than to inform them about the details of His life on earth (cf. p. 497). There are, however, in the Epistle two or three references which unobtrusively harmonize with the supposition that the writer was an eyewitness of Christ's earthly life and a hearer of His words (see v. 1 ; and cf. i. 13 with *Lk.* xii. 35 ; ii. 12 with *Mt.* v. 16 ; and iii. 14 with *Mt.* v. 10). Moreover there are a few parallels to ideas occurring in connexion with St. Peter in the narrative of *Acts* (cf. i. 17 with *Acts* x. 24 ; iv. 13 with *Acts* v. 41 ; v. 1 with *Acts* v. 32, x. 39 ; ii. 4 with *Acts* iv. 11).

The reasons marked (*c*) and (*d*) are most conveniently discussed in relation to the questions when and where the Epistle was written.

Place and Date

The letter purports to have been written in Babylon (v. 13)[2], but it is disputable whether the name is to be understood literally or in a transferred

[1] Bacon, *Int. to N.T.* p. 153.

[2] The phrase *ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή* has by some been strangely taken to mean the writer's wife ; it is no doubt really a figurative expression for the Church

sense. (*a*) If Babylon be taken to denote the city on the Euphrates, there seems to be no independent evidence connecting St. Peter with that place.[1] (*b*) The name was applied to a fortress in Egypt at the south angle of the Delta on the site of the modern Cairo, where in the first century A.D. was the camp of one of the three corps forming the Roman garrison in Egypt (Strabo, xvii.); but there is no tradition associating St. Peter with this region either. (*c*) In a figurative sense the appellation was given to Rome by at least one Christian writer in the first century (see *Rev.* xiv. 8, xvi. 19, xviii. 2) and by the author of the *Sibylline Oracles*[2]; and, as employed in this Epistle, it is expressly taken in this sense by Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 15).[3] If such a metaphorical interpretation of the name is correct, the implication that the letter was composed at Rome finds support in the traditions representing that St. Peter, like St. Paul, laboured in Rome and suffered death there (see Eus. *H.E.* ii. 25, vi. 14, cf. p. 174). The truth of this tradition there seems no reason to doubt, but certain chronological notices respecting the length of time which St. Peter spent at Rome are not so credible. Whilst Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 14 and 25) states in general terms that the Apostle went to Rome in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54) and was put to death in the reign of Nero (A.D. 54–68) Jerome specifies the second year of Claudius (*i.e.* 42–43) as the date of St. Peter's arrival, adds that he was bishop of Rome for 25 years, and asserts that he perished in the last year of Nero's reign (*i.e.* 67–68). It is, however, very difficult to reconcile this long residence at Rome with the facts stated or implied in the Epistles of St. Paul and in *Acts*. For St. Paul wrote his letter to the Romans late in 55 or early in 56 (p. 281), and gives no indication that the Roman Church had been founded by an Apostle (see especially xv. 20); whilst the silence of St. Luke in *Acts* about the presence of St. Peter at Rome either before or during St. Paul's imprisonment in 59–61 is even more unfavourable to the representation of Jerome that the elder Apostle spent 25 years in the Roman capital.[4] In view of the negative evidence of the Pauline Epistles and of *Acts* it seems most probable that St. Peter visited Rome *after* St. Paul's death in 61. The supposition that at any rate he outlived St. Paul and suffered a martyr's death (cf. *Joh.* xxi. 12) either at the end of Nero's reign (67–68) or, more probably, during the persecution of the Christians in 64 (since an Apostle is not likely to have escaped when numbers of obscure Christians were destroyed) affords some solution of the last two difficulties (*c*) and (*d*) which are urged against the Petrine authorship of the Epistle and which now require to be noticed.

(*c*) The parallels in both thought and diction traceable between 1 *Pet.* and certain of St. Paul's Epistles are close enough to suggest that with some

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in the city named. In the uncial ℵ, some cursives, and the Vulgate and Peshitto versions ἐκκλησία is inserted before συνεκλεκτὴ (Zahn, *I.N.T.* ii. p. 157).

[1] Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 769.

[2] Quoted in the *Expositor's Gk. Test.* v. p. 19.

[3] For a parallel figure of speech cf. *Rev.* xi. 8, where Jerusalem is called "spiritually" (*i.e.* figuratively) *Sodom* and *Egypt*.

[4] "The tradition of a twenty-five years' Episcopate is unhistorical" (Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 778).

of these the author of 1 *Pet.* must have been acquainted. The correspondence is most conspicuous in the case of *Romans*.

1 *Pet.*	*Rom.*
i. 14. Not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts.	xii. 2. Be not fashioned according to this world.
i. 17. Who without respect of persons judgeth according to each man's work.	ii. 11. For there is no respect of persons with God.
i. 21. Who through Him are believers in God which raised Him from the dead.	iv. 24. Who believe on Him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead.
ii. 13. Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as supreme, etc.	xiii. 1. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, etc.
ii. 24. That we having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness.	vi. 11. Even so reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus.
iii. 9. Not rendering evil for evil.	xii. 17. Rendering to no man evil for evil.
iv. 13. Insomuch that ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings.	viii. 17. If so be that we suffer with Him.

The author of 1 *Pet.*, like St. Paul, quotes *Hos.* ii. 23 (see 1 *Pet.* ii. 9, 10, *Rom.* ix. 25) and combines together *Is.* viii. 14 and xxviii. 16 (see 1 *Pet.* ii. 6, 8, *Rom.* ix. 33); and the coincidence is the more remarkable since in quoting *Is.* viii. 14 both diverge from the LXX in the same way. A further point of resemblance between the two epistles is the common use of the adjective *λογικός* (1 *Pet.* ii. 2, 5, *Rom.* xii. 1), which is not found elsewhere in the New Testament.[1]

There are parallels with other Pauline Epistles, especially *Ephesians*, which have to be passed over here,[2] and with the Epistle of *St. James* (cf. 1 *Pet.* i. 7 with *Jas.* i. 2, *τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως* in both; and 1 *Pet.* v. 6 with *Jas.* iv. 10). Acquaintance with, and use of, St. Paul's writings seems at first sight remarkable if the author of the letter was St. Peter. But that Apostle was a man of sympathetic and receptive character, who readily yielded to the influence of other personalities; and the supposition that he only reached Rome after the Epistle to the *Romans* was written affords ample space for his becoming familiar with it. It is not so easy to explain the parallels subsisting between 1 *Pet.* and some others of St. Paul's letters, which were sent to other destinations than Rome. But these may not be due to actual perusal of them; and some knowledge of St. Paul's *ideas* may have come to St. Peter (if he reached Rome after St. Paul's death) through St. Mark, who, having ministered to St. Paul (2 *Tim.* iv. 11), may be assumed after his execution to have become the companion of St. Peter, when the latter visited Rome (cf. p. 174).

To the date here advocated (namely between A.D. 61 and 64, and most likely nearer the latter than the former year) it has been objected by a

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[1] Cf. Kennedy, *Theol. of the Epistles*, p. 168.

[2] See Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude*, pp. 16, 17; Salmon, *Int. N.T.* pp. 467, 8; Zahn, *I.N.T.* ii. pp. 186, 7.

large number of scholars that the circumstances in which Christians were placed at the time when the Epistle was written were such as prevailed not in the time of Nero (54–68) but in the reigns of Domitian (81–96) and of Trajan (98–117). It is contended that it was not until then that the profession of Christianity (iv. 16) was, of itself, apart from any criminal charge, deemed an offence punishable by extreme measures[1]; and that such measures are implied in the words, "the fiery trial among you (ἡ ἐν ὑμῖν πύρωσις) which cometh upon you to prove you" (iv. 12). If this argument is justified it is highly improbable that the letter was written by St. Peter, who, had he lived to such a late period, would have been a very old man. But by the malicious, or by persons whose practices or occupations were discouraged by Christians, Christianity could be construed as an offence against the State at a much earlier date (see *Acts* xvi. 21, xix. 23) for it was not a *religio licita*. The prevailing tenor, however, of the references to persecution in 1 *Pet.* is not suggestive of violent repression but rather of calumny and social injury, not generally involving loss of life (ii. 12, iii. 16, iv. 1 2, 4, 14). The term πύρωσις seems to be borrowed from *Prov.* xxvii. 21 (LXX), where the Heb. has "the fining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold," and to be used metaphorically. There consequently is no cogent reason for placing the Epistle later than the middle of the reign of Nero; and the very different spirit manifested by the writer towards the Imperial authorities (ii. 13, 14, 17) from that displayed, for instance, in the book of *Revelation* (composed under Vespasian or Domitian, p. 333) not only renders a date within the reigns of Domitian or Trajan extremely improbable[2] but makes it unlikely that the cruelties perpetrated on the Christians by Nero in 64 had yet taken place. It has, indeed, been urged that the name *Babylon* would not have been used to describe Rome until Rome, by its persecution of the Church, had come to be regarded by the latter as the true successor of historic Babylon.[3] But if Christians could be termed collectively the Dispersion (p. 257), there is nothing unnatural in the application of the name *Babylon* to the principal city of the heathen world, throughout which Christian believers were scattered, without any suggestion of its being the scene of abnormal brutalities.

(*d*) The circumstance that the Epistle under consideration was addressed to the dwellers in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and

[1] In the time of Trajan, Pliny, when governor of Bithynia, put to death persons charged with being Christians, who, after being thrice interrogated with threats of punishment, did not deny the accusation; but becoming dissatisfied with this course of action, he consulted the Emperor. In his letter he stated that previously he had never taken part in the trials of Christians; and was consequently uncertain about various matters, not knowing, for instance, whether *nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini puniantur.* The Emperor approved of his procedure in general, but directed that Christians were not to be sought out; that suspected persons, if they renounced Christianity, were to be released; and that anonymous accusations were not to be received.

[2] "When the imperial cultus was in force, an unqualified phrase like ii. 17, 'Honour the Emperor,' becomes almost incredible." Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 341.

[3] Salmon, *Int. N. T.*, p. 465.

Bithynia, districts which St. Peter is not known to have evangelized (for the statement that he preached in them, contained in Eus. *H.E.* iii. 1, merely reproduces 1 *Pet.* i. 1), does not admit of being fully explained. Possibly St. Peter, if he was in Rome after St. Paul's death, might consider it his duty to extend his care to those localities in which St. Paul had taken so much interest and to the countries immediately adjoining them (which had perhaps been evangelized by some of St. Paul's disciples).[1] St. Mark may have been the means of specially interesting St. Peter in them, for he was contemplating a journey to Asia when St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the *Colossians* (iv. 10), and he was already known to those to whom St. Peter was writing, since the letter contains a greeting from him (1 *Pet.* v. 18).[2] In any case, the difficulty of explaining quite satisfactorily why St. Peter was led to write to the Christian communities of Asia Minor is not an adequate reason for questioning his authorship.

The persons to whom the letter was sent appear at first sight to be *Jewish* Christians, since the most obvious sense of the word *Dispersion* is the literal sense (cf. *Jas.* i. 1). But the Christian communities in Galatia, at any rate, were predominantly, though not exclusively, Gentiles (*Acts* xiii. 46, *Gal.* iv. 8); and various passages in the Epistle make it clear that the readers of it must have been, in the main, of Gentile origin, since allusion is made to the vices which had marked them before their conversion, and which are much more characteristic of heathens than of Jews (see i. 14, 18 and especially ii. 10, iv. 3, 4). And inasmuch as the expression "sojourners" (i. 1) must be understood figuratively of those who whilst on earth were exiles from heaven, their true home (cf. i. 17, ii. 11, *Heb.* xi. 13, xiii. 14), it is not putting a violent strain upon the whole phrase, "sojourners of the Dispersion," to take it as describing Christians (whether Jews or Gentiles) who constituted the true Israel and who during their earthly pilgrimage were dispersed (cf. *Acts* xi. 19), like historic Israel, among pagan populations.

The Epistle of Jude

The Epistle passing under the name of Jude describes itself as written by a Judas, who styles himself a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James. As the name "James" is applied in the New Testament to three different individuals—the son of Zebedee, the son of Alphæus, and one of the "brothers" of our Lord—it is not quite certain which of the three is meant; but it is obvious that the reference is most likely to be to the best known. This was certainly the last-named, who is alluded to as "James" without further definition in *Acts* xii. 17, xv. 13, 1 *Cor.* xv. 7. It may be taken, then, that the Judas or Jude mentioned in the heading is meant to be identical with the person of that name who is enumerated in the lists of our Lord's "brethren" given in *Mk.* vi. 3, *Mt.* xiii. 55. The

[1] That more than one evangelist had contributed to the conversion of the persons addressed is implied in i. 12.

[2] Cf. Zahn, *I.N.T.* ii. pp. 148–9.

precise relationship implied by the word "brethren" is considered on p. 364, where it is concluded that the four individuals so described were probably sons of Mary and Joseph, and born after the nativity of Jesus. If so, Jude, who occupies either the third or the fourth place in the lists, may have been six or more years younger than our Lord.

As the authenticity of the Epistle has been disputed by several scholars, and the likelihood of its having been written by the Jude of *Mk.* vi. 3 has been widely questioned, it is desirable to review briefly the evidence for and against its genuineness.

External Evidence

(*a*) If the conclusion is correct that portions of Jude have been incorporated in 2 *Pet.* (see p. 337 f.), and the date of the latter is the first half of the second century, this is the earliest testimony to the existence and use of Jude. Apart from this there are a few suggestive coincidences in Polycarp (*ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη*, cf. *Jude* 2).

(*b*) The Muratorian catalogue includes the Epistle among those received in the Catholic Church.

(*c*) Clement of Alexandria comments upon the book in his *Outlines* (Eus. *H.E.* vi. 13 and 14) and quotes it in various passages.

(*d*) Tertullian refers to it in the words *Enoch apud Judam apostolum testimonium habet.*

(*e*) Origen alludes to it in words of commendation, as "full of vigorous words of heavenly grace," but in one passage implies doubts of its authority, and his doubts reappear in later writers.

(*f*) Eusebius in one place includes *Jude* among the disputed writings (*αἱ ἀντιλεγόμεναι*) and in another implies that it was regarded as spurious (*νοθεύεται*), adding that, as in the case of the Ep. of *James*, not many of the ancients had mentioned it, but admitting that both letters were read publicly in most churches (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 25, ii. 23).

(*g*) Jerome (346–420) states: *Judas, frater Jacobi, parvam quae de septem catholicis est epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in ea assumit testimonia, a plerisque reicitur, tamen auctoritatem vetustate iam et usu meruit et inter sanctas computatur.*

Among the Versions the Syriac Peshitto does not contain it. The circumstance mentioned by Jerome to account for its rejection by many, namely its use of the Apocryphal book of Enoch (see *v.* 14) together with its brevity, explains sufficiently the comparatively few allusions to it in Patristic writers; whilst the inclusion of so much of it in 2 *Pet.*, if the priority of *Jude* may be considered to be established with fair probability, carries the external evidence for it back as far as can be expected.

Internal Evidence

The reason for rejecting the book, which many in antiquity found in its appeal to the book of *Enoch* as to a genuine prophetic work does not exert much influence now, for if St. Paul treated as historical the legends of the moving rock that followed the children of Israel in the wilderness (1 *Cor.*

x. 4) and of Satan's disguise as an angel of light (2 *Cor.* xi. 14), it is not surprising that a contemporary of St. Paul's should have both used as authoritative the pseudonymous book of *Enoch* (*v.* 14) and drawn for material upon another apocryphal work called *The Assumption of Moses* (in *v.* 9). The feature of the Epistle which at the present time has chiefly caused it to be denied to Jude and to be regarded as a second-century production is the nature of the doctrine against which it is directed. The writer denounces a body of antinomian teachers, professedly Christians (*v.* 12), whose principles and practices were grossly immoral (*v.* 7, 16), whose attitude towards authority was arrogant and unruly (*v.* 8), and who probably justified their conduct and pretensions by claiming possession of the Spirit equally with the official leaders of the Church (like Korah in his address to Moses, *Num.* xvi. 3) and contending that this freed them from all subordination to law and order. It has been maintained that such must have been early representatives of some of the Gnostic sects of the second century, whose tenets defended libertinism. But similar tendencies were manifest at Corinth in St. Paul's time (see 1 *Cor.* v. 1 f., vi. 12 f., 2 *Cor.* xii. 21); so that it does not appear impossible that such tendencies may have developed during the first century A.D. elsewhere, even in the virulent and repulsive form described in this Epistle. The book has been thought to show acquaintance with some of St. Paul's Epistles (cf. *v.* 1 with 1 *Th.* i. 4, and *Rom.* i. 7, and cf. *v.* 24 with *Rom.* xvi. 25). The resemblance, however, is not close enough to suggest borrowing, and if it were, it would be quite possible for Jude, presumably born about A.D. 4, to have read some of St. Paul's writings, and to have produced this letter between A.D. 65 and 70 (or 75). There is no conclusive evidence that the writer alludes in *vv.* 17 and 18 to 1 *Tim.* iii. 1 (where the term "mockers" is not emphasized); the reference may be not to any Apostolic or professedly Apostolic *writings*, but to oral teaching (cf. *Acts* xx. 29); and the allusion to "the Apostles" is no more inconsistent with Jude's authorship than the similar allusion in *Eph.* ii. 20, iii. 5 is incompatible with St. Paul's (p. 290). A Hebraistic colouring has been noticed in the style of the book [1]; and both this fact and the use in it of Jewish Apocalyptic writings favours the inference that the writer was a Hebrew Christian.

The internal evidence, then, as little as the external, justifies the rejection of the opening statement of the letter that it proceeds from Jude the brother of James. The presumption that it is correct is decidedly more plausible than the hypothesis either that the Epistle is pseudonymous (for Jude was scarcely important enough for his name to be used by another writer to lend authority to his own work) or that it is the production of Judas Barsabbas (*Acts* xv. 22), or of some altogether unknown Judas (the words "and the brother of James" being the insertion of an editor or copyist).

Upon the precise date and place of origin no light is thrown by the contents of the Epistle. The occasion seems to have been the sudden appearance of a number of false teachers whose doctrines were marked by

[1] Cf. Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 347.

tendencies of a peculiarly sensual and vicious character; the urgent need of counteracting these seems to have caused the writer, abandoning his purpose of writing a letter of different character, to issue promptly a warning against their pernicious errors (*v.* 3). The year of composition perhaps falls, as has been said, within 65 and 75; the place has been most plausibly conjectured to have been Palestine or Syria (Antioch), but without any evidence from tradition to support the guess.

Two grandsons of Jude were arrested in the reign of Domitian (81–96) and brought before the Emperor on the suspicion that, being the descendants of David, they cherished pretensions to royalty. They explained, however, that they were poor men, occupied with agricultural labour, and looked not for an earthly but a heavenly kingdom, and in view of this they were dismissed. They are reported to have survived until the reign of Trajan (98–117): see Eus. *H.E.* iii. 20, who gives Hegesippus as his authority.

The Epistles of St. John

Consideration of the three Epistles which, though all anonymous, are traditionally ascribed to St. John cannot be separated from that of the Gospel, for the Second and Third Epistles have so many features in common with the First, and the latter so closely in ideas and diction resembles the Gospel, that it may be said at once that to regard them as having an independent origin is very difficult. It is expedient, however, to discuss in detail, though briefly, both the external evidence relating to each, and the internal characteristics of thought and style which unite them together.

1 *Joh.*

The First Epistle contains no mention of the author's name or office, nor does it afford any indication of being sent to some particular Church or locality (for it lacks both greeting [1] and benediction). It appears to be intended for a wide circle, consisting of Gentile Christians (v. 21); and is of the nature of a homily, developing a few ideas (such as that God is the centre and source of Light and of Love), insisting on the obligations entailed by the profession of fellowship with God, testifying that God had sent His Son to be the saviour of the world, and uttering warnings against such as denied Jesus to be Christ—men whose views were probably in sympathy with Docetism, and who laid claim to a spiritual illumination superior to that of ordinary Christians.[2]

External Evidence

The following are among the parallels subsisting between the First Epistle and the early patristic writers, pointing to a knowledge of the former by the latter.

(*a*) Clement of Rome (l. 3) employs the phrase *οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντες*, which suggests acquaintance with 1 *Joh.* iv. 18.

[1] In this it resembles *Hebrews*.

[2] Cf. Moffatt, *L.N.T.* p. 586.

(*b*) Ignatius (*Eph.* 7) uses the phrase *ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεός* (though Lightfoot reads *ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός*), recalling 1 *Joh.* iv. 2.

(*c*) Polycarp (*ad Ph.* 7) has *πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν*, which summarizes 1 *Joh.* iv. 2, 3.

(*d*) The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* contains the expressions *τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν* (*i.e.* the Church) *ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου* (ch. 10), and *παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος* (*id.*), which resemble 1 *Joh.* iv. 12, 18, and ii. 17.

(*e*) Papias (according to Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 39, 16) used testimony from the First Epistle of John.

(*f*) Justin Martyr (*in Tryph.* 123) seems, in the words *θεοῦ τέκνα ἀληθινὰ καλούμεθα καὶ ἐσμεν*, to have in mind 1 *Joh.* iii. 1.

(*g*) Irenæus is stated by Eus. *H.E.* v. 8 to have mentioned the First Epistle of *Joh.*, and to have taken many proofs from it; and he quotes 1 *Joh.* ii. 18, *παιδία, ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν.*

(*h*) The Muratorian Catalogue does not expressly allude to the First Epistle by name but has a rendering of its opening words: "Quæ vidimus oculis nostris et auribus audivimus, et manus nostræ palpaverunt, hæc scripsimus vobis."

(*i*) Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* ii. 15, 66) explicitly quotes as the teaching of "John in his longer Epistle (*ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ*)" the words of v. 16, 17; and cites a number of other passages from the First Epistle as proceeding from John.

(*j*) Finally, Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 24) declares "of the writings of John not only his Gospel, but also the former of his Epistles has been accepted without dispute both now and in ancient times" (cf. also iii. 25).

The evidence of Polycarp (*circ.* 120) and of Papias (*circ.* 130) proves that the Epistle must have been in existence very early in the second century), and the use of it by later writers is fairly common.

Internal Evidence

That the First Epistle and the Gospel of St. John proceed from the same author is a conclusion favoured by the results of a comparison between them in respect of phraseology, as the following instances out of a large number show:—

Epistle	*Gospel*
i. 6, If we walk in the darkness (*σκότει* but in ii. 11 *σκοτίᾳ*) . . . we do not the truth.	xii. 35, He that walketh in the darkness (*σκοτίᾳ*). iii. 21, He that doeth the truth.
i. 8, We have not sin.	ix. 41, Ye would not have sin.
ib. The truth is not in us.	viii. 44, Truth is not in him.
ii. 3, 5, Keep his commandments (*or* word)	xiv. 15, 23, Keep my commandments (*or* word).
ii. 16, Is of the world.	viii. 23, Ye are of this world.
ii. 28, Abide in him.	xv. 4, Abide in me.
iii. 1, Children of God.	i. 12, Children of God.
iii. 3, Purifieth himself.	xi. 53, To purify themselves.
iii. 4, Every one that doeth sin.	viii. 34, Every one that doeth sin.
iii. 5, He was manifested to take away sin.	i. 29, He that taketh away the sin of the world.

Epistle	*Gospel*
iii. 14, We have passed out of death into life.	v. 24, He hath passed out of death into life.
iii. 15, A murderer.[1]	viii. 44, A murderer.[1]
iii. 16, He laid down his life for us.	x. 11, The good shepherd layeth down his life for his sheep.
iv. 6, The spirit of truth.	xiv. 16, The spirit of truth.
iv. 9, His only begotten Son.	i. 18, The only begotten Son.
v. 4, Overcometh the world.	xvi. 33, I have overcome the world.
v. 13, Have eternal life.	iii. 15, Have eternal life.

Besides the common use of a number of phrases like those illustrated above,[2] which reflect the same or kindred religious conceptions, there are several passages in the Epistle which appear to presume the teaching of our Lord as described in the Gospel. The following are a few parallels where the passage from the Gospel seems to have been in the mind of the writer of the Epistle:

Epistle	*Gospel*
ii. 25. This is the promise which He promised us, even the life eternal.	x. 28. I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of my hand.
iii. 11. This is the message which ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another.	xiii. 34. A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.
v. 14. This is the boldness which we have towards Him, that if we ask anything according to His will, He heareth us.	xiv. 13. Whatsoever ye shall ask in My name, that will I do.

There is also between the Epistle and the Gospel a noticeable resemblance in a fondness for combined affirmative and negative clauses (cf. p. 231), for sentences of a peculiar structure (*e.g.* *αὕτη ἐστὶν . . . ἵνα*, *αὕτη ἐστὶν . . . ὅτι*, *ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκομεν . . . ἐάν*) and for *καί . . . δέ*, for *πᾶς ὁ* with a participle, and for *καθὼς . . . καί*.[3] The two works are also marked by the absence from both of the terms *εὐαγγέλιον* (for which *ἀγγελία* is used as an equivalent in the Epistle, i. 5, iii. 11) and *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι*.[4] It is true that accompanying these similarities there are a few phraseological divergences, for both have a certain number of words peculiar to themselves; and whereas the Gospel repeatedly employs *οὐ μή* and *μέν*, the Epistle has no instance of either. But though there are these and some other slight variations of style, as well as some variety in the treatment of the ideas common to the two,[5] they do not amount to any serious difference

[1] Within the New Testament this word (*ἀνθρωποκτόνος*) only occurs in these two passages.

[2] Cf. Brooke, *Johannine Epistles*, pp. ii.–iv.

[3] See Brooke, *Johannine Epistles*, pp. vi., vii.

[4] Zahn, *I.N.T.* iii. 373.

[5] See Moffatt, *L.N.T.* pp. 590–592; Brooke, *op. cit.* pp. xi.–xvi. Among the most conspicuous is the use of *Paraclete* in connexion with Christ Himself (ii. 1), not with the Spirit (*Joh.* xiv. 16, though by calling the Spirit "*another* Paraclete" the Evangelist implies that Christ is a Paraclete) and the conception of Anti-

of either matter or manner; and since it is unreasonable to suppose that a writer never alters at intervals his customary forms of expression, or modifies in course of time earlier thoughts, it seems hypercritical to conclude, in consequence of such distinctions, that these two works, dissimilar in plan but so essentially alike in outlook and diction, cannot proceed from one author.

If the Gospel and the Epistle really come from one and the same writer the Epistle, in view of what has been said above (p. 321), is likely to be the later of the two; and was presumably designed to enforce, in a simple and practical way, the difficult teaching embodied in the Gospel. The First Epistle throws no direct light upon the question of the name and standing of the common author of the two works, though at the beginning of it the writer classes himself amongst those who had seen Christ in the flesh (cf. p. 209); but a suggestion is furnished by a consideration of the Second and Third Epistles.

2 *Joh.*

The Second Epistle, unlike the First, is not of the nature of an encyclical letter, but was sent to a particular destination. Though anonymous, it purports to have been written by an elder, and is addressed to "the elect lady," which, in view of the plural pronouns in *vv.* 6, 8, 10, and the parallel expressions in *v.* 12, 1 *Pet.* v. 13, is probably a figurative designation for a Church (the thought of the collective Church as the wife of the Lord (cf. *Rev.* xxi. 9, *Eph.* v. 23 f.) being applied to an individual community).[1] There is, however, no evidence to show for what local Church the letter was intended. Its aim is to denounce teachers propounding Docetic views about the Person of Christ.

External Evidence

The Second Epistle has not the same early attestation as the First; and evidence for it is not anterior to the last half of the second century.

(*a*) The Muratorian Catalogue has the statement that *Joannis duæ* (*Epistolæ*) *in Catholica* (*ecclesia*) *habentur.*

(*b*) Irenæus quotes 2 *Joh.* 7, 8, *Multi seductores exierunt in hunc mundum*, etc., though he erroneously implies that the passage occurs in the First Epistle.

(*c*) Clement of Alexandria alludes to a "larger" Epistle of John's (p. 320), thus implying acquaintance with a smaller; and a fragmentary translation of his *Outlines* mentions *Secunda Joannis epistola*, and

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christ (absent from the Gospel). Conversely there is no mention in the Epistle of the "Word" (ὁ Λόγος) in an absolute sense, though it has the phrase "the Word of Life" (ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς i. 1). For 1 *Joh.* v. 7–8 as represented in the A.V., see p. 675.

[1] It is improbable that ἐκλεκτῇ Κυρίᾳ means "the elect Kyria" (the Greek for which would probably be Κυρία ἡ ἐκλεκτή, cf. *v.* 13), though this feminine name occurs in inscriptions found in Asia Minor (Zahn, *I.N.T.* iii. pp. 382–3). It is still more unlikely that the phrase means "the lady Electa."

speaks of it as being written *ad quandam Bayloniam Electam nomine, significat autem electionem ecclesiæ sanctæ.*

(*d*) Origen (cf. Eus. *H.E.* vi. 25) states that John, " who reclined upon the bosom of Jesus, left, beside the Gospel and the Apocalypse, likewise an Epistle of very few lines, perhaps also a second and third, but not all consider them genuine."

(*e*) Dionysius of Alexandria (cf. Eus. *H.E.* vii. 25) in denying the book of *Revelation* to be the work of John the son of Zebedee (p. 328) contrasts the mention in it of the author by name with the anonymity of the Second and Third Epistles.

(*f*) Eusebius in his enumeration of the New Testament Scriptures places among " the disputed writings " those " that are called the second and third of John."

In view of the paucity of patristic literature belonging to the first half of the second century and the slightness of the Second Epistle, the absence of early reference to it is not surprising.

Internal Evidence

Just as there is a marked similarity in phraseology between the First Epistle and the Gospel, so there is a likeness almost as marked between the Second Epistle and the First, as will be seen from the following :—

2 *Joh.*	1 *Joh.*
1. Love . . . in truth.	iii. 18. Love . . . in truth.
5. Not as though I wrote to thee a new commandment, but that which we had from the beginning.	ii. 7. No new commandment wrote I unto you, but an old commandment which ye had from the beginning.
6. Even as ye heard from the beginning.	iii. 11. (The message) which ye heard from the beginning.
7. They that confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh.	iv. 2. (Every spirit) which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh.
This is . . . the antichrist.	ii. 22. This is the Antichrist.
9. The same hath both the Father and the Son.	v. 12. He that hath the Son. . . .
12. I hope to come unto you and to speak face to face that your joy may be fulfilled.	i. 4. These things we write that our joy may be fulfilled.

The last passage from the Second Epistle gains in point if it is assumed that the person or persons addressed were acquainted with the First Epistle, and that the writer looks forward to conferring by personal intercourse the joy which he previously was only able to impart by letter. It is impossible to suppose that it was worth while for one wishing to imitate the First Epistle to produce a letter of such small extent. The internal evidence of the two points unmistakably to identity of origin.[1]

The Second Epistle (as has been said) purports to have been written by an elder (" the presbyter "), a term which may be used in a literal sense, or may be an official title. The description is important in the light of the

[1] The absence of the Johannine words ζωή, φῶς, αἰώνιος, πιστεύειν (Stanton, *Gospels as Hist. Doc.* iii. p. 107) from a letter of thirteen verses is not very remarkable.

statement of Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 39, 7) that Papias was acquainted with a presbyter John. Though the name "John" was not uncommon, the coincidence between the facts that Papias knew, and was a hearer of, "the presbyter John," and that there exists an epistle, written by "the presbyter," which became known as John's, is suggestive. As has been seen, this Epistle resembles too closely the First to be the work of any but the author of the latter, whilst the First Epistle almost certainly proceeds from the author of the Gospel. It has been shown that the difficulties of ascribing the last-named book to the Apostle John are very great (p. 224); but the name of John is the only one that was ever associated with it in antiquity, and it seems a plausible hypothesis that in the presbyter John who wrote the Second Epistle and (as will be seen) the Third also, we have the author of the Gospel as well as of the First Epistle. He may have been a youth at the time of the Crucifixion (A.D. 29); and if he lived to a considerable age, surviving into the second century, it would have been quite possible for Papias to have come in contact with him. If this hypothesis is correct, the date of 2 *Joh.*, and most probably of 1 *Joh.* and the Fourth Gospel, may be approximately assigned to the last decade of the first century. It is not inconsistent with this date that the First and Second Epistles denounce a group of teachers who maintained a kind of Docetism (1 *Joh.* iv. 2, 2 *Joh.* 7); for though Gnosticism flourished chiefly in the second century, it did not enter full-grown into the world, and the rudiments of it may have been diffused at the end of the first century, when Cerinthus was influential. On the assumption that John the Presbyter was the actual author of the books enumerated, his name eventually became confused with that of John the Apostle, and his works came to be attributed to the more distinguished personality.

3 *Joh.*

The Third Epistle bearing the name of John is, like the Second, a letter in substance as well as in form (with superscription and final salutation). It is written, too, like the Second, by one who calls himself "the elder" (or presbyter), and is addressed to a certain Gaius, expressing the writer's satisfaction at his loyalty to the true faith, and his practice of hospitality. Gaius was apparently a member of the particular Church to which 2 *Joh.* was directed (see *v.* 9); but nothing is known or can plausibly be conjectured about him. The external attestation of the Epistle is inferior to that which has been adduced for the preceding. There is, indeed, a curious expression used by Papias, who (in a passage quoted by Eus. *H.E.* iii. 39, 3) says, "I did not take pleasure . . . in those that report strange commandments, but in those that report the commandments given by the Lord to the faith (*i.e.* believers) and springing from *the truth itself*; and the last words coincide with 3 *Joh.* 12. But the letter is not quoted by Tertullian, Irenæus, or Cyprian; and it is said that "we find no certain trace of language of the Third Epistle till the time of Augustine and Jerome."[1] It has been seen that the Muratorian

[1] Brooke, *Johannine Epistles*, p. lxi.

Catalogue mentions two Epistles of John; but the reference is probably to the First and Second. Origen states that the Second and Third Epistles were not universally considered genuine, and Eusebius reckons them both among the disputed books. Nevertheless, the internal evidence for its authenticity is substantial, for its phraseology links it with the Second, if not with the First.

3 *Joh.*	2 *Joh.*
1. Whom I love in truth.	1. Whom I love in truth.
3. I rejoice greatly . . . thou walkest in truth (cf. also *v.* 4).	4. I rejoice greatly . . . certain of thy children walking in truth.
13. I had many things to write unto thee, but I am unwilling to write (them) with ink or pen; but I hope shortly to see thee, and we shall speak face to face.	12. Having many things to write unto you, I would not (write this) with paper and ink, but I hope to come unto you and to speak face to face.

In 3 *Joh.* 9 the writer mentions that he "wrote somewhat unto the church," and the allusion seems to be to the Second Epistle, "the elect lady" to whom that letter is addressed representing a church (p. 322). The language of the First Epistle is not so fully echoed, but the following is significant:

3 *Joh.*	1 *Joh.*
11. He that doeth good is of God; he that doeth evil hath not seen God.	iv. 4. Ye are of God. iv. 20. Whosoever sinneth hath not seen Him.

Moreover the phrase "bear witness" (*vv.* 3, 6, 12) recalls *Joh.* xix. 35 and other passages in the Fourth Gospel.

Acceptance of the Epistle as a piece of genuine correspondence seems warranted by the circumstantial allusions which it contains (*vv.* 9, 12), for the letter is not important enough to make a theory of forgery plausible. The defective external attestation is fairly intelligible in view of the private nature of the communication, which would hinder it from being read in the public services of the church,[1] and prevent it from coming into general circulation until late.

The place of origin was probably Ephesus. This was the locality associated by tradition with the publication of the Gospel (cf. Eus. *H.E.* iii. 31, 3); and at none other are the Epistles so likely to have been composed.

Revelation

Authorship

Revelation,[2] like the Pauline and Petrine Epistles, and those of St. James and St. Jude, but unlike the Gospels and some other of the New Testament writings, contains the name of its real or ostensible author,

[1] Cf. Salmon, *I.N.T.* p. 282.

[2] Charles' *Revelation* appeared too late for the present writer to do more than check by it a few statements.

who styles himself John (i. 1, 4, 9, xxii. 8), and reckons himself among a body of Christian prophets (xxii. 9, cp. xix. 10). His name points to his having been of Hebrew lineage, and his numerous Hebraisms confirm this. His work (described as a prophecy (i. 3, xxii. 7, 10, 18, 19) is addressed to certain churches in the Roman province of Asia (p. 66), and his acquaintance with their conditions and circumstances proves that he must some time have resided in that region. He expressly states, indeed, that he had shared in the trials which those to whom he wrote (i. 9) had undergone in consequence of their Christian faith (i. 9), and implies that he, for the same faith, had suffered exile in the island of Patmos (one of the Sporades, situated almost opposite to Miletus). This is all that the book itself discloses about his personality and experiences, though various allusions in it throw some light upon the date at which it was written (as explained below).

Ecclesiastical tradition, however, adds materially (whether also accurately remains to be considered) to this information by identifying the author with the Apostle and "Evangelist" St. John. Some of the passages from Patristic writers which relate directly or indirectly to the origin of *Revelation* have already been quoted pp. 224, 323), but parts of these, with some others, may be reproduced here, the earliest being placed last.

(1) Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 18, 23) records a report that in a persecution of the Christians by Domitian, the Apostle and Evangelist John, who was then alive, was condemned to dwell on the island of Patmos, in consequence of his testimony to the Divine Word; that he returned in the reign of Nerva (A.D. 96–98) and lived at Ephesus; and that in the reign of Trajan he was still living in Asia, and governing the churches of that region, having returned after the death of Domitian (A.D. 96) from his exile on the island. Elsewhere, however (*H.E.* iii. 25, 4), he places *Revelation* doubtfully among the spurious writings (*ἐν τοῖς νόθοις*), adding "which some reject (*ἀθετοῦσι*) but which others class with the accepted books" (*τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις*).

(2) Origen (as quoted by Eusebius *H.E.* vi. 25) asks, "Why need we speak of him who reclined upon the bosom of Jesus, John, who has left us one Gospel? . . . and he wrote also *Revelation*." He also in some of his commentaries (*in Joh.* i. 14) introduces a statement with the words "John the son of Zebedee says in *Revelation* . . ."

(3) Hippolytus (d. after 217) identifies the Apostle John with the writer of *Revelation* in the words, "Tell me, blessed John, apostle and disciple of the Lord, what thou sawest and heardest about Babylon?"

(4) Polycrates (fl. *circ.* 200) refers to John, "who was both a witness and a teacher and who reclined upon the bosom of the Lord," as being buried at Ephesus (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 31, 3).

(5) Tertullian mentions that the Apostle John, after he had been plunged into boiling oil without suffering harm, was banished to an island.

(6) Clement of Alexandria (*ap.* Eus. *H.E.* iii. 23, 5) mentions that John the Apostle after the death of the tyrant (Domitian or Nero) returned from the island of Patmos to Ephesus.

(7) Irenæus (*ap.* Eus. *H.E.* iii. 23, 3) writes: "All the elders that associated with John, the disciple of the Lord in Asia, bear witness that John delivered it (the Apostolic tradition) to them. For he remained among them until the time of Trajan." And again, "The Church in Ephesus also, which was founded by Paul, and where John remained until the time of Trajan, is a faithful witness of the Apostolic tradition." And elsewhere (*ap.* Eus. *H.E.* iii. 18; cf. also v. 8) he declares that the Revelation was seen by John "almost in our own generation, at the end of the reign of Domitian" (A.D. 81–96).

(8) Justin Martyr states that "a certain man named John, one of the Apostles of Christ, in a Revelation made to him, prophesied that those who believed in our Christ would spend a thousand years in Jerusalem (*c. Tryph.* 81, cf. Eus. *H.E.* iv. 18, 8).

It will be seen that some of these passages expressly assign the authorship of *Revelation* to the Apostle John, whilst others, without mentioning *Revelation*, represent the Apostle as being banished to Patmos and as returning from thence to Ephesus. Irenæus, however, only calls the John who was connected with the Church in Asia "the disciple of the Lord," so that his evidence is compatible with the supposition that the John he refers to was not the Apostle. Nevertheless, the passages quoted point as a whole to the prevalence of a traditional belief in the early Church that the exile of Patmos, who wrote *Revelation*, and who lived and died at Ephesus, was the Apostle John.

It has, however, been shown that, besides the tradition reflected in these quotations, there is another based on the authority of Papias, representing that John the son of Zebedee was killed by the Jews (see p. 226). Though neither the place nor the date of his martyrdom is mentioned, this tradition, whilst not absolutely contradictory of, is not easily reconcilable with, the belief that he died and was buried in Asia, some time after the beginning of the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98). The existence of it, indeed, in view of the early date of Papias (d. *circ.* A.D. 160), casts very grave doubt upon the trustworthiness of that which is preserved by Eusebius, Origen, and the other writers just cited. And when the evidence furnished by *Revelation* respecting its author is considered, it cannot but seem strange that the writer, if an Apostle, should not describe himself as such,[1] but should count himself among the *prophets* of the Church. The circumstance that he bore the same name as the Apostle "whom Jesus loved" is a coincidence to which small importance can be attached, for the name was exceedingly common, four other Johns being mentioned in the New Testament, more than a dozen in the Old Testament, five in the books of the Maccabees, and seventeen in Josephus.[2] On the other hand, whilst the identity of the name, unless supported by other evidence, affords little ground for the identification of the persons, it will account, if there is reason to think that they were really distinct, for the occurrence of some confusion between them.

[1] St. James, though regarded as an Apostle by St. Paul and St. Luke, does not style himself so in his Epistle.

[2] Swete, *Apocalypse*, p. clxxi.

Whether St. John was the writer of the Fourth Gospel is discussed elsewhere ; here it is only necessary to consider whether *Revelation* proceeds from the same author as the Gospel. That this is improbable is the conclusion suggested by the contrast between them in respect of (i) their theological interest and outlook, (ii) their style, including both the general quality of the Greek and the vocabulary employed.

(i) The differences in the theology of the two works are most conspicuous in connexion with (*a*) Eschatology, (*b*) Angelology, and (*c*) Christology. These differences will come under detailed consideration later : here it must suffice to notice a few of the most obvious contrasts.

(*a*) The writer of the Fourth Gospel, though he alludes to the Last Day (vi. 39, vii. 37, xii. 48), is so little interested in Eschatology that he omits all reference to our Lord's discourses about the end of the world which are contained in the Synoptists, although he was acquainted with them. But the writer of *Revelation* makes Eschatology his principal interest, and the book is mainly occupied with describing the portents that are to mark the end of the world.

(*b*) The writer of the Fourth Gospel very rarely refers to angels, whereas in *Revelation* angels are the most prominent figures, being mentioned nearly sixty times.

(*c*) Though the Christology of both books is marked by certain common doctrines, yet the two works present a noteworthy contrast even in connexion with some of the ideas which they verbally share. For example, both use the term *Λόγος* of our Lord, but the Fourth Gospel by it identifies Him with the principle of Reason discernible in Creation, whereas *Revelation*, which uses it only in the phrase *ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, means that He is the intermediary of God's communications.

(ii) In regard to the style of the two works, as long ago as the third century A.D., Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (247–265), maintained that the Gospel and the First Epistle were written not only without error in the Greek, but with eloquence in their expressions, and betrayed no barbarism, solecism, or vulgarism ; whereas the dialect and language of the writer of the Apocalypse were not accurate Greek, and use was made of barbarous idioms and in some places of solecisms (Eus. *H.E.* vii. 25). The estimate of modern scholars agrees with this judgment. The Fourth Gospel shows less trace of Hebrew idiom even than the Synoptists, and the author's Greek is correct, though his sentences are too short and his constructions too simple to afford much room for mistake. But of *Revelation* it has been said that it " stands alone among Greek literary writings in its disregard of the ordinary rules of syntax. . . . The book seems openly and deliberately to defy the grammarian." It abounds in Hebraisms, neglect of concord (especially in cases of apposition), novel constructions of verbs, adjectives, etc. It has been suggested that the author, though writing in Greek, thought in Hebrew, and that he never mastered Greek—even the Greek of his own period—idiomatically. But whatever the explanation may be, it is manifest that the diction of the book offers a striking contrast to that of the Gospel.

Less decisive, but still important, is the difference in the vocabulary.

There are, indeed, a certain number of phrases which are common to both the Fourth Gospel and *Revelation*, though rare elsewhere in the New Testament, such as *νικάω* and *διψάω* (in a spiritual sense); *τηρέω* with *λόγον* or *ἐντολάς*; *περιπατέω* employed with *φῶς* or *σκοτία*; the substantive *μαρτυρία*; the adjective *ἀληθινός*; the construction *λαλέω μετὰ τινος*; and the use of *μετὰ ταῦτα* in transitions. And some variation in vocabulary is attributable to the dissimilar contents of the two books. Thus little weight attaches to the fact that the phrase *answered and said* occurs thirty times in the Gospel but never in *Rev.*, since the former work contains much dialogue, and the latter little. The occurrence, too, of *Παράκλητος* four times in the Gospel, and its absence from *Rev.* is adequately accounted for by the difference in the subjects treated. But after allowance has been made for this, the number of words found frequently in the one but rarely or never in the other is remarkable. Amongst substantives, adjectives, and verbs, the following figures are significant:—

	Fourth Gospel.	*Revelation.*
ἀγάπη	8 times	2 times
ἀγαπάω	34 ,,	4 ,,
αἰώνιος	17 ,, (always with *ζωή*)	1 time (with *εὐαγγέλιον*)
ἀληθής	14 ,,	0 time
ἀλήθεια	25 ,,	0 ,,
ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου	3 ,,	0 ,,
πιάζω	8 ,,	1 ,,
τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου	3 ,,	0 ,,
ὑπάγω	32 ,,	6 times
χαρά	9 ,,	0 time
χαίρω	8 ,,	2 times
Ἱερσόλυμα	12 ,,	0 time
δοῦλοι θεοῦ (*αὐτοῦ*, *ἐμοῦ*)	0 time	11 times
οἰκουμένη	0 ,,	3 ,,
παντοκράτωρ	0 ,,	9 ,,
πίστις	0 ,,	4 ,,
σοφία	0 ,,	4 ,,
ὑπομονή	0 ,,	7 ,,
Ἱερουσαλήμ	0 ,,	3 ,,

But more significant still are the figures relating to particles and the like, for these are little affected by difference of subject-matter.

	Fourth Gospel.	*Revelation.*
ἀλλά	90 times (or more)	13 times
γάρ	60 ,, (or more)	17 ,,
ἐμός	36 ,,	0[1] time
ἰδέ	15 ,,	0 ,,

[1] *Rev.* uses *ἐμοῦ* or *μού* instead.

	Fourth Gospel.	*Revelation.*
ὧδε ("thus")	4 times	0 time
καθώς	31 „	0 „
μέν . . . δέ	6 „	0 „
οὖν	190 „ (or more)	6 times
ἄχρι	0 time	11 times
ἐνώπιον	1 „	31 „
ἰδοῦ	4 times	26 „

A few other distinctions are the following. The Fourth Gospel prefers *ὁ λεγόμενος*, *Rev.* *ὁ καλούμενος*; the former has *μή* with the participle eleven times, the latter never; the former has *ἵνα* or *ἵνα μή* more than 140 times, the latter less than fifty times; the former, on the only occurrence of *ἄξιος*, constructs it with *ἵνα*, the latter nowhere has this construction, but on five occasions places after it the infinitive; the former uses *οὐκέτι* twelve times, the latter only three times, more commonly separating *ἔτι* from the preceeding negative (*e.g.* *ὁ θάνατος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι*).[1]

This examination seems to justify the provisional conclusion previously stated.

The combination of a considerable divergence in the character and spirit of the theology with a marked difference in the character of the Greek constructions, the vocabulary, and the articulation of the sentences makes it virtually impossible to think that the two books are the productions of one hand. Whether the Fourth Gospel was really written by St. John or not, *Revelation* with its intense interest in eschatology and its peculiar style cannot with any plausibility be attributed to the same author.

It has been sought by some advocates of St. John's authorship of both the Gospel and *Revelation* to meet the difficulty occasioned through the diversity of style by the hypothesis that *Rev.* was written much earlier than the Gospel, before the Apostle had become proficient in Greek composition; and since the author of *Rev.*, previously to producing it, had suffered persecution, it has been supposed that his banishment to Patmos took place during the reign of Nero (54–68) and that the book was written between 68 and 70; whereas the Gospel was the work of his latest years (between A.D. 80 and 100). But the gap between the two books in respect both of outlook and style is too great to be bridged by the supposition of a change in the author brought about by the lapse of some ten or twenty years, especially in mature life (for if St. John was no older than 19 at the Crucifixion in A.D. 29, he would have been 60 in A.D. 70, and 80 in A.D. 90). St. John's responsibility for *both* works thus seems out of the question, and if it has been successfully shown that St. John was not the author of the Gospel (p. 224), the only question left for discussion is whether he was responsible for *Rev.*

It has been seen that a statement attributed to Papias declares that

[1] See further Charles, *Rev.* i. pp. xxix.–xxxi.

St. John was put to death by the Jews; and though the occasion is not indicated, his death at their hands is more likely to have happened at Jerusalem before the destruction of the city in A.D. 70, than elsewhere after 70. There is not lacking from other sources some confirmation of the fact contained in this statement (see p. 226); and its acceptance makes very improbable the Apostle's traditional authorship of the Johannine Gospel. But if St. John was put to death before A.D. 70, it is impossible that he can have written *Revelation*. There is internal evidence (as will appear) that *Revelation* in part was written in the reign of Vespasian (68–79), whilst the external evidence favours the view that the writer was banished to Patmos in the reign of Domitian (81–96), and died in Asia under Trajan (98–117); and this date is corroborated by the intensity of the writer's hatred for Rome, which is best accounted for by Domitian's claim to divinity and the persecution of those who, like the Christians, refused to acknowledge it. But if the work was not completed or published until after the end of Domitian's reign in A.D. 98, and if St. John was *not* killed by the Jews as represented by Papias, he would have been 86, had he survived until 96, which renders his authorship of it improbable, though not impossible. And this adverse conclusion is strengthened by the circumstance that the writer does not style himself an Apostle but a *prophet* (xxii. 9) and refers to the Twelve Apostles in a manner suggesting that he was not amongst them (xxi. 14).[1] It appears probable that he was a *Palestinian* Christian by origin. Not only does he draw for material upon Jewish writings (see below), but his thoughts move on Jewish lines. Thus he represents the site of the great battle between the armies of the dragon and of the Lord as *Har-magedon* (xvi. 16) or Megiddo: the song sung by the redeemed is "the song of Moses, the servant of God," as well as "the song of the Lamb" (xv. 3); Jerusalem is called "the holy city," and "the beloved city" (xi. 2, xx. 9); and he gives to the angel of the abyss a Hebrew name which he translates into Greek (ix. 11).

Occasion, Date, and Place of Origin

The Book of *Revelation* has the characteristic beginning and ending of an epistle (see i. 4, xxii. 21), is addressed to seven Churches included in the Roman province of Asia, and was perhaps meant to be communicated to others of inferior importance in their neighbourhood. For the seven were not the only places in the province where Christian communities were settled, since there were bodies of Christians also at Troas (*Acts* xx. 5 f.), Hierapolis, and Colossæ (*Col.* i. 1, ii. 1, iv. 13). The number probably was chosen for its symbolic significance, conveying the idea of completeness; so the seven Churches designated by name were perhaps regarded as typical of the Christian Churches generally. The seven were situated in regard to one another at the angles of an irregular trapezium, the lines of the figure passing north from Ephesus through Smyrna to Pergamum (about 80 miles as the crow flies), thence east-south-east to

[1] On the other hand, St. Paul's references to Apostles (*Eph.* ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11) should be noticed.

Thyatira (about 40 miles), thence south-east through Sardis and Philadelphia to Laodicea (about 110 miles), the last mentioned place being about the same distance east of Ephesus. The occasion which elicited the book was the outbreak of persecution directed against the Christians of these places for refusing to participate in the worship of the Roman Emperor (p. 81). The political advantage of this cult was great, since it afforded a bond of union between a number of races and peoples differing in language and religion ; and encouraged a spirit of loyalty to the sovereign. The early Emperors Augustus and Tiberius, however, kept the extension of it within bounds ; and the first to insist upon it was Caligula (37–41), whose attempt to enforce it outraged most acutely the religious feelings of both Jews and Christians (p. 56). The first persecution of the Christians as a distinctive body took place under Nero, who, however, seems to have inflamed popular indignation against them, suspected and hated as they were by the mob, chiefly in order to divert attention from his own infamies. By the Flavian emperors the same hostile attitude to the Church continued to be maintained, though by Vespasian and Titus probably not with equal brutality. It is indeed asserted by Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 17) that Vespasian undertook nothing prejudicial to the Christian body. Titus, however, at a council of war held after the fall of Jerusalem, is said to have been among those who thought the destruction of the Temple desirable in order to abolish the more completely the religion of the *Christians* as well as of the Jews,[1] and it seems likely that neither he nor his father would pass over any neglect of Emperor-worship if brought before the notice of either, though both may have refrained from encouraging informers. But by Domitian (81–96) Caligula's effort to render the worship of the Emperor compulsory was revived ; and in his reign the second great persecution of the Christians occurred. The province of Asia was likely to be the scene of much severity towards them, for the cult of the Emperors was popular there, Pergamum having a temple of Augustus, Smyrna one of Tiberius, and Ephesus one probably of Claudius. The province also contained a number of Jews, and these, who were privileged to practise their religion without interference (p. 79), were sure to endeavour to distinguish themselves from the Christians, and to exasperate the multitude against the latter.

It was to encourage the Asiatic Christians to support with fortitude the trials confronting them that the book was designed. It did this by predicting the speedy overthrow of their oppressors by their Lord, and the felicity of those who, faithful to Him, endured to the end. Destruction was to overtake not only the Emperor (symbolized by a beast rising from the sea) and the pagan priesthoods of the province of Asia (symbolized by a second beast rising from the land), but Satan himself, the prompter of all the evil. Prefixed to the specifically Apocalyptic section of the book are letters in which the individual Churches are encouraged or warned according to their qualities and conduct.

The clearest evidence which the book furnishes about the date at

[1] See Severus Sulpicius ii. 30, quoted in Ramsay, *Church of the Roman Empire*, pp. 253–4 ; Swete, *Apoc.* p. lxxx.

which it was written is the allusion in xvii. 10 to seven kings, of whom it is declared that "the five are fallen, the one is, the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a little while." This is followed by a reference (*v.* 11) to another, described figuratively as "a beast that was, and is not," and who "is himself also an eighth and is of the seven." On the assumption that the five fallen kings begin with Augustus, who was followed by Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero, "the one that is" (with whom the author of this passage was contemporary) must be Vespasian,[1] whilst the one that "is not yet come, but when he cometh must continue a little while," is presumably Titus, who was of weak health and whom the writer expected to be short-lived (his reign, in point of fact, lasting only two years). This passage, if a unity, indicates as the date of at least this part of the book the reign of Vespasian; nor is the conclusion disproved by the ensuing reference to an eighth, who must be Domitian, the successor of Titus. For the reference does not demonstrate that the writer was acquainted at the time with the reign of the eighth; his language need not mean more than that he was aware of an expectation that Nero, one of the seven, was destined to return to life and power, an expectation which is known to have actually prevailed.[2] On the other hand, if this internal evidence is to be harmonized with the statements of Irenæus and Eusebius (p. 326), as also of Victorinus (*circ.* 270),[3] that the writer was banished to Patmos by Domitian, and returned thence after the tyrant's death, it seems necessary to assume that, whilst the work was begun in the reign of Vespasian, it was completed (during exile) under Domitian, and published after the latter's death. And this view is really favoured by two facts. One is that the writer appears acquainted with the Gospels of *Mt.* and *Lk.* (cf., for instance, iii. 3 and xvi. 15 with *Mt.* xxiv. 43; iii. 5 with *Mt.* x. 32; perhaps xxi. 14 with *Mt.* xvi. 18; and vi. 10 with *Lk.* xviii. 7, 8; xix. 9 with *Lk.* xiv. 16[4]); and these were probably not written until about A.D. 80 (p. 192). The other is that whereas in the preliminary letters to the Seven Churches only one martyr (ii. 13) is alluded to (a feature which points to the book having been first planned at a period when the persecution of the Christians was not vigorous), in the later parts of the book reference is made to numerous martyrs (vi. 11, xx. 4), including Apostles and prophets (xviii. 20), and the occurrence of many martyrdoms; and the fierceness of the writer's indignation towards Rome in various passages finds a natural explanation in the severity with which the Church was treated by Domitian. Hence, on the whole, it is probable that the ascription of it, at least in its final form, to the reign of Domitian, is correct, for it was he who before his death enforced Emperor-

[1] Galba, Otho and Vitellius, who came between Nero and Vespasian and reigned all together less than a year, are naturally passed over.

[2] Cf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8. *Achaia atque Asia falso exterrita velut Nero adventaret vario super exitu eius rumore, eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque.* Even in the time of Trajan some persons believed Nero to be still living.

[3] Victorinus (*in Apoc.* xvii. 10): *intelligi oportet tempus quo scripta Apocalypsis edita est, quoniam tunc erat Cæsar Domitianus.*

[4] Charles, *Rev.* i. pp. lxxxiv.–lxxxvi.

worship, which by his predecessors Vespasian and Titus was not taken very seriously.

The external evidence, however, does not uniformly support the time of Domitian as the date of composition, though the alternative dates command little confidence. Two of the Syriac versions, the Philoxenian and the Harkleian, assign the origin of the book to the reign of Nero (54–68), when the first savage persecution of the Christians took place (A.D. 62). But this view makes it necessary to reckon the five fallen kings in xvii. 10 as including Julius Cæsar, which is improbable; whilst the impatience of the souls of the martyrs (vi. 9, 10) who may be assumed to have perished in 64 is not very intelligible if only two or three years had elapsed since their death, instead of a much longer period. By Epiphanius (A.D. 350) the book is dated in the reign of Claudius (41–54), which seems quite incompatible with the internal evidence; whilst by Theophylact (eleventh century) it is placed in the time of Trajan (98–117), which is perhaps an inference from the language of Irenæus (p. 327).[1]

About the place of publication nothing is known for certain, but the importance of Ephesus renders it not unlikely that the book was first circulated in that city.

The occurrence of rather violent transitions in the course of the book, and the Jewish character of some passages in it unite to favour the supposition that the writer has incorporated certain earlier materials, though in what degree he has modified them cannot be ascertained. The principal sections which seem to be derived from other writings are the following:—

(*a*) vii. 1–8. *The sealing of* 144,000 *out of every tribe of Israel.*

Although the Christian Church in the New Testament is often regarded as representing the true Israel, yet the detailed enumeration of the twelve tribes here, and the similarity to *Ezek.* ix. 4 f. suggests that this passage has been borrowed from some Jewish Apocalyptic work, in which those Jews who had not participated in heathen idolatry were described as "sealed" to save them from being destroyed with such of their countrymen as had been disloyal to their God.

(*b*) xi. 1–13. *The two witnesses.*

This seems to be taken from some earlier source, since the direction to measure the Temple assumes that it was in existence, so that the passage dates from before A.D. 70; and as nothing is said about the execution of the command, it looks as if the section had been incorporated from some Jewish or Jewish Christian source, a verse or verses being omitted between *v.* 2 and *v.* 3. The two witnesses are probably Elijah and Moses (cf. *vv.* 6, 12), who were to appear before the Second coming of the Messiah.

(*c*) xii. 1–17. *The woman arrayed with the sun.*

This section seems to be of Jewish, not Christian, origin, for it represents the Messiah as taken up to heaven at His *birth*, and depicts the expulsion of the dragon from heaven as achieved by Michael (the celestial prince of the Jews, *Dan.* x. 21). The woman in the original source probably symbolized historic Israel whence the Messiah was to spring (cf. *Mic.* v. 2–3), the twelve stars in her crown corresponding to the twelve tribes.

(*d*) xiv. 14–16. *One like unto a son of man having in his hand a sharp sickle.*

The same figure is used in *Dan.* vii. 13 as a personification of Israel, and in the book of *Enoch* and in the Gospels describes the Messiah. The transition from the one meaning to the other was facilitated by the conception of supramundane personalities which were both the counterparts of the peoples of the world and the guardians of their interests (as in *Dan.* x. 13 f.), Michael being the angelic prince that watched over Israel. In the present passage the figure seems to be both an angel

[1] Swete, *Apoc.* p. xcvi.

(since the next figure described is called "another angel," *v.* 15) and the Messiah (since he is seated on a cloud and is crowned), and thus appears to represent a transitional stage between the personification of collective Israel in *Daniel* and the heavenly Messiah of *Enoch* and the Gospels. If so, the section is likely to be Jewish in origin.

The Second Epistle of St. Peter

The Second Epistle bearing the name of St. Peter expressly professes, like the First, to proceed from the Apostle, and there is employed in it the same salutation, "grace to you and peace be multiplied"; whilst allusion is made in the course of it to a previous letter (iii. 1). Moreover the writer refers to our Lord's Transfiguration, which he claims to have witnessed (i. 16, 17); and to the prediction of his own death uttered (according to *Joh.* xxi. 18, 19) by Christ after His resurrection. Nevertheless, it differs from 1 *Pet.* in being addressed to no particular body of Christians; there is no indication of the place of its composition; and on various grounds its authenticity has been more widely doubted than that of any other New Testament writing. These grounds are both external and internal.

1. *External Evidence*

The earliest Father who shows conclusive knowledge of it is *Clement of Alexandria*, with regard to whom Eusebius (*H.E.* vi. 14, 1) states: "To sum up briefly, he has given in his 'Outlines' abridged accounts of all canonical scriptures, not omitting the disputed books (*αἱ ἀντιλεγόμεναι*)—I mean Jude, and the *remaining catholic epistles*, and that of Barnabas, and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter." But conflicting assertions of a later writer, Cassiodorus, make it questionable whether Clement placed the Second Epistle on a level with the First. In respect to writers anterior to Clement, it must suffice to quote the words of a defender of the genuineness of the book: "Before the time of Clement, if we put aside the *Apocalypse* [*of Peter*] and *Jude*, we can only detect scattered phrases and words which are found in 2 *Peter*, and of which several are not found elsewhere in the New Testament."[1] After the time of Clement references to it occur in various Fathers, but several make it plain that its authenticity was by no means uniformly acknowledged. This will appear from the following quotations:—

Origen.

"Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, has left one acknowledged (*ὁμολογουμένην*) Epistle, perhaps also a second (*ἔστω δὲ δευτέραν*), for this is doubtful" (Eus. *H.E.* vi. 25, 8).

Eusebius.

(*a*) "One Epistle of Peter, that called his first, is acknowledged. . . . But the Epistle in circulation as the second we have had handed down to us as uncanonical (*οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον*), though, as it has appeared to many

[1] Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude*, p. 211.

to be useful, it has been employed (ἐσπουδάσθη) with the other Scriptures" (*H.E.* iii. 3, 1).

(*b*) "Among the disputed writings which are nevertheless known to most there are circulated . . . also the second Epistle of Peter" (*H.E.* iii. 25, 3).

Jerome (346–420).

(*a*) *Scripsit* (*Petrus*) *duas Epistolas quæ Catholicæ nominantur; quarum secunda a plerisque eius esse negatur, propter stili cum priore dissonantiam.*

(*b*) *Duæ Epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri stilo inter se et charactere discrepant structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus.*

2. *Internal Evidence*

The internal features of the book which cast suspicion upon its genuineness are principally two: (*a*) the contrast in vocabulary and style to 1 *Pet.*; (*b*) references to conditions that are unlikely to have prevailed in St. Peter's lifetime. (*c*) A third factor bearing upon the question of authenticity arises from the similarity which it exhibits to the Epistle of *Jude*, if such similarity proves to be best accounted for by the assumption that the writer of 2 *Pet.* has borrowed from *Jude*, and not the writer of *Jude* from 2 *Pet.*

(*a*) Before considering the stylistic differences which are manifested in 2 *Pet.* as compared with 1 *Pet.*, and were noticed in the time of Jerome (see above), attention may be drawn to a distinction between the two letters in respect to the use made of the Old Testament. In the First Epistle there are at least fifteen quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures, or passages which reproduce their language; whereas in the Second there are only two or three, and these perhaps doubtful. In regard to vocabulary it has been reckoned that some 360 words occur in 1 *Pet.* which are not found in 2 *Pet.*, whilst conversely there are about 230 in 2 *Pet.* which are absent from 1 *Pet.*[1]

This Epistle, like every other of the New Testament writings, contains a number of words altogether peculiar to itself; but the proportion of such *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, *viz.* 56, is, in view of the brevity of the book, very large. Many are classical words,[2] but the employment of them is accompanied by the use of others in a sense contrary to that conveyed by them elsewhere (*e.g.* *βλέμμα* ("glance") for "seeing," *μελλήσω* for "I shall be ready," *μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι* ("make mention of") for "to remember," *σειρός* ("pit for keeping grain") for "dungeon." Hence the writer seems to have aimed at an ambitious phraseology, but has sometimes only succeeded in producing solecisms. A special feature of his manner, suggestive of deficient literary feeling, is the repetition of words in close contiguity (see i. 3, 4, *δεδωρημένος*, *δεδώρηται*; i. 10, 15, *σπουδάσατε*, *σπουδάσω*; i. 17, 18, *φωνῆς ἐνεχθείσης*, *φώνην ἐνεχθεῖσαν*; i. 20, 21, *προφητεία bis*; ii. 1, *ἀπωλείας*, *ἀπώλειαν*; ii. 13, 15, *μισθὸν ἀδικίας bis*;

[1] There are, however, a certain number of words which, within the New Testament, occur only in these two books together.

[2] See the list in Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 807 (Chase).

ii. 14, 18, *δελεάζοντες*, *δελεάζουσιν* ; ii. 18, 20, *ἀποφεύγοντας*, *ἀποφυγόντες* ; iii. 10, 12, *στοιχεῖα καυσούμενα bis*, etc.). A notable point of contrast between the two Epistles is the absence here of the particle *μέν*, and the numerous instances of *γάρ* ; and whereas the general style of the First Epistle " shows that the writer within certain limits had a very considerable appreciation of, and power over, the characteristic usages of Greek,"[1] that of the Second Epistle is often cumbrous, involved and obscure.[2] It has been seen that to account for the difference in style Jerome suggested the employment of different amanuenses ; but though this is an admissible explanation, there is nothing in 2 *Pet.* that actually favours the idea that the author had assistance in writing it. If 2 *Pet.* is genuine, the style is probably the Apostle's own.

(*b*) The chief passages suggesting that the letter originated at a period later than any that can have been included within St. Peter's lifetime are the following. (*a*) In iii. 4 f. it is implied that a long interval had elapsed since Christ's speedy Return had been predicted (contrast 1 *Pet.* iv. 7), so that mockers were asking, " Where is the promise of His coming ? for from the day that the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were." The writer, in strictness, foretells that such mockers *will* appear ; but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the writer really has in mind not a future, but an existing, situation (in ii. 13, 17, etc., present tenses are used), in which he seeks to encourage those whose hearts were made sick by deferred hopes. Since by the expression " the fathers " the Apostles are most naturally designated, the reference to these as dead involves the conclusion that the writer of the Epistle belonged to a later generation. (*β*) In iii. 15, 16 there occurs a reference to what St. Paul wrote in " all his Epistles,"[3] the contents of which the ignorant and unsteadfast are declared to " wrest unto their own destruction, as they do also the other Scriptures " (*τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς*). This passage seems to imply that when it was penned the Pauline Epistles had been collected, and had been invested with all the authority of Sacred Scriptures. They can scarcely have attained to this distinction within the lifetime of St. Peter, especially if he only outlived St. Paul by three or four years.[4]

(*c*) The question of the relation between 2 *Pet.* and the Epistle of *Jude* is interesting in itself, apart from the light which the inquiry throws upon the priority and originality of the two works. That in one of them use has been made of the other becomes apparent when the two are compared together. The most striking parallels are the following :—

[1] Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 782.

[2] Though the classical arrangement of the article noticed in 1 *Pet.* (p. 312) is rare in 2 *Pet.*, it occasionally occurs, see ii. 7, iii. 12, 14.

[3] In iii. 16 whilst A B C and a few cursives have *πάσαις ἐπιστολαῖς*, most other uncials and cursives have *πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς*.

[4] Defenders of the genuineness of the Epistle suppose that *αἱ γραφαί* is not here used in its technical sense as a collection of Sacred Writings, but refers to books of a religious character generally circulating in the Church.

	2 Pet.	*Jude*
(*a*)	ii. 3. Whose judgment now from of old lingereth not.	4. Who were of old set forth unto this judgment.
(*b*)	ii. 4 foll. (*Examples of Divine retribution*) Fallen angels, the Flood, Sodom and Gomorrah (the story of Lot being mentioned).	5 f. (*Examples of Divine retribution*) Israel in the wilderness, Fallen angels, Sodom and Gomorrah.
(*c*)	ii. 10, 11. They tremble not to rail at dignitaries, whereas angels bring not a railing judgment against them.	8, 9. They rail at dignitaries, though Michael the archangel, when disputing about the body of Moses, did not bring against him a railing judgment.
(*d*)	ii. 13. Spots (σπίλοι) and blemishes revelling in their love feasts (*v. l.* deceits) while feasting with you.	12. The spots (οἱ σπιλάδες) in your love-feasts, while feasting with (you).
(*e*)	ii. 15. Having followed the way of Balaam (the story of the ass being mentioned).	11. They went in the way of Cain and ran riotously in the error of Balaam.
(*f*)	ii. 17. These are springs without water and mists driven by a storm, for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved.	12, 13. These are . . . clouds without water carried along by winds . . . wandering stars for which the blackness of darkness hath been reserved for ever.
(*g*)	ii. 18. Uttering swelling words of vanity.	16. Their mouth speaketh swelling words.
(*h*)	iii. 3. In the last days mockers shall come with mockery, walking after their own (ἰδίας) lusts (there being added an illustration of the mockery).	18. In the last times there shall be mockers walking after their own (ἑαυτῶν) lusts.

The similarity between these passages is too great to be explicable by mere coincidence, and points to indebtedness on one side or the other. Some instances like (*b*), (*e*) and (*h*) may be explained either as an expansion of *Jude* by the writer of 2 *Pet.*, or a modification and abbreviation of 2 *Pet.* by St. Jude. The instance (*a*) looks rather more intelligible and original in 2 *Pet.* than in *Jude*, for in the former "judgment" has the natural sense of a sentence of punishment, whereas in the latter it must mean a sin (explained in the rest of the *v.*) which is its own punishment. On the other hand, in the case of both (*c*), (*f*) and (*g*), the originality appears to be on the side of *Jude*, for in 2 *Pet.* the allusion to the angels is quite obscure and is only elucidated by reference to the passage in *Jude*; the "blackness of darkness" is much less appropriate in connexion with the metaphors of waterless springs and mists than in connexion with the figure of wandering stars, whilst the phrase "uttering swelling words of vanity" as compared with "their mouth speaketh swelling words" is less close to the language of the *Assumption of Moses* (an Apocryphal work written between A.D. 7 and 29), which seems to be the ultimate source, and of which a fragmentary Latin version has *os eorum loquetur ingentia*.[1] And that *Jude* is really the original, of which use has been made in 2 *Pet.*, becomes highly probable in view of the circumstance that

[1] James, 2 *Pet. and Jude*, p. xlv.

it is much the shorter and that most of its contents are represented in 2 *Pet.*, which adds a great deal to them; for on the opposite supposition it is difficult to understand why *Jude* should have been written,[1] since it supplements 2 *Pet.* in so small a degree.

This conclusion that in 2 *Pet.* there is incorporated so much of *Jude* does not necessarily involve the result that it cannot have been written by St. Peter, for both the First and Third Evangelists have drawn largely upon St. Mark's Gospel. Nevertheless, it seems rather improbable that St. Peter, whose power of thought is evinced by the First Epistle bearing his name (even though the language of it may be due to Silvanus, p. 312), should have borrowed on so extensive a scale from the short letter of *Jude*. On the whole, then, the inference that 2 *Pet.* is dependent upon *Jude* and not *vice versa* is unfavourable to the view that St. Peter was its author, and confirms the decision already reached from a consideration of its style and its apparent anachronisms.

If 2 *Pet.* is not by St. Peter, and yet purports to be written by him, it is in strictness a forgery, though the judgment to be passed upon its author must be qualified by considerations that are inapplicable to similar forgeries at the present day. What little hesitation was felt in antiquity, even by individuals of great repute, in regard to composing, or procuring the composition of, letters bearing a false name may be seen from the request put by Cicero to his friend Atticus, quoted on p. 303. And during the centuries immediately preceding and following our Lord's birth there was a strong motive from reasons already explained (p. 121) for the production both by Jews and Christians of pseudonymous works. It is from this point of view that the conduct of the writer of 2 *Pet.* must be estimated. His work has been described as that of a man who was confronted with a special crisis: "Two forms of false teaching were current in his circle; one that of the Libertines, the other that of the deniers of the Second Coming. There was need that the members of his Church should be reminded of the teaching of the first preachers of the Word upon these points. . . . To meet the danger of the Libertine teaching he borrows and expands the words of an Apostolic writer (Jude) who himself refers back to the Apostles; to meet the other error he quotes, it may be, real words of St. Peter, or else an ancient writing in the prophetic manner; and he puts the whole of his warning into the form of a letter from St. Peter, feeling that he is taking the attitude which St. Peter himself would have taken, and perhaps knowing that he is to a great extent using words which were handed down to him as St. Peter's own."[2]

If the preceding reasoning is sound, the name of the author is entirely unknown, and the date at which he wrote is conjectural. It is not altogether unlikely that he was acquainted with some, if not all, of the Gospels. At any rate, the words in ii. 20, "the last state is become worse than the first," appear to reproduce the saying of our Lord in *Mt.* xii. 45 (= *Lk.* xi. 25). Mention has already been made of the allusion in i. 17 to the Transfiguration (where, however, the words represented as heard

[1] James, 2 *Pet. and Jude*, pp. xii., xiii., xvi.
[2] James, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiii.–xxxiv.

from heaven, though nearly resembling those in *Mt.* xvii. 5, are not exactly identical with them [1]). Finally, the allusion in i. 14 to Christ's prediction of St. Peter's speedy death looks like a reference to *Joh.* xxi. 18, 19, though the verbal resemblance is not close. If the Epistle really shows that the writer knew the Fourth Gospel, the date cannot be earlier than A.D. 100 ; and many scholars place it either in the first or the second quarter of the second century. As the Epistle was known to Clement of Alexandria (p. 335) it must certainly have been composed before the end of that century. The destination and place of origin are quite obscure. The persons for whom the letter purports to be intended are some to whom the writer had preached (i. 16), and to whom St. Paul had written (iii. 15) ; but no further clue to their identity is afforded. Some scholars, who consider the Epistle an authentic production of St. Peter's, and call attention to the author's self-designation *Συμέων Πέτρος*,[2] naturally suppose that they to whom it was sent were Jewish Christians, probably resident in Palestine and its vicinity ; they suggest Antioch as the place where it was written, and date it between 60 and 63, making it earlier than 1 *Pet.* (p. 314).[3]

[1] The difference between 1 *Pet.* i. 17, *Mk.* ix. 7, and *Lk.* ix. 35 is greater.

[2] Described by Zahn (*I.N.T.* ii. p. 271) as "strikingly original" and "unheard of elsewhere in Petrine and pseudo-Petrine literature."

[3] See Zahn *I.N.T.* ii. pp. 208–10.

PART III

PRELIMINARY NOTE

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE ascertainment of the precise year in which each of the principal events recorded in the New Testament took place is a very difficult task, and the inquiry into it does not lead to results that are beyond question. The civilized nations of antiquity did not use for the fixing of dates any generally recognized era; and ancient historians, including the historical writers of the New Testament, were commonly content to indicate the succession of incidents by giving the corresponding regnal year of some contemporary sovereign, or the names of the magistrates in whose term of office they severally happened. But it is not always possible to state with confidence the equivalent of such dates measured by the Christian era, partly because the season varied at which the Calendar year in ancient times began, partly because the years of a reigning king might be reckoned in various ways (*e.g.* the beginning of the year next after his accession might be counted as the opening of his second year, the preceding few months being regarded as constituting his first year, or the years of his reign might be calculated accurately by every twelve months), and partly because the months of which account was taken might be lunar. And in connexion with the New Testament there are special difficulties. Firstly, since the New Testament writers composed their histories less from an interest in the accurate presentation of events than from a desire to confirm the religious faith of their readers (cf. p. 175), they were little concerned about dating exactly many of the matters recorded. Secondly, it is not always easy to decide whether certain accounts in which dates occur, and which, if historical, should be considered in the construction of a chronological scheme, have an historical basis or have merely a poetic or symbolical value. Details of time and place are not, as has been shown (p. 119), sufficient proof that the accounts in question have a foundation in external facts. Thirdly, in regard to our Lord's life, the Evangelist who supplies the most numerous and the most precise chronological figures is St. Luke, so that many of the most definite dates available are furnished by a Gospel which, as compared with St. Mark's, is in certain respects secondary. And fourthly, there exists in respect to the duration of Jesus' ministry a grave divergence between the Synoptists collectively and the Fourth Gospel (which gives a series of references to various Jewish feasts, including three Passovers, see ii. 13, v. 1, vii. 2, x. 22, xi. 55), and implies a ministry lasting more than two years, whereas the Synoptists mention only one Passover; so that some of the results reached must vary according as one or other of these authorities is followed. In the calculations here made it will be assumed (for reasons given elsewhere) that the estimate of the Synoptists is for the most part the more trustworthy.

For the Gospel history the date that can be determined with most confidence is that of our Lord's Crucifixion; and this is best taken as the point from which to calculate the year of His Birth, for with the date of the Nativity few persons can have been acquainted, whereas the Crucifixion was known to numbers of people, so that any precise dating of it, even if found only in comparatively late Patristic authorities, seems deserving of confidence, the information having "filtered down in oral tradition or lost document through the obscure generations that intervene." [1]

[1] Hastings, *D.B.* i. 414 (Turner).

By three Patristic writers, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Lactantius the Crucifixion is represented as having taken place in the consulship of L. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fufius Geminus (there being some little variation in the forms of their names), who were consuls in A.D. 29 (=782 A.U.C.). By Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian this year is equated with the fifteenth of the reign of Tiberius, whereas Julius Afranius and pseudo-Cyprian equate it with the sixteenth year of Tiberius.[1] In strictness, the spring of A.D. 29 fell within Tiberius' fifteenth year, not within the sixteenth, for Augustus, his predecessor, died on August 19th A.D. 14. According to *Lk.* iii. 1, 2 the fifteenth year was the date at which John the Baptist began his mission, and nothing is said as to when our Lord commenced His. Jesus, indeed, according to *Mk.*, did not begin His ministry until after the Baptist's arrest (i. 14); but there is no indication how long the latter's mission lasted. But if it is assumed to have occupied only a few months and our Lord's ministry to have lasted less than a year (as the absence of any mention by the Synoptists of a Passover prior to the one that synchronized with the Crucifixion suggests), St. Luke may have placed the Passion within the sixteenth year of Tiberius, *i.e.* within A.D. 30; and those writers who assign the Crucifixion to Tiberius' sixteenth year may merely have inferred it from St. Luke. But the three authorities who expressly name his fifteenth year as the date of that event probably preserve an independent tradition; and on the strength of their evidence it will here be accepted that our Lord's death occurred in A.D. 29, in the consulship of the two Gemini, during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate (26–36), and the high-priesthood of Caiaphas (18–36).

On the basis of this date an attempt may be made to calculate the year of His nativity. It has been seen that the Synoptists treat the public ministry as lasting rather less than a year. If, then, the Crucifixion occurred in A.D. 29, Jesus' first preaching may be placed in A.D. 28. If this was really the date when His ministry began, the year of His birth may with some probability be fixed at 2 B.C., since He is stated by St. Luke to have been about thirty years old when He began to teach (iii. 23). The Evangelist's expression "*about* thirty," however, leaves room for a margin of a year on either side; and the Nativity may have happened in any one of the years 3, 2 and 1 B.C., all being included within the reign of Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14=727–767 A.U.C.), though all falling outside the reign of Herod the Great, who died in 4 B.C. By St. Luke no year of the Emperor is mentioned, but the event is described as occurring when an enrolment, distinguished as "first" of a series, was taken while Quirinius was governor of Syria (*Lk.* ii. 1). Publius Sulpicius Quirinius is only known *with certainty* to have discharged the office of *legatus* of Syria from A.D. 6 to 11. During this period of his service in the East there was held about A.D. 7 an enrolment which extended to Galilee (though that region was at the time under the immediate authority of Herod Antipas (tetrarch from 4 B.C. to A.D. 39)) and to which allusion is made in *Acts* v. 37, for it had provoked a revolt headed by Judas the Gaulonite (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13, 5, xviii. 1, 1). But a mutilated inscription (found near Tibur in 1764) refers to a Roman official in the reign of Augustus who was *legatus* of Syria twice, and though the name of the official has been lost many scholars consider that he must have been Quirinius. If so, he was governor of Syria not only in A.D. 6–11, but on some occasion prior to A.D. 6, and the governorship in question has been thought to have been the years between the periods of office of P. Quintilius Varus (6–4 B.C.) and C. Cæsar (1 B.C.–A.D. 4), *i.e.* the three years 3–1 B.C. If this conclusion is correct, it will be seen that 2 B.C., the year deduced independently as the probable date of the Nativity, falls within the first of Quirinius' two governorships.

The conclusion, however, that Jesus was born about 2 B.C., though based largely on data supplied by St. Luke, conflicts with one statement made by him, *viz.* that John the Baptist, who was (according to the Evangelist) only six months older than our Lord, was born in the reign of Herod King of Judæa, if by *Herod* is meant Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.) and not his son Archelaus (4 B.C.–A.D. 6). By the First Evangelist the Herod to whose reign the Nativity is assigned was certainly taken to be the father of Archelaus (ii. 1 foll., 20, 22); and if the narrative in his second chapter is viewed as historical, our Lord's birth cannot have happened later than 5 or even 6 B.C. (see *v.* 16). And it has been urged in favour of the still earlier year 7 B.C. that

[1] Hastings, *D.B.* i. pp. 413, 414.

there then occurred a remarkable conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, which was perhaps accompanied by the appearance of an evanescent star (such as was seen in A.D. 1604) and may have prompted the visit of the magi to Bethlehem. But the reality of this visit and its sequel is not above suspicion (p. 363), so that it is precarious to construct a chronological scheme upon it. As regards St. Luke it probably should be assumed that by Herod the King of Judæa (i. 5) he meant Herod the Great but placed the birth both of John the Baptist and of Jesus in his reign erroneously. For if Quirinius was really *legatus* of Syria twice, his first period of office could not have fallen within Herod's lifetime, since the *legati* from 10 to 4 B.C. are known (M. Titius, C. Sentius Saturninus (9–6), and P. Quintilius Varus (6–4)).

An interesting attempt to show that an enrolment may have taken place at a time when both Quirinius was in command in Syria and Herod the Great was King of Judæa has been made by the help of evidence furnished by papyri found in Egypt and by some recently discovered inscriptions.[1] In Egypt there prevailed between the years A.D. 90 and 230 a system of periodic enrolments, the interval between them being fourteen years (since actual census papers occur belonging to the years A.D. 20, 34, 48, 62). It is argued that the system was probably instituted by Augustus, and was not confined to Egypt, but applied generally, though not universally, to the provinces of the Empire. The purpose of the enrolments conducted in Egypt was the enumeration of the inhabitants, not the valuation of their property. The papyri (it is said) show that every person to be enrolled was required to return to his own city and village. If the system was really applied to other provinces beside Egypt, and dated from the time of Augustus, the years when enrolments took place within his reign would, reckoned backwards, be A.D. 6 and 8 B.C. ; and of these two the first mentioned would be that of *Acts* v. 37 and the last mentioned that of *Lk.* ii. 1, 2. This latter would fall within the period of King Herod's rule over Palestine ; and it is suggested that the method of it was possibly left to the King, who, to conciliate Jewish feeling, gave it a *tribal* character, and directed those who were to be enumerated to repair to their *ancestral* homes. The governor of Syria, however, from 9 to 6 B.C. was not Quirinius but C. Sentius Saturninus, to whose term of office the first census in Syria is attributed by Tertullian ; and an explanation of the circumstance that St. Luke represents the enrolment as occurring in the " governorship " of Quirinius is (it is argued) to be found in the fact, attested by inscriptions, that for two years between 10 and 7 B.C. he was engaged in fighting the Homanades (a tribe occupying the mountain chains of Taunus and Taurus along the north of Cilicia and Pisidia), and that St. Luke, following perhaps popular usage, dated the enrolment by the successful soldier's period of command, and not by the period of office of the actual provincial governor. But if Jesus was born in 8 B.C. he would have been thirty in A.D. 22, and it is impossible to reconcile this with the statement that the preaching of the Baptist, shortly before the beginning of Jesus' ministry, occurred in the fifteenth year of Tiberius except by the assumption that " about thirty " means thirty-three, and that the fifteenth year of Tiberius is reckoned not from the death of Augustus in A.D. 14 but from the date (A.D. 11) when that Emperor bestowed upon Tiberius authority over the legions and provinces equal to his own. For such a mode of reckoning a parallel has been adduced from the case of Titus, whose reign was counted from the day when he was made the colleague of Vespasian.

This endeavour to bring the date of our Lord's birth into connexion both with Quirinius and Herod (*Lk.* ii. 1, i. 5, *Mt.* ii. 1) involves an historical construction resting upon analogy. It extends to other parts of the Roman empire a system of enrolment only known to have been adopted in Egypt, and extends to the regnal years of Tiberius a method of reckoning only known to have been applied to the regnal years of Titus. The theory also renders it necessary to explain the words *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου* not of the ordinary authority of the *legatus* but of an extraordinary military command exercised by another officer, operating with an army on the northern frontier of the province of Syria.[2]

[1] See Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem ?* p. 131 f. ; Calder in *Discovery*, Ap. 1920, p. 103.

[2] Quirinius could not in virtue of such a command be accurately termed *ἐπίτροπος* (procurator) in Judæa (Justin, *Apol.* i. 34, a passage to which Plummer (*St. Lk.* p. 51) appeals).

Attention may now be turned from the *years* of our Lord's Birth and Death to the *days* on which these events occurred. The day of the week on which Jesus was crucified is represented both by the Synoptic writers and by the author of the Fourth Gospel as the day before the Sabbath, *i.e.* Friday (*Mk.* xv. 42; *Joh.* xix. 31); but in respect of the day of the (Jewish) month Nisan there is a discrepancy between them. The Arrest was effected on the evening on which He shared with His disciples the Last Supper, and by St. Mark, followed by the other Synoptists, the supper is regarded as the Passover (*Mk.* xiv. 14). The time for the observance of the Passover was the fourteenth (natural) day of Nisan; but though the Paschal lambs were killed in the afternoon of that day, they were not eaten until after sunset; and since the Jewish day began at sunset, the eating occurred, according to Jewish methods of reckoning, on the fifteenth. Our Lord was arrested immediately after the supper, and was crucified on the day following, *i.e.* on Nisan 15th, on the evening of which the Sabbath (Saturday), which would be Nisan 16th, began (*Mk.* xv. 42). But the Fourth Gospel represents the Crucifixion not as following, but as preceding, the celebration of the Passover (*Joh.* xviii. 28). The Last Supper, therefore, was not an observance of the Passover meal, but must (according to the Fourth Evangelist's narrative) have occurred on the evening of the thirteenth (natural) day (counted by the Jews as the beginning of the fourteenth day).

As the two accounts are manifestly incompatible, and a choice has to be made between them, that of St. Mark and the other Synoptists might seem, on the strength of their superior credibility in general, to be in this case also the more deserving of credence. But there are certain features in the Synoptic account itself which raise doubts of its correctness. (1) In *Mk.* xiv. 1, 2, it is stated that the chief priests expressly desired to avoid the execution of Jesus during the feast; but if the Last Supper was the Passover meal, Jesus was arrested after the feast had begun, and was put to death on the 15th of Nisan, the first day of Unleavened Bread. (2) In *Mk.* xiv. 47 one of the disciples is described as carrying a weapon, a proceeding which is unlikely on so solemn an occasion. (3) In *Mk.* xv. 21 Simon the Cyrenian is represented as coming out of the country, seemingly from work; if the day were the 14th it would be natural for him to be returning from labour in order to partake of the Passover the same evening; but he would not be at work on the 15th, the first of the days of Unleavened Bread—see *Ex.* xii. 16. (4) In *Mk.* xv. 46 Joseph of Arimathæa is related to have bought a linen cloth wherein to wrap our Lord's body, which he would not have done on a feastday like the 15th.[1] Thus St. Mark's narrative seems to be characterized by internal inconsistencies which create a disposition to reject its representation that our Lord's death took place on the 15th of Nisan, and to adopt the Johannine account, which dates it on the 14th. And although in general the Second Gospel is a better historical authority than the Fourth, yet of the closing scenes of our Lord's life the account in the latter may proceed from an actual eye-witness (see p. 224). Consequently there appears to be good reason for accepting the conclusion that the day of the Crucifixion was Friday, Nisan 14th.

It has, however, to be considered whether this conclusion is compatible with the inference already reached about the year of our Lord's death, since it was not possible for Friday to fall on the 14th of Nisan in every year indifferently. Now it has been calculated that the 14th of Nisan was a Friday in each of the two years 29 and 30, one or other of which has been shown to be probably the year of the Crucifixion.[2] The calculations are too intricate to be reproduced here; but if the results of them stand investigation, it will be seen that the conclusion that our Lord suffered on Nisan 14th is consistent both with the statement of Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Lactantius (p. 342) that His death took place in the consulship of the Gemini, A.D. 29, and with the inference conveyed by St. Luke's Gospel that He was crucified in A.D. 30 (*ibid.*). St. Luke is an earlier authority than the Patristic writers named; but A.D. 29 has been taken as correct because it seems unlikely that Tertullian and the other Fathers would have departed from the inference deducible from St. Luke's date for the Baptist's ministry in iii. 1, 2, had there not been a trustworthy tradition associating the Crucifixion with the year of office of the consuls mentioned. And (as

[1] See Allen, *St. Mark*, p. 170.
[2] See Hastings, *D.B.* i. pp. 411, 412.

has been said) it is not impossible that St. Luke may have had the same year in mind, for if the beginning of Tiberius' second year was equated with the spring and not the autumn of A.D. 15, the beginning of the Emperor's sixteenth year would be the spring of A.D. 29. And in any case, even if the view be preferred that the year of the Crucifixion was A.D. 30, it is equally in agreement with the conclusion that the day was Nisan the 14th. The equivalent days in our calendar would be, for A.D. 29 March 18th or April 15th, for A.D. 30 April 7th.

About the month and day of Christ's birth nothing is really known. The date *December* 25 (associated in primitive times with the worship of Mithras) has been regarded as the anniversary of the Nativity since the fourth century, but does not agree well with the representation of St. Luke, who relates that sheep were still in the fields at night.[1] In the time of Clement of Alexandria the day was identified by some with April 21 or 22, by others with May 20.[2]

For the history included in *Acts* and in St. Paul's Epistles there are no specific dates furnished by the books named. Conclusions respecting the chronology can only be reached through a combination of the allusions made by these authorities to various contemporary rulers and officials in connexion with successive events, and by the intervals of time here and there related to have elapsed between different occurrences; and since the limits of the reigns and governorships within which the events mentioned fell are not always ascertainable with exactness, whilst the intervals separating one occurrence from another are not uniformly noted, it is clear that any chronological scheme can at the best be only approximate.

The following are the principal marks of time in *Acts* and the Pauline Epistles which can be made the basis of some inferential dates.[3]

1. The feast of Pentecost marked by the occurrences described in *Acts* ii was that belonging to the year of the Crucifixion, A.D. 29. It seems probable that the growth of the Church recounted in *Acts* ii–v, and the persecution and death of Stephen (*Acts* vi., vii.), followed within a very few years, perhaps not exceeding three. If Stephen's death be assigned to 32, then another year seems sufficient for the extension of Christianity to Damascus, where believers were found shortly afterwards (*Acts* ix. 1).

2. The conversion of St. Paul took place not long after the death of Stephen and three years before the Apostle's first visit to Jerusalem (*Gal.* i. 18). This visit followed immediately upon his escape from Damascus (*Acts* ix. 25, 26), which happened when that city was included in the dominions of Aretas IV, who was King of the Nabatæans from 9 B.C. to A.D. 39 (2 *Cor.* xi. 32, 33). As the place was under Roman authority in A.D. 33,[4] it cannot have become the possession of Aretas before A.D. 34, and St. Paul's escape and first visit to Jerusalem must have occurred at the earliest in A.D. 35. If the interval of three years mentioned in *Gal.* i. 18 is taken inclusively, the date of his conversion, reckoned backwards from 35, will be 33, the year after that which has just been conjecturally assigned to the martyrdom of Stephen. St. Paul, after his visit to Jerusalem, withdrew to Tarsus (*Acts* ix. 30) where he seems to have stayed for some time, and whence he was brought by Barnabas to Antioch, where the two laboured together for a whole year (*Acts* xi. 26). This collaboration appears to have occurred before the arrival at Antioch of certain prophets from Jerusalem (*Acts* xi. 27).

3. The year in which Agabus (included among the prophets just mentioned) visited Antioch and there foretold a severe famine seems to have preceded the death of the Emperor Caligula, since it is expressly noticed that the famine (in contrast to the prediction of it) happened in the reign of *Claudius* (A.D. 41–54). As Caligula died in 41, the prophecy was perhaps delivered in 40. This date will thus reflect light upon the period during which St. Paul and Barnabas were together at Antioch, and which must have fallen between 35 and 40, probably nearer the latter year than the former.

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[1] But see Edersheim, *Life and Times*, i. pp. 186–7.

[2] Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 55.

[3] Hastings, *D.B.* i. pp. 415–425, from which many of the facts are drawn, though some of the conclusions differ.

[4] Damascus coins between 65 B.C. and A.D. 33 supply evidence that the city was then under Roman authority, but between A.D. 34 and 62 evidence is lacking.

4. The execution of James the son of Zebedee took place by order of Herod Agrippa I (*Acts* xii. 2), who died in A.D. 44. James probably perished not long before the king's death; and his execution may therefore be plausibly dated about A.D. 43.[1]

5. St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem (according to the enumeration of *Acts*) coincided with the occurrence of the famine in the reign of Claudius. The precise date of the famine in Judæa is not known. Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5. 2, cf. 2. 6) states that a great famine happened in the procuratorships of Fadus and Tiberius Alexander (p. 57), *i.e.* between 44 and 48, and no greater precision than this seems obtainable from ancient sources; but there is a general concurrence of opinion that the famine was felt in Judæa about A.D. 46. If this was the year in which St. Paul and Barnabas went from Antioch to Jerusalem with relief (*Acts* xi. 30), it seems likely that after the full year's co-operation between them at Antioch (p. 345), one or both of them departed from the place, but subsequently returned to it before 46.

6. The interval separating this famine-visit to Jerusalem from the departure of St. Paul and Barnabas on their First Missionary journey is not stated; but their start may perhaps be placed early in A.D. 47, and the journey itself be assumed to have lasted fifteen or eighteen months, ending late in 48. In the course of it the Apostles were at Cyprus during the proconsulship of Sergius Paulus. The date of his period of office is not known; but from the fact that the proconsul of 51 was Julius Cordus, and the proconsul of 52 was L. Annius Bassus, it is clear that Sergius Paulus must have governed the island either before the first-named or after the last-named. The summer of 47 assumed for the Apostles' visit will agree with the first of these alternatives.

7. In the interval between the First and the Second Missionary journeys St. Paul went to Jerusalem for the third time (reckoned as the second in *Gal.* ii. 1), fourteen years after the visit mentioned in *Gal.* i. 18 and *Acts* ix. 27, 28. It is possible, indeed, that the fourteen years include the three years named in *Gal.* i. 18; but this is an unnatural interpretation, and the other is preferable. On the assumption that the fourteen years are exclusive of the three, and the two intervals constitute, if taken together, a period (reckoned exclusively) of sixteen years after the Apostle's conversion in 33 (p. 345), the date will be A.D. 49. According to the narrative of *Acts* xv., a general council was gathered at Jerusalem during this visit, but as has been shown (p. 271), there are grounds for suspecting the accuracy of St. Luke's account of the conference of St. Paul and Barnabas with the elder Apostles. The meeting of the former with James, Peter, and John described in *Gal.* ii. 1–10 was probably altogether a private interview, which was not followed by any conference of the Church at that time (A.D. 49); and the general council which passed resolutions subjecting the Gentile Christians to certain regulations was held at a later period (see p. 538).

8. The time intervening between the private meeting of St. Paul and Barnabas with the three representatives of the Jerusalem Church, and St. Paul's start on his Second Missionary journey, though it cannot be determined with certainty, is scarcely likely to have been long; and his departure may be plausibly assigned to the autumn of 49. This date harmonizes with the dates of two other occurrences, the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius, and the appointment of Gallio to the proconsulship of Achaia. For St. Paul in the course of his journey reached Corinth, where he found Aquila, who was one of the Jews recently expelled by Claudius (*Acts* xviii. 2), and where his own arrival seems to have preceded Gallio's appointment. The date of the expulsion of the Jews was Claudius' ninth year;[2] and as he entered upon his reign in 41, the ninth year would begin in 49. Of Gallio's proconsulship the date is not known exactly; but since Gallio's brother Seneca was in exile until A.D. 49, and as it is not probable that Gallio would have received promotion during his brother's disgrace, the year 50 seems the earliest for his entry upon his provincial command. It appears, however, from the order of events in *Acts* xviii. 11, 12, that Gallio did not reach Achaia until St. Paul had been at Corinth for eighteen months. The Apostle's Second journey was a protracted one; for he passed through Syria, Cilicia, South

[1] In *Acts* xii. 1 the words *about that time* in reference to the famine year, if this was A.D. 46, must be interpreted loosely.

[2] This date is given by the historian Orosius (*circ.* 410 A.D.).

Galatia (p. 268), Macedonia, and Athens before his arrival at Corinth, spending time enough in Macedonia to found Churches at Philippi and Thessalonica; so that he can hardly have reached Corinth much before the summer of 50. If he was there a year and a half before Gallio came, the actual date of the latter's entry upon his office must have been late in 51.[1] The abortive attempt by the Jews to bring St. Paul to trial before Gallio occurred shortly afterwards; but since the Apostle did not leave Corinth immediately (*Acts* xviii. 18), he probably did not depart much before the spring of 52. He does not appear to have stayed long anywhere on the homeward journey, and his arrival at Jerusalem and his return to Antioch may be fixed for the summer of 52.

9. The duration of the Apostle's stay at Antioch before departing on his Third Missionary journey is vaguely described in *Acts* xviii. 23 as "some time"; but his desire to revisit the numerous churches established in the previous journey must have caused the period spent in rest to be short; and he may have left before the end of 52. In the course of this journey he stopped two years and three months at Ephesus (*Acts* xix. 8–10),[2] whence he can scarcely have departed before the early summer of 55 (see 1 *Cor.* xvi. 8); and as he afterwards proceeded through Macedonia (where he stayed long enough to give the converts there much exhortation (*Acts* xx. 2)) to Greece, spending in the latter country (reached in the autumn, perhaps October or November, of 55) three months, he probably did not leave Greece (Corinth) for Palestine until the beginning of 56. He kept the feast of Unleavened Bread (in March) at Philippi (*Acts* xx. 6), and he hoped to spend Pentecost (in May) at Jerusalem (*Acts* xx. 16). It was probably whilst St. Paul was absent on this journey that the Council of Jerusalem was held (pp. 571–2), though there is nothing to indicate whether the date was nearer 52 or 56.

10. On the Apostle's arrival at Jerusalem in the early summer of 56, he was arrested, and spent two years in custody at Cæsarea (*Acts* xxiv. 27), the imprisonment there lasting until the supersession of the procurator Felix by Festus. The date of Felix's recall is uncertain. After he was deprived of his office, he was prosecuted by the Jews of Cæsarea, but unsuccessfully, his acquittal being attributed by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8, 9) to his brother Pallas, who interceded for him with the Emperor. According to Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 14), Pallas fell from power in A.D. 55; but being a wealthy man, he may have retained sufficient influence to secure Felix from punishment some years afterwards. Felix seems to have entered upon his office in 52[3] in the reign of Claudius, and as St. Paul, when tried before him, spoke of him as having been long in authority (*Acts* xxiv. 10), it is difficult to account for the Apostle's words if they were uttered before 55. Moreover, Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8, 5) records a large number of incidents that occurred under Felix's rule subsequent to the accession of Nero to the throne in 54; and this, again, favours the belief that he was in office some years after the date of Pallas' fall. Accordingly, the year of his recall may have been as late as 58, to which the previous dates reached in connexion with St. Paul point. It must, however, be allowed that this date contradicts that which is given by Eusebius for the supersession of Felix by Festus, which is assigned to the second year of Nero, whose accession occurred in 54.

11. After Festus in 58 replaced Felix in the procuratorship, St. Paul was sent for trial to Rome. The voyage was a slow one; and the vessel was in a haven of Crete some time after the Day of Atonement, which fell in the autumn (*Acts* xxvii. 9), whilst after the shipwreck at Melita three months were spent on that island (*Acts* xxviii. 11);

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[1] A fragmentary inscription containing a letter from the Emperor Claudius to the people of Delphi, and alluding to Gallio seemingly as proconsul, has been plausibly dated about the beginning of 52: see Deissmann, *St. Paul*, pp. 235–260; McNeile, *St. Paul*, pp. xv.–xvii.

[2] The time is described in *Acts* xx. 31 as three years.

[3] Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 6, 3; 7, 1; *B.J.* ii. 12, 7) states that Felix was the successor of Cumanus, whose office lasted from 48 to 52. Tacitus, indeed, speaking of the year 52, represents Felix as having been then for some time governor of Judæa, and Cumanus as contemporary governor of Galilee. But Josephus (b. A.D. 37) lived nearer the date in question than Tacitus (b. A.D. 54), and there is no evidence of a division of Palestine between two governors.

so that it was probably not till the spring of 59 that the Apostle reached Rome. There he was kept in custody for two full years, *i.e.*, according to previous calculations, 59–61, beyond which the narrative of *Acts* does not carry the history. For reasons given elsewhere (p. 300), it seems likely that St. Paul was brought to trial, condemned, and executed at the close of the two years' imprisonment (*i.e.* in 61). Those who think that he was acquitted mostly suppose that he lived three years longer, during which he visited Gaul and Spain (in accordance with the purpose expressed in *Rom.* xv. 28), and afterwards journeyed again to Greece and the East (see 1 *Tim.* i. 3; 2 *Tim.* iv. 13, 20; *Titus* iii. 12). At the end of this period he met his death in the persecution of the Christians by Nero, A.D. 64.[1] His age at his death is unknown. In *Philemon* 9, written during his Roman imprisonment (p. 293), he describes himself as "Paul the aged," but probably he was worn by toil and suffering rather than by years, since he is represented as a young man at the time of Stephen's death (*Acts* vii. 58) about the year 32, so that he can scarcely have been much more than sixty if he was executed in 64, and probably under sixty if his death happened in 61.

The following is a summary table of the dates resulting from the foregoing discussion :—

Birth of our Lord	2	B.C.	[Augustus, 27 B.C.–A.D. 14]
Beginning of His Ministry	28	A.D.	[Tiberius, A.D. 14–37]
Crucifixion	29	,,	,,
Pentecost	29	,,	,,
Death of Stephen	32	,,	,,
Conversion of St. Paul	33[2]	,,	,,
St. Paul's First Visit to Jerusalem	35	,,	,,
Activity of St. Paul and Barnabas at Antioch	39 or 40	,,	[Caligula 37–41]
Death of St. James, son of Zebedee	43	,,	[Claudius, 41–54]
St. Paul's Second (Famine) visit to Jerusalem	46	,,	,,
First Missionary journey (to Cyprus and Galatia)	47–48	,,	,,
Third visit to Jerusalem and Second to the Apostles	49	,,	,,
Second Missionary journey (to Galatia and Greece)	49–52	,,	,,
Arrival at Corinth	Summer of 50	,,	,,
1, 2 *Thess.*	51	,,	,,
Departure from Corinth	Spring of 52	,,	,,
Return to Syria	Summer of 52	,,	,,
James, Gal.	52	,,	,,
Third Missionary journey (to Galatia, Asia, and Greece)	52–56	,,	[Nero, 54–68]
At Ephesus	52–55	,,	,,
1 *Cor.*	Spring of 55	,,	,,
2 *Cor.*	Autumn of 55	,,	,,
In Greece	Autumn of 55	,,	,,
Rom.	beginning of 56	,,	,,
Departure from Greece	beginning of 56	,,	,,
At Philippi	March, 56	,,	,,
Return to Jerusalem	May, 56	,,	,,
The Council of Jerusalem	? between 53 and beginning of 56	,,	,,
St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea	56–58	,,	,,
Arrival at Rome	59	,,	,,

[1] Eusebius places St. Paul's martyrdom in 68, but this is probably an error.

[2] If the fourteen years of *Gal.* ii. 1 include the three years of *Gal.* i. 18 the Conversion might be placed in 36, and the death of Stephen one or two years later than 32; but the longer interval after the Crucifixion which this involves makes these dates less probable.

Col., Eph., Philem.	late in 59 or early in 60	A.D.	[Nero, 54–68]
Phil.	late in 60 or early in 61	,,	,,
St. Paul's death at Rome	61	,,	,,
Death of St. James, the Lord's "brother"	? 62	,,	,,
1 *Pet.*	? 63	,,	,,
Death of St. Peter	? 64	,,	,,
Heb.	? 64	,,	,,
Death of St. John, son of Zebedee	? 66	,,	,,
Mk.	? 68	,,	,,
Fall of Jerusalem	70	,,	[Vespasian, 68–79]
Jude	? 70–75	,,	,,
Mt., Lk.	? 80	,,	[Titus, 79–81]
Joh., 1, 2, 3 *Joh.*	? 90–100	,,	[Domitian–Trajan, 81–117]
Rev., Acts	? 96–100	,,	[Nerva–Trajan, 96–117]
Pastoral Epistles	? 100	,,	[Trajan, 98–117]
2 *Pet.*	? 100–110	,,	,,

VIII

THE MINISTRY OF JESUS ACCORDING TO THE EARLIEST SOURCES

The Sources

FOR the Ministry of Jesus the primary source is, in the main, the Gospel of St. Mark (p. 164); and from this the narrative that follows is principally drawn. Even the contents of the Second Gospel, however, are probably not uniformly of equal value; at any rate, if there were two editions of it (p. 160), it is antecedently likely that what appears in the second alone is derived not from the reminiscences of St. Peter but from tradition. Into the narrative based on *Mk.* some details contained in the parallel accounts of the other Synoptists but absent from the Second Gospel have been introduced where they seem to be intrinsically probable; whilst where there are discrepancies attention has been called to them. There have been embodied also such of the contents of *Q* as concern occurrences and incidents, though some uncertainty attaches to the proper arrangement of these, since they are not always placed in the same order or setting by the First and Third Evangelists. Events mentioned by either *Mt.* or *Lk.* alone have also been noticed, but have not been, as a rule, incorporated in the history because, though many may well be true, they have not, like most of those included in *Mk.*, the authority of an Apostle behind them. The Johannine Gospel is not drawn upon prior to the period of the Passion, except for the purposes of comparison; for besides the fact that the work is probably of much inferior historic value, it is almost impossible to dovetail into a scheme of events occupying only a year another, in most respects very different, which extends over more than two.

The Ministry of Jesus

§ 1. *Proclamation by John of the Judgment and the Kingdom*

The Book of *Malachi*, the last of the Prophetic writings of the Old Testament (according to the arrangement of the Hebrew Canon), closes with a prediction of the coming of the great and terrible day of Jehovah. All through Israel's history, indeed, God had sent His messengers from time to time with predictions of mingled tenor, announcing chastisement

for Israel itself by reason of its offences, as well as redemption from external subjection for those who, through repentance and amendment, should be spared in the approaching crisis. But by Malachi an announcement of unprecedented nature was made. The prophet Elijah was to reappear in order to heal family divisions and social disorders, and so to prepare his countrymen for the ordeal awaiting them, lest the whole population of the land should be utterly destroyed under Jehovah's ban.[1]

With the closing of the Canon of the Jewish Scriptures, Prophecy in Israel was believed to have come to an end; and for a long interval there ceased to be any authoritative channel of communication from God to His people. The withdrawal of the Almighty's customary means of revealing His will was fervently deplored, and the renewal of it was longingly awaited (see *Ps.* lxxiv. 9, 1 *Macc.* iv. 46, xiv. 41, *Song of the Three Children*, 15). The only oracles of God to which recourse could be had were written records, consisting of the Old Testament books, preserved and expounded by the Scribes, and pseudonymous works of more recent dates, circulating as productions of some of the great personalities of the past (p. 121). In such conditions it occasioned all the greater excitement shortly after the beginning of the second quarter of the first century A.D., when there suddenly appeared in Judæa one in whom the spirit of prophecy, so long in abeyance, seemed once more to revive.

The man who thus startled his contemporaries with an announcement, after the manner of the ancient prophets, about the near future was called John (the Greek name *Ἰωάνης* representing the Heb. *Johanan*, "Jehovah hath been gracious"). By St. Mark no account is given of his parentage, but he is described by *Lk.* as the son of Zachariah and his wife Elizabeth (Elisheba, cf. *Ex.* vi. 23), his father being a priest belonging to the "course" of Abijah,[2] and his mother being also represented as a descendant of Aaron. It is related, too, that Judæa was the country of his birth, though the name of the town where he was born is not given, for there is no plausibility in the view that by *πόλις Ἰούδα* (*Lk.* i. 39), where his parents dwelt, is meant the town of Juttah, a place enumerated among the cities assigned by the Priestly code of the Pentateuch to the priesthood (*Josh.* xxi. 16, cf. xv. 55).

The account of the circumstances of John's birth furnished by St. Luke (who dates it in the reign of Herod the Great,[3] see p. 342) breathes the atmosphere of the Old Testament. Zachariah and Elizabeth were childless, and being both advanced in years entertained little expectation of having offspring, for which they craved (*Lk.*

[1] According to Rabbinic teaching the period of Elijah's advent would be a time of genuine repentance by Israel, the prophet's special function consisting in settling perplexing questions, making peace, and restoring to, and excluding from, the congregation of Israel, those who were wrongfully outside or within it (Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., ii. p. 708).

[2] The priests, according to 1 *Ch.* xxiv., were divided by David into twenty-four courses, each being on duty for a week. Of the twenty-four only four returned from the Exile (*Ez.* ii. 36–39), but it must be supposed that these were subdivided into twenty-four, which revived the names of the original courses. Abijah's was the eighth.

[3] In *Lk.* i. 5 *Judæa* is used in a comprehensive sense, including Galilee and other districts.

i. 13). On an occasion when the former was offering incense during the weekly turn of his course within the Holy Place of the Temple (p. 91), there appeared to him the angel Gabriel (see *Dan.* viii. 16 and cf. p. 42), who announced that his wife should bear him a son, whom he was to name John, and who, refraining from all products of the grape (cf. *Jud.* xiii. 5, 7), should be filled with God's Spirit, and be endued with the power of Elijah in order to prepare a people for the Lord (cf. *Lk.* i. 17 with *Mal.* iv. 6). Zachariah, being incredulous and asking for a sign (cf. 2 *Kg.* xx. 8), was told, both as a pledge that the promise would be fulfilled, and as a punishment for his disbelief, that he should be stricken with deafness and dumbness (*Lk.* i. 62–64) until the child's birth. When he reappeared from the sanctuary, the worshippers in the court of the Israelites (p. 91) remarked his speechlessness, and concluded that he had seen a vision. In accordance with the angel's announcement, Elizabeth conceived (with *Lk.* i. 25 cf. *Gen.* xxx. 23); and in the course of her pregnancy she was visited by Mary, the mother of Jesus (p. 360), who was her kinswoman. When she was delivered and her relations assembled to circumcise the child, it was proposed to call him after his father; but his mother declared that his name was to be John, and when his father was consulted, and by means of a writing-tablet confirmed Elizabeth's words, he immediately recovered his hearing and speech and praised God. The occurrence created much awe and expectancy as to the child's future; and Zachariah uttered the prophecy known as the *Benedictus*.

The narrative admits of being taken in three ways :—

(1) It may be accepted literally as a report of experiences perceived through the medium of the senses.

(2) It may be given a psychological interpretation, the scene with the angel, his communication, the infliction of the dumbness for disbelief, and the sudden recovery of the power of speech being regarded as a dramatic externalizing of Zachariah's inward beliefs and misgivings respecting God's graciousness, and his maintenance of silence about his hopes and fears until the desired event came to pass.[1]

(3) It may be viewed as the creation of religious fancy, owing its origin to John's subsequent career as a prophet, which caused it to be thought that such a remarkable personality could not lack, in the circumstances of his birth, features that marked the history of such Old Testament figures as Isaac and Samson and Samuel, a parallel with the second of these in particular being suggested by John's ascetic habits (*Mt.* xi. 18). The pre-announcement of the name to be given to the child follows the precedent recorded in the instance not only of Isaac but of Ishmael and Solomon. The words put into the mouth of the angel concerning the destiny of him whose birth was predicted reproduce the prophecy of *Malachi* (iv. 5), the comparison of John with Elijah perhaps originating with our Lord (*Mk.* ix. 13, *Mt.* xi. 10 (= *Lk.* vii. 27, from *Q*). The *Benedictus* consists largely of expressions drawn from the *Psalms* and other books of the Old Testament (see *Ps.* xli. 13, cxxxii. 17, cvi. 10, 45; *Is.* ix. 2).

Of John's childhood no details are recorded. But in early manhood he withdrew into the desert to spend there a period of solitude. The reasons that led him to sunder himself from his home and family, and to abandon the priestly life with its prerogatives and privileges (p. 93) to which his birth entitled him, can only be conjectured. Possibly he had grown dissatisfied with the formal type of piety which was the prevailing characteristic of contemporary religion, and had come to recognize its unworthiness of God, whom it was supposed to content and gratify. And if feeling himself to be in touch with a Source of spiritual inspiration (cf. *Lk.* i. 80), he had begun to cherish the thought that he might be destined by God to bring about a spiritual renewal among his countrymen, it was in the wilderness that a Divine revelation might be most confidently expected to come, for there he would be free from the distractions that

[1] Cf. B. Weiss, *Life of Christ*, i. p. 237 (E.T.).

elsewhere might dull his sensitiveness to the Divine monitions. It was in the desert that both Moses and Elijah had held communion with God, and had been inspired to accomplish for Him their great achievements (*Ex.* iii., 1 *Kg.* xix.).

The scene of his retirement was probably the desolate waste which slopes eastward from Hebron down to the shores of the Dead Sea, and is known as the *Jeshimon*. The term, derived from a Hebrew root meaning "to be desolate," is applied in the Old Testament to several localities, *e.g.* the wilderness of the Israelites' wanderings (*Dt.* xxxii. 10, *Ps.* lxviii. 7, lxxviii. 40), the waste part of the Jordan valley, north of the Dead Sea and east of the river (*Num.* xxi. 20, xxiii. 28), and the desert stretching between Canaan and Babylonia (2 *Is.* xliii. 19, 20). But it was also used to designate the wilderness near Ziph (a little to the south-east of Hebron), where David concealed himself from the pursuit of Saul (1 *Sam.* xxiii. 19, xxvi. 1). This is a region which, in all, covers an area thirty-four miles by fifteen. The cultivated land near Hebron is quickly replaced, as the traveller moves eastward, by rolling hills and waterless vales, each ridge crossed being barer than the last. These are succeeded by a limestone plain, where the only vegetation consists of short bushes and thorn-brakes; and then, when the sea comes fully into view, there is a precipitous descent, amid crags and boulders, down to the margin of the water.[1] It was to this barren country that John withdrew, sustaining himself with such meagre fare as locusts (which, unlike most winged creeping things, were not forbidden by the Law to be used as food (*Lev.* xi. 22[2])) and the honey stored by wild bees[3] (cf. *Dt.* xxxii. 13, *Jud.* xiv. 9, 1 *Sam.* xiv. 27, *Is.* vii. 22). The outer garment (*ἱμάτιον*, *simlah*) customarily worn was in his case made of camel's hair,[4] which recalled the hairy mantle associated in the Old Testament with the prophetic character (2 *Zech.* xiii. 4)[5]; and his undergarment was fastened about the waist with a leathern girdle, such as Elijah was accustomed to gird himself with (2 *Kg.* i. 8, LXX, *ζώνην δερματινήν*).

The duration of John's seclusion in the Jeshimon is unknown. In the course of it he became possessed with the conviction that a crisis in his nation's history was close at hand, and that he was charged to prepare his countrymen for it. Had John been of the number of those who believed that the racial privileges of Israel were indefeasible, such a conviction might have caused him to seek to fortify in them the hope, never far from the hearts of most, that God would shortly intervene to

[1] See G. A. Smith, *H.G.H.L.* pp. 312, 313.

[2] Locusts prepared in various ways are still eaten by the modern Arabs. The idea that John's food consisted of the pods (*κεράτια* in *Lk.* xv. 16) of the carob tree, called the "Locust tree" or "John the Baptist's tree," is erroneous.

[3] The neighbourhood of Jericho, in particular, abounded with honey (Jos. *B.J.* iv. 8, 3). The term "wild honey," however, is said to be applied generally to the sweet sap of certain trees (Gould, *St. Mark*, p. 8).

[4] In *Mk.* i. 6, D and some Old Lat. MSS. have *δέρρην καμήλου* (*i.e.* a camel's skin) instead of *τρίχας καμήλου*.

[5] In the *Ascension of Isaiah*, ii. 10, the prophets are represented as all clothed with garments of hair.

restore to His people their national independence, and subjugate before them those who held them in subjection. By numbers the Kingdom of God was identified with a Kingdom for Israel. But John realized that merely to belong to God's chosen race conferred no title to His favour, and that if a judgment was in store for the Gentile oppressors of Israel, a judgment also awaited unrepentant offenders within Israel itself. So when under the influence of the belief that God was about to vindicate Himself finally, he abandoned his solitude and appeared among the people in the spirit of a prophet, it was to convey a warning rather than to impart consolation, and to address to them an urgent call to repent, if they hoped to escape the Divine wrath and to fit themselves for the Divine Kingdom, which those who should survive the judgment might look to share.

It has been maintained that St. Mark affords no support for the belief that the nearness of the kingdom of God had any place in the preaching of John, who only proclaimed the need for repentance.[1] But it is unlikely that the Second Evangelist would have applied to John the quotation from the Second Isaiah (xl. 3), which is prefixed to his account of the Baptist's preaching if he regarded him as a herald of the judgment only, and not of the kingdom also. *Mt.'s* statement that John declared the kingdom of heaven to be at hand (iii. 1) is confirmed by *Lk.* iii. 18 ("he preached *good tidings* unto the people"). Moreover in *Q* (as good an authority as *Mk.*) there is evidence that John set before his hearers substantially the idea of the kingdom; for he declared that at the cleansing of the threshing-floor (see below, p. 356) the wheat would be stored in the garner; and the garner is equivalent to the kingdom (*Mt.* iii. 12 = *Lk.* iii. 17).

The year when John emerged from his retirement with his message was probably very early in A.D. 28 (see p. 28). Judæa at this time was under the direct control of Rome, Tiberius, who had succeeded Augustus in A.D. 14, being the reigning emperor. Syria, in which Judæa was included, was an imperial province (p. 65), the *legatus* being Lucius Ælius Lamia; but Judæa was under the special charge of a procurator, Pontius Pilate, who had entered upon his office in 26. Various parts of Palestine, however, were governed by sovereigns who were allowed by the Emperor to enjoy some measure of independence (pp. 68–69). The Jewish High Priest was Joseph Caiaphas, who was appointed about A.D. 18. But the personal authority of his father-in-law Annas, who after having been nominated High Priest in A.D. 6, had been deposed from his office in A.D. 15, continued to be so great that even during the high priesthood of Caiaphas he enjoyed his former title, and St. Luke treats him and his son-in-law as jointly "high priest" (*ἐπὶ ἀρχιέρεως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα*).

Religious enthusiasm has always been prone to consider the conditions of its own age to be critical; and no doubt there were circumstances, both political and social, which helped to shape John's conviction that the time had come for God to interpose for the deliverance of His faithful servants and the confusion of His enemies. Foreign rule was a continuous outrage upon the religious sentiment of the Jews, who had constantly before them in the presence of Roman soldiers at Cæsarea and Jerusalem

[1] See Loisy, *Les Evangiles Synoptiques*, i. p. 435, who thinks that *Mt.*, in iii. 2, has adjusted John's proclamation to that of Jesus (*Mk.* i. 15).

(p. 54), and in the circulation of a coinage bearing the representation of the Roman emperors, evidence of their subordination to the hated Gentiles. Taxes were exacted to swell the revenues of the aliens, and were rendered not the less odious because Jews were found base enough to become the agents of the Roman *publicani* in their collection (p. 70). Nor were the Roman officials and their underlings the only oppressors. Annas had an evil reputation for avarice; and the indignation which he and his family excited by their injustice and rapacity is evidenced by the curse pronounced upon them in the Talmud: "Woe to the house of Annas; Woe to their serpent-like hissings." [1] Nor was it only the sins of the chief priests that must have seemed to John provocative of the Divine wrath. One to whom the ethical side of religion appealed strongly must have felt the same repulsion as did prophets like Amos and Isaiah towards the prevailing conception of religious duties fostered by the Scribes (see p. 96). And whilst the age by reason of its wickedness might seem ripe for God's judgment, there had been indications that men, in their impotence to remedy peaceably some of the evils, were eager to adopt methods that John believed to be not those whereby God designed to vindicate the cause of His people, as when Judas of Gamala caused an insurrection in A.D. 6 or 7 (p. 55). In view of such attempts in the past (which might be repeated at any moment) by a section of his countrymen in order to effect a change of conditions by force (cf. p. 58), John might perhaps have deemed that the occasion had come for God to forestall all such human schemes by His own intervention. But whatever may have been the signs of the times which led him to infer the nearness of the Divine judgment and to predict the establishment of the Divine kingdom, the issue once more illustrated how, in the utterances of God's prophets, illusion and truth were mysteriously blended.

It was probably in the neighbourhood of the Jordan (perhaps between Jerusalem and Jericho)[2] that John first announced his message. This "wild land" is likened by St. Mark to the desert traversed by the Hebrew exiles when returning from Babylon; and John himself to the Voice which the prophet of the Captivity heard crying there (2 *Is.* xl. 3, LXX), "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." [3] Upon the people his words made a profound impression; and the population of the capital and of the surrounding districts quickly gathered round him, many of the Pharisees and Sadducees mingling with the multitude. It was upon the sterner aspect of the impending crisis that his austere temperament caused him mainly to dwell. An exacting search (he declared) into the secrets of men's lives was imminent; and that they might face the ordeal in hope and not in despair they needed to be convinced of, and to confess, their offences, and prove by amendment of life the sincerity of their contrition. Repentance and obedience, indeed, as conditioning national

[1] Quoted in Hastings, *D.B.* i. p. 100.

[2] St. Luke's phrase εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου must include the Jordan valley; cf. *Gen.* xiii. 10, 11, LXX. *Mt.* has "in the wilderness of Judæa."

[3] The Hebrew connects "in the wilderness" with "prepare," but the parallel to this ("in the desert") is omitted by the Evangelist.

deliverance were not wholly ignored in the teaching of the Jewish Rabbis (p. 606). But among many of the Jews a serious obstacle to a genuine endeavour after a better life was the prevailing confidence in their descent from Abraham, to whom God had imparted pledges of eventual felicity for his posterity. How profound was the conviction entertained about their privileged position as God's people appears from the appeal made to the Almighty in 2 *Esd.* vi. 55 : " All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou hast said that for our sakes thou madest the world (cf. vii. 11). As for the other nations which also come of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, and are like unto spittle ; and thou hast likened the abundance of them unto the drop that falleth from a vessel " (cf. 2 *Is.* xl. 15). This delusion that, because they were of the seed of Abraham, they were immune from the judgment, John bade them dismiss. God was able of the very stones to raise up in their stead children unto Abraham. It was probably (as stated by the First Evangelist, *Mt.* iii. 7–10) the Sadducees and Pharisees whom he saw amongst his audience that he chiefly sought to disabuse of their trust in their descent ; for the scathing terms with which he prefaced his exhortation—" Ye offspring of vipers " (cf. *Mt.* xii. 34, xxiii. 33), " who warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? "—are more appropriate to the leaders of religion, the tendency of whose teaching he deemed pernicious, than to the multitude (*Lk.* iii. 7). Retribution (he declared) was imminent, and only practical proof of repentance could avert from them the impending destruction.

Lk. (iii. 10–14) reports replies which John returned to the inquiries of various classes who sought his counsel as to the conduct required of them. He bade the tax-gatherers, who were especially exposed to the temptation to be dishonest and rapacious (p. 70), to refrain from exacting more than was due. Soldiers on service (*στρατευόμενοι*), discharging garrison or police duties for Herod Antipas, whose territories included Peræa (p. 50), were admonished to abstain from intimidation and false charges, and to be content with their pay. Nor did he limit his counsel to mere prohibitions, but enjoined all who had goods to supply the needs of those who lacked.[1] If this representation is true to fact John, in placing exclusive stress upon the discharge of social duties without any mention of ceremonial obligations, presented a contrast to some preceding prophets. Among certain of the post-captivity prophetic writers there was a tendency both to give prominence to the ritual side of religion (cf. p. 20), and to accentuate the distinction between Israel and the rest of mankind. From such tendency John diverged, and reverted to the standpoint of the eighth-century prophets, such as Amos and Isaiah. But though he reproduced in some measure the spirit of these, he was not altogether exempt from the predominant influences of his own age. His temperament inclined him to self-mortification, and his disciples are expressly described as observing fasts (*Mk.* ii. 18).

The execution of the judgment and the inauguration of the age of happiness which for the survivors was to be its sequel, he represented as destined to be carried out by One mightier than himself, Whom he was not worthy to serve even in the humblest office, and Whom he described in vivid metaphor as about to cleanse his threshing-floor, to consume the chaff with unquenchable fire, and to gather the wheat into the garner. He went on to declare that whereas he himself baptized with water, his

[1] In *Lk.* iii. 11 the words rendered " two coats " are *δύο χιτῶνας*. Travellers sometimes wore more than one *χιτών* (see Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 5, 7).

Successor would baptize with Holy Spirit (ensuring the penitent from relapse, cf. *Acts* i. 5) and with the fire of judgment[1] (destroying the unrepentant). Scripture had foretold both the effusion of the Divine Spirit (*Is.* xxxii. 15, 2 *Is.* xliv. 3, *Ezek.* xxxvi. 27, *Joel* ii. 28) and the infliction of penal fire (*Mal.* iv. 1); and the association of the two with his predicted Successor implied that John thought of the latter not as an earthly Messiah, but as a superhuman Personality, a celestial Being, such as was described in the *Similitudes* of Enoch.

John accompanied his call to repentance, in the case of such of his hearers as responded to it, by a symbolic act; he took them to the river and there baptized them. Probably the locality was near Jericho, where crowds both from Judæa and from Peræa could equally easily gather.[2] John's practice of baptizing all who were convinced by his preaching, caused him to receive the distinctive appellation of *the Baptist* (*ὁ βαπτίζων, ὁ βαπτιστής*). In a primitive stage of thought water was believed to remove not only visible uncleanness or defilement, but likewise invisible contamination (cf. *Num.* xix. 7, 8, Eur. *Alc.* 98–100), probably through neutralizing impurity by some supernatural quality attributed to it, since springs and rivers were regarded as the abodes of Divine powers. At a more advanced stage, the idea that physical washing could of itself cleanse moral stains was abandoned, and it became merely a figure for the cleansing of the spirit from pollution, the figure obtaining expression either in speech (cf. *Is.* i. 16, iv. 4, *Jer.* iv. 14, *Ps.* li. 7) or in action. John's use of such dramatic symbolism as immersion in water was perhaps not unconnected with the employment of it in certain rites enjoined by the Law (see *Lev.* xiv. 9, xv. 13, 16–27),[3] and seemingly in the reception of proselytes; but more influential probably was the prediction of *Ezek.* xxxvi. 25, that God would sprinkle water upon His people to cleanse them from all their foulness at the beginning of a new and better age. It was the idea underlying this passage which most likely dictated the practice of baptism adopted by John, for this, unlike the lustrations of the Law, was final and not repeated, and unlike the baptism of proselytes, it did not mark entrance into a new religious organization. It was designed to testify, in those who underwent it, the occurrence of a decisive change of mind (and hence was called *βάπτισμα μετανοίας*), in consequence of which they might encounter hopefully the searching scrutiny of God and receive forgiveness for their past sins.[4] That the inward purification of which it was the emblem and seal could be deemed likely to last until the advent of Him Who baptized with Holy Spirit and with fire, presupposed that the interval before the judgment would be short.

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[1] For "baptize" in connexion with the infliction of suffering cf. *Mk.* x. 38 and p. 430.

[2] On the places mentioned in the Fourth Gospel, *Bethany beyond Jordan* and *Ænon near Salim*, see p. 5.

[3] Cf. also Elisha's direction to the leprous Naaman to immerse himself in the Jordan.

[4] In *Mk.* i. 4 *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* means that remission of sins was the result to which baptism conduced.

Crowds flocked to seek baptism from the new prophet, not only from Judæa and Peræa, but from more distant Galilee (*Mt.* xi. 9 = *Lk.* vii. 24); and among those who came from the last-named district was Jesus of Nazareth. The lack of any detail in *Mk.* about Jesus, except His connection with Nazareth, though intelligible enough in view of the knowledge presumably possessed by the majority of those for whom the Evangelist wrote, leaves us without information from a source whence information would have been of inestimable value. As it is, there is no means of ascertaining what was really known or believed about the early life of Jesus by the writer who is the primary authority for the history of His public ministry. No mention is made either of the place where He was born or of any remarkable circumstances attending His birth. It may be inferred from the statement that He came to John from Nazareth that it was at the time His home. His name is a Greek equivalent for the Hebrew *Joshua* ("Jehovah is salvation"), of which it is the regular representative in the LXX. From His connection with Nazareth He came later to be known as *the Nazarene* (*ὁ Ναζαρηνός* or *ὁ Ναζωραῖος*).

By St. Mark nothing is recorded about His lineage beyond the fact that His mother was called Mary, a name designating as many as eight different women in the New Testament, and the equivalent of the Hebrew *Miriam* (*Ex.* xv. 20, 1 *Ch.* iv. 17). The earliest Gospel makes no reference to Mary's husband, but in the other Synoptists and in the Johannine Gospel He is called Joseph, and by *Mt.* and *Lk.* is represented as descended from the house of David. There are good reasons, outside the statements of these evangelists, for concluding that legally Jesus really drew His lineage from David. The earliest direct testimony comes from St. Paul (*Rom.* i. 3)[1]; and there are also indications in the primary Synoptic authorities that He believed Himself to be a descendant of Israel's royal house. For (*a*) one of the temptations which assailed Him after He grew conscious of His Messiahship was the impulse to become the political Deliverer of His country, and a world-conqueror (*Mt.* iv. 8 = *Lk.* iv. 6); and it is hardly likely that such a thought would have occurred to Him unless He knew that He was connected with the stock of Israel's greatest King, whose career might conceivably mark the course which his descendant should pursue. And (*b*) Jesus, when He journeyed, at the close of His ministry, from Galilee to Jerusalem, entered the capital in the character of the King portrayed by the Second Zechariah (*Mk.* xi. 1–10), and this, again, it is not probable that He would have done, unless He thought that He had some title to appear before the inhabitants of Jerusalem as the representative of her ancient sovereigns, however dissimilar His conception of sovereignty was to that which commonly prevailed. (*c*) Finally, on that occasion He heard, without protest, a blind man in the crowd address Him as Son of David (*Mk.* x. 47, 48). It has been argued, indeed, from the question which He put to the Scribes in connexion

[1] Cf. 2 *Tim.* ii. 8, *Heb.* vii. 14, *Rev.* v. 5, xxii. 16. Jesus is represented as a descendant of David in St. Peter's speech at Pentecost (as reported in *Acts* ii. 30, 31) and in St. Paul's at Pisidian Antioch (*Acts* xiii. 23).

with the opening words of *Ps.* cx. (*Mk.* xii. 35–37) that He meant the inference to be drawn that the Messiah was not David's son by physical descent; but it is more likely that His aim was quite different from this (see p. 442). No serious objection to His legal descent from David can be based on his humble trade, which was that of a carpenter (*Mk.* vi. 3). Jesus had four "brothers" (see p. 364), whose names were James (the equivalent of the Hebrew Jacob), Joses (the Hebrew Joseph), Judas (Judah) and Simon (Simeon). He also had at least two "sisters," whose names, which do not occur in the New Testament, are said by tradition to have been Salome and Mary.

The Gospels of *Mt.* and *Lk.* contain genealogies (*Mt.* i. 1–16, *Lk.* iii. 23–38), one of which records the pedigree of Joseph forward from Abraham, and the other traces his lineage backward to Adam, it being assumed that though Jesus (as related by these Evangelists elsewhere) was not the offspring of Joseph, yet the latter's guardianship of the child supernaturally born of Mary made Him legally his son. The two genealogical trees are in the main divergent, but concur in the names between Abraham and David, and touch one another again in the common mention of Shealtiel and Zerubbabel. If both are based on genuine registers, some of the differences are best explained by the supposition that one represents legal inheritance and the other physical descent, since for various purposes putative fatherhood was recognized by the Jews (cf. *Dt.* xxv. 5 f., *Mt.* xxii. 24). It is probably *Mt.* who has deserted the order of natural generation in order to trace from David a royal line through Solomon, whilst *Lk.* gives the real ancestry through Nathan (2 *Sam.* v. 14). The list in *Mt.* is artificially divided into three sections of fourteen names each, covering respectively the periods of time ending with the reign of David, the Captivity, and the birth of Jesus. But in order to equalize as regards numbers the names in the second period with those in the first, the writer has omitted between Jehoshaphat and Joram, the three kings Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah; and between Josiah and Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) he has also omitted a generation (Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim, both sons of Josiah). In the third period the separate names given amount only to thirteen. Jehoiachin (son of Jehoiakim) was childless (*Jer.* xxii. 30), so that Shealtiel, whom he is said to have begotten, could not have been his son but only his *heir*. Here, too, a generation is passed over, for Zerubbabel was really grandson of Shealtiel (1 *Ch.* iii. 17–19), though called his son in *Ez.* iii. 2. In the Lucan genealogy the names number seventy-six, or rather seventy-five, since in iii. 27 *Rhesa* is probably a title ("head" or "prince") attached to Zerubbabel. Abiud (*Mt.*) and Joda (*Lk.*) probably each represent the Hodaiah of 1 *Ch.* iii. 24. If it is assumed that Eliakim and Josech were both sons of Abiud (or Joda), and that the line of the former came to an end with Jacob, then Joseph, who was the actual son of Heli, became Jacob's heir. If this method of adjusting the two genealogies be correct, it will be seen that in *Mt.* the verb ἐγέννησε is used in some places (i. 12, 16) in a non-literal sense.[1] The most probable reason for the special mention by *Mt.* of unchaste women (Tamar, Rahab, and Bathsheba) and of the Moabitess Ruth (cf. *Dt.* xxiii. 3) is that it was to show the Jews that any reproach cast unjustly on Mary could be retorted with justice in connexion with some of the ancestresses of their own royal line. Neither genealogy relates to Mary, whose lineage, according to Jewish ideas, would not affect that of her child: from the fact that in *Lk.* i. 36 she is regarded as the kinswoman of Elizabeth, belonging to the tribe of Levi, it might be inferred that she was not of David's stock, though the

[1] In *Mt.* i. 16 there are some important variant readings containing this word:

(*a*) The cursives 13, 69, 124 and others of the Ferrar group (p. 132) have Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰώσηφ ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαριὰμ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν. With this text most MSS. of the Old Lat. agree.

(*b*) The Sinaitic Syriac has: *Jacob begat Joseph. Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus called the Messiah.* In *v.* 21 this MS. (supported by Syr. cur.) has *she shall bear to thee a son*; and in *v.* 25 has *and she bore a son to him and he called*, etc. One MS. of the Old Latin also omits *knew her not till.*

kinship of the two might be only on the maternal side, and in *Lk.* ii. 4 the Sinaitic Syriac implies that both Joseph and Mary belonged to the house of David.

Though popularly Jesus was regarded as the son of Joseph (*Mt.* xiii. 55, *Lk.* iv. 22), and Mary herself refers to her husband as Jesus' father (*Lk.* ii. 48), both *Mt.* and *Lk.* affirm that Mary was a virgin when she became the mother of Jesus. The First Evangelist relates how Joseph to whom she was espoused, when he learnt, before marriage, her condition, intended to put her away privately (the annulling of a betrothal, since the man was virtually the husband of the woman (*Gen.* xxix. 21, *Dt.* xxii. 23, 24), in strictness requiring a formal separation, cf. *Mk.* x. 2); but in a dream was warned by an angel that she had conceived through Holy Spirit (*i.e.* the creative power of God) and that the Son to Whom she would give birth should be called Jesus (p. 358) because He should save His people from their sins; how in this way (according to the historian) the prediction in *Is.* vii. 14 was fulfilled; how Joseph acted upon the admonition and took Mary to be his wife; and how in due course her Son was born, the place of His nativity being Bethlehem, which the sequel of the narrative implies to have been the home of Mary and her husband. *Lk.'s* account, though not designed to supplement *Mt.'s* (since there is little or nothing to suggest that either Evangelist knew the work of the other), is largely complementary of it, carrying back the story to an earlier stage; but in some respects it conveys a different impression from *Mt.'s*. The home of the betrothed pair was Nazareth (i. 26, 27), where the angel Gabriel (p. 352) announced to Mary that through the descent upon her of Holy Spirit, she would bear a Son Who would in consequence be called Son of the Most High, and Who would receive the throne of His ancestor David and endless sovereignty. Mary was strengthened in her faith in the angel's communication by being told that her kinswoman Elizabeth had, though old, conceived a child (p. 352); and to verify the fact she visited the latter, who recognized, through the movement of her unborn babe,[1] that Mary was the destined mother of the Messiah. Mary therefore gave utterance to the *Magnificat*,[2] and shortly afterwards returned to her home. Before the birth of her Child she and Joseph, in consequence of an imperial decree directing an enrolment of the population (p. 343), went to Bethlehem in Judah,[3] since Joseph belonged to the house of David. There, crowded out of the ordinary lodging place,[4] they found shelter in a cattle-stall, where the Child was born, and was laid by His mother in a manger.

The two accounts, if historical, may be regarded as derived from Joseph and Mary respectively; but their value as history has been much disputed. The following are in brief the principal considerations urged in favour of their substantial accuracy.

(*a*) The narratives are mutually independent; but although they are not quite consistent in detail, they agree in representing that Mary while still a virgin conceived through the influence of the Divine Spirit, and that her Son was born at Bethlehem. The communications through angels can be regarded merely as a Semitic method of indicating that certain inward convictions were really intimations from God (cf. p. 352).

(*b*) The silence of *Mk.*, *Q*, St. Paul, and the Fourth Evangelist admit of explanation.

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[1] For ἐσκίρτησεν in this connection cf. *Gen.* xxv. 22 (LXX).

[2] It has been debated whether this was originally put into the mouth of Mary or Elizabeth (i. 46). All Greek MSS. and almost all versions ascribe it to the former; but three MSS. of the Old Latin version (*a*, *b*, *l*) attribute it to the latter. The facts (*α*) that in *v.* 56 the statement "Mary abode with her" (Elizabeth) suggests that Elizabeth was the speaker of *vv.* 46–55, (*β*) that the hymn is based on the Song of Hannah (1 *Sam.* ii. 1–10), and that Elizabeth's position, and not Mary's, resembled that of Hannah (a married woman who had conceived after a long period of childlessness) favour the conclusion that the hymn is hers. But the omission from it of any *v.* corresponding to 1 *Sam.* ii. 5^{b}, which would be most appropriate to Elizabeth, and the preponderant weight of the textual authorities assigning it to Mary, seem decisive for the latter (see Emmet, *Eschatological Question in the Gospel*, p. 175 f.).

[3] There was a Bethlehem in Galilee, once belonging to Zebulun (*Josh.* xix. 15).

[4] The term κατάλυμα means "guest-chamber" in *Lk.* xxii. 11, but "lodging place" in *Ex.* iv. 24 (LXX).

Mk. embodies only the Apostles' (particularly St. Peter's) personal witness to Jesus' ministry; but that the author was acquainted with the Virgin Birth is suggested by his avoidance of the expression "the son of Joseph" in connexion with Jesus, Whom he calls "the son of Mary" (vi. 3). The document *Q* was almost exclusively a record of Christ's *teaching*. St. Paul dwells so little upon the facts of our Lord's earthly life that his silence is in no way remarkable; but by the parallel drawn between Jesus and Adam (*Rom.* v. 12–21) he suggests that His birth, like the origin of Adam, was a new creative act of God. The author of the Fourth Gospel was certainly acquainted with the First and Third Gospels (p. 217), so that it was unnecessary for him to supply what was already narrated in them; nevertheless he betrays his knowledge of the Virgin Birth by recording Mary's expectation at Cana that her Son could work miracles (ii. 3–5).

(*c*) The difficulty of explaining how narratives of such an Hebraic character as those in *Mt.* i., *Lk.* ii. can have been *invented* is greater than that involved in accepting them as founded on fact. In the Hebrew Scriptures there is no instance (on which the New Testament account might be supposed to be modelled) where a virgin is represented as becoming a mother through Divine Power; and the *prophecy* in *Is.* vii. 14 (LXX), predicting that a virgin is to bear a Son, is isolated in the Old Testament, and being quoted in the New Testament by *Mt.* only, is not likely to have produced the narratives in question.

(*d*) The very idea of the Incarnation of the Son of God seems to involve the necessity of His birth otherwise than by the ordinary process of human generation; and the most natural way in which a Divine Personality can be imagined to have assumed human flesh is by being conceived and born of a virgin mother.

(*e*) Without a departure from the normal mode of birth the taint of moral corruption inherited by men from Adam (or if the account of the Fall in *Gen.* iii. be discarded as serious history (cf. p. 655), the moral infirmity universal in mankind) would have attached to our Lord. The miracle of His sinlessness requires for Him a miraculous physical origin, involving both His community with human nature and His exemption from its proneness to sin.[1]

Some counter-considerations, stated with equal brevity, are as follows:—

(*a*) The conclusion that the accounts in question are historical is not easily reconciled with the impression left by *Mk.* of Jesus' relations with His own family and with John the Baptist. (*α*) It is difficult to suppose that, had Mary been aware that her Child was of supernatural origin, she would have taken part in an effort to put restraint upon His actions (*Mk.* iii. 21, 31). (*β*) It is strange that the Baptist suspected Jesus to be His predicted successor only from the reports heard about Him (*Mt.* xi. 2, 3 = *Lk.* vii. 18, 19) when he could scarcely have failed, if *Lk.* i. 39–45 is historical, to be made acquainted with the truth by his mother Elizabeth.

(*b*) If the Virgin Birth was a fact, it is reasonable to think that Mary would have disclosed it, after the wonder of the Resurrection, to the Apostles, from whom information would have reached St. Mark (the interpreter of St. Peter), St. Paul, and others. *Mk.*'s use of the phrase "son of Mary" instead of "son of Joseph" is compatible with the supposition that Joseph, at the time alluded to, was dead.[2] St. Paul's statement that "God sent forth His Son born of a woman" clearly involves no necessary reference to our Lord's birth of a virgin (see *Mt.* xi. 11; *Job* xiv. 1). And the tone of Mary's address to her Son in *Joh.* ii. 5, whilst it is in keeping with the Johannine representation that quite early in Jesus' ministry His *Messiahship* was known to many (see i. 36, 41, 49), does not carry with it any conclusive inference as to the writer's acceptance of the narratives of His birth in *Mt.* and *Lk.*

(*c*) If the historical testimony to the Virgin Birth appears defective, the alternative is not to suppose that the account of it was produced solely in consequence of the prophecy in *Is.* vii. 14 (LXX), and designed to supply a fulfilment of it. It is more probable that increasing reflection upon the title "Son of God" caused the moment when Jesus became "the Son" to be carried back in Christian thought

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[1] See Gore, *Dissertations*, pp. 1–68; Box, *The Virgin Birth of Jesus*; Plummer, *St. Mt.*, p. 3 f.; *St. Luke*, p. 35; McNeile, *St. Mt.* pp. 10–13.

[2] Cf. 2 *Sam.* iii. 39 (of Joab and Abishai) "the sons of Zeruiah."

from His Baptism, when the Holy Spirit came (according to *Mk.* i. 11) upon Jesus Himself, to His conception, which was traced to the Spirit's descent upon His mother. But the tendency to seek in the Old Testament predictions relating to Jesus would draw attention to *Is.* vii. 14; and the rendering of it in the LXX [1] was calculated to react upon the beliefs of the Church. It has been conjectured that in *Lk.* i. the last clause of *v.* 34 has been introduced into an older version of Jesus' Birth: *vv.* 32, 35 need not mean more than that Mary's offspring was to be a human Messiah (cf. *Ps.* ii. 7, *Is.* ix. 6, 7), and mention to Mary (*v.* 36) of Elizabeth's pregnancy in her old age is more naturally understood as a sign of the future eminence of the Child she was to bear than of His supernatural origin (for this latter would be self-manifest to the mother, if she conceived before union with her husband, and would not require a premonitory token, whereas a prediction of future greatness for a child born in the usual way would call for the guarantee of a previous sign that could at once be tested).[2]

(*d*) In our profound ignorance of God it is impossible to determine from antecedent presumptions how the union of the Divine with the human in One Who was both "Son of God" and a son of man must have been conditioned. To some it will appear most reasonable to suppose that His Divine sonship was constituted by perfect spiritual communion between Him and the Father rather than by His having entered the world through a unique process of physical generation. It is clear, at any rate, that two of the Evangelists could relate the life of Him Whom they believed to be the Son of God (*Mk.* i. 1, *Joh.* xx. 31) without recording that He was born of a virgin.

(*e*) It is not very comprehensible how the entail of corrupt propensities in human nature could have been severed by our Lord through His not having a human father, so long as He had a human mother, who inherited and could transmit it. And if such severance were possible, it would only render Him less qualified to be an example to mankind. His ability to sustain men under stress of temptation is expressly connected by the writer of *Hebrews* with His having been likewise tempted (ii. 18): the reasoning would plainly lose in cogency if the power of resistance in His case and theirs were essentially different. And it is remarkable that St. Paul, who of the New Testament writers dwells most upon the depravity transmitted by Adam to his posterity (p. 649), is silent about the Virgin Birth of Jesus.[3]

St. Luke relates that the birth of Jesus was announced to some shepherds (watching by night their flocks in the fields) by an angel who, as proof of his words that a Child, born that day in the city of David, was Messiah Lord, explained the circumstances in which He would be found; and that there then appeared a multitude of other angels proclaiming "Glory to God in the highest height, And on earth peace among men of His favour." [4] The shepherds put the angel's message to the test, and finding the Child as described, caused great astonishment when they related their experiences.

Luke proceeds to record the circumcision of Jesus (cf. *Lev.* xii. 3) Who then received His name (cf. *Lk.* i. 59), the Purification of Mary,[5] the Presentation (or consecration) of her Child to the Lord (cf. *Ex.* xiii. 12, 13, 1 *Sam.* i. 24–28), and the offering by Mary of the sacrifice required on the former occasion (*Lev.* xii. 8), which would not be earlier than forty-one days after the birth of her Son.[6] When the Christ-child was taken into the Temple He was seen there by two aged and devout persons, Simeon and Anna, who both spoke of His mission and destiny, the utterance of the former including

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[1] The Heb. word which is represented in the LXX by *παρθένος* means a young woman of marriageable age, without any implication of virginity; and even *παρθένος* itself is in one passage used of a girl who was not a virgin (*Gen.* xxxiv. 3).

[2] Cf. *Lk.* ii. 12.

[3] Cf. B. Weiss, *Life of Christ*, i. p. 230 (E.T.).

[4] In the Song of the Angels the reading *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας* (ℵ A B D, Lat. Eg. (sah.)) renders the hymn a distich and makes the clauses more symmetrical than the alternative *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία* (L P, etc., Syr. Eg. (boh.)), for this involves a triple arrangement, with no conjunction between the second and third members, which are almost tautological.

[5] Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., i. p. 194.

[6] In *Lk.* ii. 22 *αὐτῶν* is probably a subjective gen., and refers to the Jews: cf. *Mk.* i. 44 (*αὐτοῖς*).

the *Nunc Dimittis*. After the rites were ended, Jesus returned with Mary and Joseph to Nazareth.

The story of the herald angels is obviously poetry rather than history. If a Hebrew poet could declare that at the Creation the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy (*Job* xxxviii. 7), it would be felt to be not less appropriate that the heavenly host should hymn the opening act of human Redemption (cf. *Lk.* xv. 7). The public testimony borne by Simeon and Anna in the Temple to Jesus as the Messiah is difficult to reconcile not only with the lack of insight in regard to Him afterwards manifested by His relations but also with the widespread surprise and incredulity which He encountered during His ministry. The narrative may have been created by the conviction that the childhood of One who was the Author of salvation could not have passed without some intimation of the truth falling from prophetic lips.

Whereas *Lk.* represents that Jesus was taken back to Nazareth after the rites in the Temple were completed, *Mt.* implies a stay of more than a year at Bethlehem, and relates an incident which occurred when the Child was between one and two. Whilst Herod the Great was still on the throne (p. 342), there arrived at Jerusalem certain Magians[1] (or astrologers) from the East,[2] inquiring where they could find and worship the new-born King of the Jews, whose star they had seen at its rising. Herod hearing of their errand, and ascertaining that the Messiah was expected to be born at Bethlehem (in accordance with *Mic.* v. 2, cf. *Joh.* vii. 42), learnt from the Magians when the star first appeared, so that he could infer the Child's age, and commanded them to inform him when they had found Him. Guided by the star to the house where the Child and His mother were dwelling, they gave Him gifts of homage, gold and frankincense and myrrh; but, in consequence of a dream, they returned home without again seeing Herod. Joseph, by direction of an angel seen in a dream, took the Child to Egypt, and so saved Him from Herod, who, since his first plan for destroying Him was foiled by the Magians, sought to gain his end by putting to death all the male children in Bethlehem under two years of age (cf. *Jer.* xxxi. 15). When Herod died, Joseph, informed by an angel in a dream as before, returned from Egypt with the Child (cf. *Hos.* xi. 1); but learning that Archelaus had become king of Judæa, refrained, through fear, from dwelling again in Bethlehem, and retired to Nazareth (in Galilee (ruled by Antipas)), so that Jesus became known as a Nazarene.

Whether this narrative is substantially true or is the creation of fancy is a matter of debate. It may be argued that there prevailed a widespread expectation of a New Age,[3] that stars were deemed the celestial counterparts of great personalities (cf. p. 60), that some Eastern astrologers, acquainted with Hebrew Messianic prophecies, may have inferred from the appearance in the heavens of a *nova*, that the predicted King had been born amongst the Jews, and that they came to investigate the truth. A serious obstacle to the acceptance of the story as history is that after such an incident as that recounted, the lack of faith in Jesus shown by His family is almost inexplicable. If the narrative owes its origin to the imagination it may be accounted for by (i) the wish to show that the extension of a knowledge of Christ among the Gentiles was foreshadowed in His childhood; (ii) an inclination to draw parallels between Jesus and Moses and between Jesus and Israel by representing that (*α*) His life was sought by a contemporary Jewish king as Moses' was by Pharaoh,[4] and (*β*) that He, like the Israelite people, after sojourning in Egypt, came out from it. A reason why Herod the Great and not Archelaus (in whose reign Jesus was probably born, p. 342) is depicted as the tyrant can be discovered in his notorious jealousy and cruelty (p. 48).

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[1] *Magi*, originally the name of a Median tribe constituting a priestly order among the Persians (Hdt. i. 101, 132), came to be used generally of Magicians (cf. *Dan.* ii. 2; *Acts* viii. 9 (*μαγεύων*), xiii. 6, 8).

[2] Justin, *c. Tryph.* 78, has *οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας μάγοι*.

[3] Cf. Verg. *E.* iv. 6, 7 (written in 40 B.C.), *Iam redit et Virgo* (Astræa), *redeunt Saturnia regna; iam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto.*

[4] See Box, *Virgin Birth of Jesus*, pp. 20, 21, who observes (p. 12) that *Mt.* i., ii. seem "to exhibit . . . the characteristic features of Jewish *Midrash* or *Haggada*." *Midrash* has been defined as "a didactic or homiletic exposition or an edifying religious story" (Driver, *L.O.T.* p. 497). See also p. 98 above.

As Herod ruled over Galilee and other adjoining regions as well as Judæa, Egypt was the most natural place of refuge for his intended victim. The passages cited from the Old Testament (*Hos.* xi. 1, *Jer.* xxxi. 15) did not create the account,[1] but were adduced to illustrate it after it had taken shape ; it is noteworthy that *Num.* xxiv. 17 is not included among them in connexion with *Mt.* ii. 2. What prophecy is alluded to in *Mt.* ii. 23 is obscure ; probably it is *Is.* xi. 1, where the Heb. for " branch " is *nētser*.

The only other incident in the early life of Jesus that finds a place in Gospel records is narrated by St. Luke, who relates that He was taken, when twelve years old, by Mary and Joseph to Jerusalem on the occasion of the annual Passover festival. When they started on the return journey, Jesus, without their knowledge, remained behind ; and it was not until He had been missing for three days that they came back to the city and discovered Him in the Temple courts seeking instruction from the teachers gathered there (cf. *Acts* xxii. 3), who were astonished at His intelligence. When He was found, His mother remonstrated with Him ; but Jesus expressed surprise that they did not realize that it was His duty to be in His Father's house.[2] The fact that His answer was not understood cannot but cast some further doubt upon the historical reality of the narratives just recounted.

As mention has been made of the " brethren " of Jesus (p. 359) it is desirable to consider here the precise relationship implied.[3] Three opinions have been held, distinguished as (*a*) the Helvidian, (*b*) the Epiphanian, (*c*) the Hieronymian, these being so called from their respective supporters in the fourth century, Helvidius (*circ.* A.D. 380), Epiphanius (*circ.* 370) and Jerome (Hieronymus, *circ.* 342–420).

(*a*) The Helvidian view (previously entertained by Tertullian) represents that they were the younger children of Mary by Joseph. This is the most natural inference from the language of the Evangelists in *Mt.* i. 25, *Lk.* ii. 7 (" her *first-born* son "). It is stated in *Joh.* vii. 5 that the brethren of Jesus before His resurrection did not believe in Him, and their disbelief is borne out by the conduct ascribed to them in *Mk.* iii. 21 (p. 392). The conversion of James, the eldest of them (*Mk.* vi. 3), was doubtless caused by the appearance to him of our Lord after His death (1 *Cor.* xv. 7) ; and James probably convinced his brothers of their previous error (cf. *Acts* i. 14). The chief difficulties attaching to the Helvidian theory arise from two circumstances : (α) that the attempted control of Jesus by His " brethren " suggests that they were older and not younger than He ; (β) that when dying, He commended His mother to the care of St. John and not to His " brethren," which seems to imply that they were not Mary's children at all. But these difficulties are adequately met by the pleas (α) that, if all the four named in *Mk.* vi. 3 had by that time reached manhood, their interference with Jesus under the impression that His mind was unhinged is not unnatural, even though they were His juniors ; (β) that if they were all married before the date of the Crucifixion and not present at the scene of it, a sufficient explanation is afforded of our Lord's act in consigning Mary to the charge of St. John, who may have been her nephew (p. 365).

(*b*) The Epiphanian view, which had been favoured by Origen, maintains that the brethren of Jesus were the sons of Joseph, not by Mary, but by a former wife. This opinion seems to have arisen from the unwillingness to believe that Mary, after having borne the Son of God, could have given birth to other children. There is no evidence that Mary was Joseph's second wife, and the only argument for this view furnished by the Gospel narrative is the attitude of our Lord's brethren towards Him in *Mk.* iii. 21, which has been considered above.

(*c*) The Hieronymian view, as explained by St. Jerome and developed by others, regards our Lord's " brethren " as strictly His maternal cousins. James, the eldest

[1] The passage in Jeremiah relates to the departure of the Jews into exile in 587 B.C., which is imagined as bewailed by Rachel, buried in Ramah, five miles north of Jerusalem. The evangelist has brought Rachel into connexion with the massacre at Bethlehem seemingly through the association of Rachel's grave with Ephrath or Bethlehem in *Gen.* xxxv. 19.

[2] For this rendering of ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου cf. *Gen.* xli. 51 LXX ; for the alternative " about my Father's business," cf. *Mk.* viii. 33.

[3] See Lightfoot, *Gal.* p. 252 f. ; Mayor, *St. James*, p. i. f.

of the brothers, is identified arbitrarily with James, son of Alphæus; and Alphæus is identified with Clopas (both names being assumed to represent the same Aramaic original, Halphai), whose wife, Mary, is supposed to be one with the Mary described as mother of James the Little and of Joses (*Mk.* xv. 40), and with the sister of our Lord's mother (*Joh.* xix. 25). It follows, then, that James and Joses, together with Judas [1] and Simon (*Mk.* vi. 3) were really cousins of Jesus. A variety of this theory represents the brothers as the *paternal* cousins of Jesus, Alphæus (or Clopas) being regarded as brother of Joseph, a view having the authority of Hegesippus (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 11). There are some serious difficulties attending both forms of the theory. (α) Although it is possible that ἀδελφός might be used in Greek for "cousin" (like the corresponding word in Hebrew (1 *Ch.* xxiii. 21, 22) and the Latin *frater*), it is improbable in the New Testament, where ἀνεψιός is employed (*Col.* iv. 10). (β) It is almost impossible to suppose that any of our Lord's brethren can have been included among His disciples during His lifetime, in view of the statement in *Joh.* vii. 5. (γ) The identification of the wife of Clopas and mother of James and Joses with the sister of our Lord's mother (*Joh.* xix. 25) is not very plausible, since it involves the assumption that two sisters bore the same name; a more likely supposition is that Mary's sister was Salome, the wife of Zebedee and mother of James and John. (δ) It is unlikely that the "brethren of the Lord," if the sons of Mary and Clopas and cousins of Jesus, should be mentioned so often in company with our Lord's mother, who on this theory was only their aunt (see *Mk.* iii. 31; *Joh.* ii. 12). (ε) The theory makes it logically necessary to understand our Lord's words in *Mk.* iii. 34, 35, "my brethren . . . my brother and sister," to mean "my cousins," which is unnatural.

Of the three views here discussed the Helvidian appears the best grounded.

§ 2. *The Baptism and Temptation of Jesus*

It is rather difficult to determine the motive which led Jesus to come to John to be baptized. But the fact (which the subsequent narrative makes clear) that He had not yet attained to a full consciousness of His relations to God and His future destiny renders possible some solution of the problem. It seems, indeed, inadmissible to assume in order to account for His action, that He was already beginning "to bear upon His heart the burden of the sins of others, even as . . . He was to bear them in His body on the tree,"[2] so that He submitted to the rite vicariously. Nor again does it appear appropriate to think of Him, just at this stage, as seeking to consecrate Himself to His life's work [3]; and the less so, inasmuch as there seems no instance elsewhere of water being used as a medium for consecration. An explanation, however, may perhaps be found in another direction. Since even at a later time than this Jesus asked of one who addressed Him as "Good Master," why he called Him good, and declared none to be good save God, it is intelligible that He, however unsullied by actual sin, could feel that mere experience of temptation (to which it is recognized that He was exposed (*Mk.* i. 13, *Heb.* ii. 18, iv. 15)) made baptism fitting for Him as for others. "To have been tempted is to have seen sin face to face,"[4] and to have become sensible of the need of such spiritual

[1] In *Lk.* vi. 16 "Judas of James," one of the Twelve, is understood to mean Judas *brother* of James (cf. *Jude* 1). Some have thought that Simon the Zealot, also among the Twelve, was the Simon enumerated among the Lord's brethren in *Mk.* vi. 3.

[2] See Hastings, *D.C.G.* i. p. 864.

[3] Allen, *St. Mark*, p. 55.

[4] Thompson, *Jesus according to St. Mark*, p. 117.

help as a symbolic act could supply. A consciousness of imperfection presupposed in all process of growth and development (cf. *Lk.* ii. 52) might well cause Him to wish to brace Himself for the better achieving of whatever God might require of Him by submitting to a rite significant of a self-committal to a life of increased devotion to the Divine will.

The place where Jesus was baptized is not stated in the earliest accounts: only in the Fourth Gospel (*Joh.* i. 28 and its context) is it implied that it was Bethany or Bethabara beyond Jordan, and these localities are not easy to identify (p. 8). From the narrative of the Baptism contained in *Mk.* and *Lk.* it appears a reasonable inference that Jesus was not recognized by John as the destined Successor of whom he spoke (p. 356), though the contrary is virtually affirmed in *Mt.* iii. 14, where it is added that John would have hindered Him from His purpose, asserting that he had need to be baptized (with Holy Spirit) by Jesus; but that the latter persisted, declaring that it became Him and others (ἡμῖν) to fulfil all righteousness. The supposition that John did not know Him explains the inquiry which, when he was in prison, he sent to Jesus (p. 404). Moreover it is unlikely that if John had been convinced of the Messiahship of Jesus before, or at the moment when, he baptized Him, any of his disciples would have been allowed to constitute an independent body called after his own name (*Mt.* xi. 2 (=*Lk.* vii. 18), *Acts* xviii. 25, xix. 3), instead of becoming followers of the Christ.

The Baptism of Jesus was the occasion when probably for the first time He realized His relation to God and God's people, and had to face the question what His part in the accomplishment of God's purposes was designed to be. As He came up out of the water He saw the heavens rent asunder, and the Divine Spirit as a dove descending into Him; and a Voice came out of the heavens, "Thou art my Son, the Beloved, in thee I am well pleased." The narrative, presumably derived in the last resort from Jesus Himself, is evidently symbolical in character, representing dramatically with the help of external imagery the moment when within Him there first emerged into full consciousness the internal conviction that He was the Messiah of God, and, for the purpose of discharging so august an office, was endued with the Divine Spirit. The moment was probably the climax of a protracted process of reflection and introspection, which, in the spiritual tension accompanying the reception of Baptism, had reached a clear issue. If it is permissible to distinguish some of the factors which humanly speaking contributed to the conclusion, they may have included the following: (*a*) the influence of prophecy, which led Him to cherish with peculiar intensity the prevalent expectation of a Messiah; (*b*) the impression produced by John's declaration that his own mission was only preliminary to the advent of a Mightier Personality; (*c*) a sense of being in possession of a profound insight into God's character and requirements, and of a harmony of will between Himself and the Almighty, such as subsists between a Son and a Father; (*d*) the discovery of the presence in Himself of unusual psychical endowments, enabling Him to produce by an exertion of will-power marvellous effects upon other minds and bodies. Of these factors the most decisive and fundamental was the third. For as regards the fourth, though at a subsequent date our Lord appealed to His ability to work miracles as evidence of His being endowed with the Holy Spirit, yet miracles were no conclusive proof that the Spirit animating one who performed them was good and not evil

(*Dt.* xiii. 1–3, *Mk.* xiii. 22). And, as will be seen, a choice between divergent ends to which the exercise of supernormal powers might be directed afforded occasion, in the case of Jesus, for a series of severe spiritual conflicts.

The expressions and imagery marking the description of Jesus' inward experiences at His Baptism have their origin in the Old Testament. The dove as a symbol of the Spirit seems to be a development of the idea underlying the figure of speech in *Gen.* i. 2, where the Divine Spirit is said to have "brooded" (like a bird) upon the face of the waters at the Creation. By Philo the turtle dove (*τρυγών*) is represented as an emblem of Divine wisdom, being a bird of solitary habits and accustomed to soar aloft, in contrast to the pigeon (*περιστερά*), which signifies human intelligence, since it is tame and mixes with men. If Philo drew upon some current system of symbolism, it is possible that the same may be the immediate origin of the imagery here, though the word used is not *τρυγών* but *περιστερά*.[1] The words uttered by the heavenly Voice (for which cf. *Dan.* iv. 31 and see p. 108) reproduce those of Jehovah to the Messianic King in *Ps.* ii. 7, but in a modified form, *Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε* being replaced by *Σὺ εἶ ὁ Υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοι εὐδόκησα* (though D and some other "Western" authorities seem to have assimilated the text here to that of the psalm). The epithet "The Beloved" (*ὁ ἀγαπητός*), here addressed to Jesus, is a title applied to *Israel* in *Is.* v. 1, whilst the equivalent, *ὁ ἠγαπημένος*, is also used of Israel in 2 *Is.* xliv. 2 (cf. also *Dt.* xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5).[2]

Some small but noteworthy variations from *Mk.'s* account of the Baptism of Jesus are introduced by the other two Synoptists. Both substitute in connexion with the Spirit's descent upon Jesus the preposition *ἐπί* (cf. 2 *Is.* xlii. i) for *Mk.'s εἰς*, whilst *Lk.* represents the Spirit as being "in bodily form" like a dove and Jesus as praying at the time. The words of the Voice from heaven are given in *Mt.* as "*This is* my son, the Beloved, *in whom* I am well pleased," a change which implies that the address was regarded by the First Evangelist as an assurance *about* Jesus imparted to *John*; whereas *Lk.* follows *Mk.'s* version.

The clearness of conviction with which Jesus at His baptism apprehended His exceptional relation to God was not unaccompanied by uncertainty on many points. The consciousness of being the Son of God, and of being endowed through the Divine Spirit with mysterious powers, still left obscure the objects for which He might draw upon them, the extent to which He might presume upon God's protective care, and the course of action whereby He could best accomplish the end which God desired. For the leisure and reflection needed for a solution of such problems a return to His own home, close to the busy arteries of traffic which intersected Galilee, and to the populous shores of its lake (p. 3), offered no fit opportunity. Only in the solitude of the wilderness could the spiritual struggle, as opposing alternatives presented themselves to Him,

[1] See Conybeare, *Expositor*, June 1894.

[2] Cf. the application to Jesus of *Hos.* xi. 1. (originally relating to Israel) in *Mt.* ii. 15.

be fought out. And so He felt impelled to withdraw[1] into some lonely region (the locality of which is quite unknown, though tradition has placed it near Jericho) in order to decide whether various suggestions that forced themselves upon Him called for adoption or for rejection. But though it was during the period spent in the wilderness that such spiritual debate was most intense (inasmuch as certain initial decisions had to be reached), yet seasons of inward conflict must often have recurred all through His life (cf. *Lk.* iv. 13 *ὁ διάβολος ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καιροῦ*, xxii. 28), as the pressure of material circumstances, the opposition of foes, or the promptings of friends revived past trials and solicitations (*Mk.* viii. 33, *Joh.* vi. 15) and created fresh misgivings. Though His belief in His Messiahship, once acquired, does not seem to have really faltered, yet it was not until after some considerable interval that it became robust enough to be avowed even to His most intimate companions.

The account, which occurs in both *Mt.* and *Lk.*, and was doubtless derived by them from *Q*, must in substance come from communications imparted by Jesus at a later date to His followers. It is marked by the same externalizing of purely spiritual experiences which is discernible in the story of the Baptism, and Jesus Himself is known to have used such a fashion of speech (*Lk.* x. 18); though there are features in the narrative (*Mt.* iv. 2 (= *Lk.* iv. 2), 11) which look as if they had been introduced into it through the literary influence of the Old Testament. The temptations with which Jesus is represented as assailed by the Devil are three in number, but the order of the second and third is different in the two Evangelists. That of *Mt.* seems psychologically to be the most probable, and is adopted here. Jesus, after fasting forty days (for this figure cf. *Ex.* xxiv. 18 (Moses), 1 *Kg.* xix. 8 (Elijah)) became a-hungered, and was approached by the Tempter who bade Him, if He were Son of God, convert the stones about Him into bread, and to whom He replied by quoting the words of *Dt.* viii. 3 LXX, "Man shall not live on bread alone [which in the original passage refers to the manna], but on every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God"[2] (cf. *Joh.* iv. 34). The idea intended to be conveyed must be that Jesus, under stress of physical needs, felt an impulse to put to the proof His filial relationship to God by trying whether it empowered Him to work a miracle to relieve His wants; and to doubt the reality of His Sonship, should the power to do so be withheld. But the true proof of Sonship was obedience to His Father's monitions and the discharge of the duty committed to Him. Next, the Devil took Him (in spirit) to a wing-like projection (perhaps a cornice) of the Temple cloisters[3] (p. 90), and again casting doubt upon His being Son of God, directed Him, if He were truly such, to cast Himself down, in reliance upon the promise, in *Ps.* xci. (xc.) 11, 12, LXX, of angelic protection. Jesus' reply was again a quotation from *Dt.* (vi. 16, LXX), "Thou shalt not put to the proof the Lord thy

[1] With *Mk.* i. 12, *τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει κτλ.* should perhaps be compared 1 *Kg.* xviii. 12; 2 *Kg.* ii. 16; *Acts* viii. 39.

[2] The second clause is absent from *Lk.*

[3] The Greek is *τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ* (not *τοῦ ναοῦ*).

God." The test of Sonship which, in this case, suggested itself was to discover whether, if He were really God's Son, His Father would shield Him from harm, even though He should place Himself deliberately in harm's way. Possibly the thought of the particular test to be applied occurred to Him from the recollection of what He had seen as a youth on the occasion of one of the annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem, for on some lofty point of the Temple buildings a priest was every day stationed to watch for the earliest sign of dawn in order to announce it as the signal for offering the morning sacrifice.[1] Finally, the Devil took Him to a high mountain (*Lk.* merely has "led Him up") and showing to Him[2] from thence all the kingdoms of the world, over which he claimed control (cf. *Joh.* xiv. 30), offered them to Him on condition that He would worship him. In answer Jesus bade Satan depart, and drawing once more upon *Dt.* quoted the injunction in vi. 13 in the form "Thou shalt worship[3] the Lord thy God, and Him alone thou shalt serve." The Devil then left Him and angels came and ministered to Him (cf. 1 *Kg.* xix. 5, 6 (Elijah)). The nature of this last temptation differed from that of the two earlier. Misgivings as to His filial relation to God ceased to be felt; but there were two ways of achieving the universal supremacy promised in prophecy to God's Son, the Messiah. One was to adopt the worldly methods of force and violence, involving allegiance to the prince of this world; the other was to prevail through the spirit of meekness and patience, whatever the experiences which God might require Him to undergo. From the decision to which Jesus now came, He never swerved.

The narrative in various ways illuminates the development of our Lord's character. It demonstrates that the sinlessness which the New Testament writers recognize as marking Him was consequent not upon exemption from suggestions to sin but upon conquest over them. It shows, too, that (as might be expected) He had steeped Himself in the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, and drew upon them for support and guidance in repelling the assaults of temptation. It confirms the inference, deducible from other evidence, that He shared the belief of His age in the existence of a predominant evil Personality, the author of all forms of physical and moral ill. Moreover, the account of the First and Second Temptations throws light upon the limits within which He came to deem it permissible for Him either to seek to exert the exceptional powers with which He found Himself endowed, or to presume upon the omnipotence of God for His aid and protection. He concluded (it would seem) that He might not use His powers to satisfy His own needs, and that He might not expect God to suspend the operation of His laws in response to eccentric demands.

The principal difference between *Mt.* and *Lk.* consists in the fact that *Lk.* places last the Temptation of which the Temple is represented as the scene. Probably *Mt.* adheres more closely to the original order; *Lk.'s* motive, if it was he who departed from that order, was perhaps a feeling that what occurred at Jerusalem could most fittingly be regarded as the climax of the series. With *Lk.'s* ἀναγαγὼν . . . ἤγαγε in a spiritual or mental sense cf. *Ezek.* xxxvii. 1 (LXX), *Rev.* xvii 3; *Mt.* has παρα-

[1] Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. p. 303.
[2] *Lk.* adds "in a moment of time."
[3] The LXX has *shalt fear.*

λαμβάνει. *Mk* 's account looks like an abbreviation of the longer one in *Q* (reproduced in *Mt.* and *Lk.*) of which he probably had knowledge (see p. 164). His addition that Jesus " was with the wild beasts " was probably designed to accentuate not so much the idea of Jesus' loneliness as of His being in the haunts of demons, which were thought of as dwelling, under animal forms, in desert places (cf. *Mt.* xii. 43, *Lev.* xvi. 10, and see p. 94).

At the end of the period spent in the wilderness, Jesus returned with His mind cleared as to certain issues. But a decision as to His immediate course of action was the result of information which He received about John the Baptist. The duration of the latter's ministry is unknown, but was probably brief, perhaps only a few months (p. 312). It was brought to an end by Herod Antipas (p. 50), who apprehended him when engaged in preaching and baptizing on the other side of the Jordan (within his territories), and committed him to prison at Machærus on the Dead Sea (p. 9), and before long put him to death there (p. 406). The motive of Antipas in arresting him is represented differently by Josephus and St. Mark (whose account is adopted by the other Synoptists). The former (*Ant.* xviii. 5, 2) states that it was due to the fear of John's influence over the people, since it was in his power to raise a rebellion among them ; but the latter attributes it to John's rebuke of Herod for marrying Herodias, his niece and the wife of his brother Herod Philip, during her husband's lifetime. The Herod Philip[1] here meant is distinct from the Philip (Herod's son by Cleopatra) who ruled the tetrarchy of Trachonitis (p. 51). He was the offspring of Herod by Mariamne,[2] and had been named in his father's first will (p. 48), but was omitted from the second, and remained in a private station. Antipas, journeying to Rome, had lodged with him, and there met Herodias. A passion sprung up between them ; and it was agreed that the two should marry as soon as Antipas could divorce his own wife (who was daughter of the Nabatæan king Aretas). The latter, on hearing of the compact, fled to her father ; and Antipas felt himself free to carry out his desires in regard to Herodias. The consequent feud with Aretas caused Antipas to take up his quarters at Machærus, as being near the Arabian frontier where he might expect hostilities to develop. St. Mark's statement about the cause of the Baptist's imprisonment is not absolutely incompatible with the representation of Josephus, but it is difficult to understand how John, whilst at liberty, came into personal contact with Antipas ; so that possibly he was really arrested in consequence of the tetrarch's fears lest the religious excitement caused by his preaching might issue in a popular rising, and that the censure which he passed upon the conduct of Antipas occurred during his captivity on the occasion of an interview (cf. Felix and St. Paul, *Acts* xxiv. 26). The tetrarch's feelings about John were mixed, and he could not make up his mind what to do ; but Herodias' hatred for him was unrelenting, and the revenge she took will come under notice later.

[1] He is called Philip (only) in the New Testament. In more than one case the same name was borne by two or more children of Herod, for two, if not three, sons were called Antipater or Antipas.

[2] Two of Herod's wives were named Mariamne.

*** *To illustrate the Galilean Ministry.*

§ 3. *Jesus' Renewal of John's Announcement, and His Cure of Diseases*

It was apparently the tidings of John's arrest that determined for Jesus His immediate course of action. This was the prosecution of the work which, hitherto carried on by John, the tyranny of Antipas had now interrupted; the captivity of the first herald of the kingdom of God, if the time of it could be ascertained, would date the commencement of his Successor's efforts to proclaim the same message. The Fourth Gospel, indeed, describes Him as making disciples in Judæa and baptizing there (through the agency of those whom He had previously gathered about Him) before John was arrested (*Joh.* iii. 22, iv. 1, 2); but this representation is probably unhistoric,[1] being contradicted by the tradition preserved in *Acts* i. 22, x. 37, xiii. 23, 24, which implies that the *beginning* of Jesus' preaching dated from the close of John's. It was not to Judæa but to Galilee that He directed His steps after His return from the wilderness. His motive for going to that district first of all was not (so far as may be judged) that it was the neighbourhood of His home, since for some while He avoided His own town Nazareth,[2] but that He felt a profound sympathy for those who, like the majority of the Galilæans, were deemed by the ecclesiastical leaders of the people outcasts from the pious circles of Israel. To these whom their countrymen despised and who, less immersed in the traditions of the Scribes than the population of Jerusalem and Judæa, were likely to be more open to fresh spiritual influences, He was strongly drawn; and among them He might look to find a readier hearing than among the denizens of the capital and its vicinity. Accordingly in their cities and villages He began to renew the announcement which had previously been the burden of John's utterances, that the kingdom of God was at hand, and that those who sought to enter it must repent of the sins which would else exclude them.[3] The time when He embarked upon His ministry, as far as it can be fixed with some probability, was the year A.D. 28, the fifteenth of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius (see p. 342), His age being about thirty.

It is not stated exactly where He commenced to preach, but it seems most likely that it was along the shores of the Galilean Lake. This was fringed with flourishing towns, but so far as available evidence goes, it was not the largest and most important (like Tiberias), but the less considerable that He made the chief centres of His activity.

As has been said, the beginning of His ministry was a continuation of the mission of John; and the substance of His earliest proclamation was the same (cf. *Mk.* i. 15 with *Mt.* iii. 2). There was, however, a distinction

[1] That Jesus did not preach in Judæa prior to going to Galilee is confirmed by the fact that Scribes and Pharisees proceeded from Jerusalem to Galilee in order to interview and question Him (*Mk.* iii. 22, vii. 1).

[2] Yet *Mt.* iv. 12 represents that He went from Judæa to Nazareth, and from the latter town to Capernaum.

[3] In *Mk.* i. 15 the addition to *repent ye* of the words *and believe in the Gospel*, which is peculiar to the Second Gospel, is perhaps due to Pauline influence (see Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, p. 64), or to later editing: cf. viii. 35, x. 29.

between them as regards both spirit and method. A difference of emphasis caused Jesus' declarations about the approaching crisis to be more of a *Gospel*—" good tidings " —than John's, in whose utterances the Judgment had occupied more space than the Kingdom, and whose preaching is only once described by the term *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* (*Lk.* iii. 18) And this was accompanied by a difference of bearing. John had pursued the severe life of an ascetic ; his very garb contrasted with that of ordinary folk ; he made his abode in solitary places, and those who desired to hear him had to seek him there ; so that the people who were thus forced to leave their customary resorts were by that very fact the more liable to have their emotions violently stirred. But Jesus, less austere in His habits, betook Himself to the dwellings of men, frequented their synagogues, shared on occasions their simple pleasures, and so made His appeal to them more temperately and tranquilly. And though He did not conceal from His hearers the doom in store for the unrepentant (and as He increasingly encountered hypocrisy and malice His language grew stronger), yet He addressed Himself to their reflection as well as to their fears, and laid stress on the consolation that was soon to be forthcoming for the suffering and the troubled. And a still more impressive contrast was presented by the fact that whereas John did nothing to relieve the afflicted, Jesus accompanied His preaching by numerous cures of the infirm and suffering (cf. *Joh.* x. 41, *Acts* x. 38). The possession and exercise of this faculty of healing could not fail to signalize Him as more amply endowed with the Divine Spirit than His predecessor.

The Kingdom of God was an idea sufficiently familiar for Him to assume that it would be intelligible to His audiences, though the notions which different individuals attached to it must have varied greatly. It admitted of both a concrete meaning—an organized external polity ruled by God either directly or through His appointed representatives and ministers[1]—and a more abstract sense—the supremacy of God and His holiness over human nature. The two were in a measure complementary, for an external kingdom of which God was the ruler must involve the suppression in it of everything base and unworthy, whilst the sovereignty of God over human hearts would leave the claims of justice unsatisfied unless recompense objectively corresponded to desert. In the case of Jesus it was the spiritual aspect that was the more absorbing ; so far as the external realization of it was concerned, He left it obscure whether the sphere of it was to be earth or heaven. He concentrated His efforts upon the task of making His hearers understand the qualities of character and temper which alone could have place within it, and the principles of conduct which alone could afford men any hope of entering it. But whilst He did not explain the nature and constitution of the Kingdom, He certainly seems to have thought of it not as destined to be evolved gradually out of the circumstances of the existing world, but as about to be ushered in supernaturally by an immediate act of God. Of the precise time of its manifestation He claimed no knowledge (see p. 445) ; but it

[1] Cf. *Mic.* iv. 7 ; *Is.* ix. 6, 7, xxiv. 23 ; *Ps.* ii. 6.

appears beyond doubt that He Himself expected it, or at least caused others to expect it, within a very short interval—within, indeed, the lifetime of His own contemporaries.

It was then merely as a herald of the coming Kingdom and a teacher of the morality conditioning participation in it (cf. *Mt.* iv. 23, xi. 1, *Lk.* iv. 43), like John the Baptist himself, that He appeared first to His countrymen. Although He had gained the belief that in destiny and dignity He was more than this, and that He was preordained to fill, under God, the most exalted station in that Kingdom, yet He gave at the outset no hint that He was superior to all prophets. To declare Himself at once the destined Messiah of His race, would be to excite in the people expectations of a political character which He was convinced He was not meant by His Father to fulfil. So it was simply as a prophet that He was regarded by those of the people whom His discourses impressed, and it was only as a prophet that He at the outset described Himself (*Mk.* vi. 4, 15, *Mt.* xxi. 11).

In proceeding to proclaim the advent of the Kingdom, Jesus did not rely upon His own unaided exertions; but sought in the towns of Galilee and by the shores of its lake sympathizers who were willing to make the sacrifices necessary to assist Him. It was both the practice and the duty of a Rabbi or Teacher to gather round him a circle of disciples,[1] and His doing this would assimilate Him in popular estimation to the class of Rabbis. The first Galilæans whom He enlisted in His service were two brothers, sons of Jonas or John (*Mt.* xvi. 17, *Joh.* i. 42), one named Simon (Simeon, Symeon), and the other called Andrew. They were both fishermen, residents of Capernaum; and at the time when Jesus, as He passed along the shore, summoned them to join Him, were engaged in their usual occupation. Our Lord, playing with the word "fishers," bade them follow Him and He would make them fishers of men; and they, at once, abandoning the business which occupied them, attached themselves to Him and became sharers in His work. The words in the narrative of St. Luke (v. 11) "they left all" need not be understood literally. The summons meant, indeed, a call to subordinate their worldly ties and interests to the duty of extending a knowledge of the Kingdom and its nearness, and of the conditions controlling participation in it; but it did not involve immediate surrender of their homes or of their other possessions (see *Mk.* i. 29, ii. 15). The call of Simon and Andrew was succeeded by the call of another pair of brethren. These were James (or Jacob) and John, the sons of Zebedee (= Zebadiah) and of his wife Salome,[2] who were likewise fishermen (represented as partners of the other two, *Lk.* v. 7, 10) and were busy at the time, together with their father and some hired servants, in putting their nets in order. They showed as little hesitation as Simon and his brother, and without delay followed after Him. The readiness with which these men relinquished their calling and threw in their lot with Jesus favours the idea that they

[1] Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., i. p. 474.
[2] Cf. *Mk.* xv. 40 with *Mt.* xxvii. 56.

may have encountered Him before. An explanation of how this could have happened is afforded by the assumption that Salome, the mother of James and John, was a sister of our Lord's mother (see p. 365). Their kinship would lead to intercourse between the two houses; and when Jesus visited His cousins by the lake-side, He would naturally become acquainted with others, like Simon and Andrew, who followed the same pursuit. Nevertheless, the obedience shown by all the four to His sudden command to leave their avocations is perhaps to be accounted for by their sharing the belief that He was a prophet. Prophets were thought to act abruptly, and their bidding was usually obeyed without hesitation (see 1 *Kg.* xix. 19–21, 2 *Kg.* ix. 1–3).

The four who thus became our Lord's first disciples were all friends of one another (as has been said), and partners in the business of fishing (*Lk.* v. 10). Though their occupation was comparatively humble, they were not employed by others, but had boats of their own; whilst Zebedee, the father of James and John, had servants under him (*Lk.* v. 2, 3, *Mk.* i. 20). Simon (also called Cephas or Peter) was married (cf. 1 *Cor.* ix. 5), and with him and his wife there lived the latter's mother. All the four disciples named must have been acquainted with Greek, for in Galilee there was a great mixture of nationalities (see p. 3), and the names Peter and Andrew are both Greek. Nevertheless their knowledge of it was probably colloquial rather than literary. The tongue they usually employed was Aramaic; and Galilæan Aramaic, as compared with that which was current at Jerusalem, was marked by distinctive features (*Mk.* xiv. 70, *Mt.* xxvi. 73).

The reason is fairly clear why the circumstances in which the four just mentioned were called by Jesus are described, whilst the occasions when He summoned various others whom He associated with Him are not related. Peter, James, and John became in a special degree the intimate companions of their Master, and reference to Peter's call naturally carried with it Andrew's also. The only disciple besides these whose call is recounted by Mark is Levi (or Matthew), whom Jesus summoned to follow Him at a somewhat later date; and the allusion to the occasion is explained by its connexion with an incident that followed upon it (*Mk.* ii. 15–17).

An account of the call of Peter, Andrew, James and John which is given by St. Luke (v. 1 f.) differs from that contained in *Mk.* and followed by *Mt.* (iv. 18, 22) in various details. (*a*) Jesus is described as entering Simon's boat in order to preach from it, without being thronged by His hearers. (*b*) After concluding His discourse, He directed Simon, who had fished fruitlessly through the night, to let down his nets, which then enclosed such a quantity of fish that they nearly broke, and the fishers had to summon their partners to help them, both boats being filled till they began to sink. (*c*) On this Simon Peter threw himself at Jesus' knees, saying, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord"; but Jesus bade him dismiss his fear, for from thenceforth he should catch men; and when the boats were brought to land, the four left all and followed Him. The miraculous catch of fishes may be an elaboration of the metaphor of "fishers of men," symbolizing the numbers that through their exertions were to be secured; and the figure of speech may have been converted into a physical occurrence (cf. *Lk.* xi. 29, 30, 32 with *Mt.* xii. 39, 41, 40). A miraculous catch of fishes occurs likewise in the post-Resurrection narrative comprised in *Joh.* xxi.; and the fact that Peter's words to Jesus are more appropriate to a time

after his denial of his Lord has suggested that St. Luke has blended with a report of the call of the disciples some tradition connected with the appearance to them of the Risen Christ (p. 476).

The Fourth Evangelist represents that *before* the arrest of John the Baptist, Andrew (of Bethsaida) and an unnamed companion were disciples of John, who directed their attention to Jesus, with Whom they spent the day; and then Andrew sought his brother Simon and brought him also to Jesus. But though an earlier meeting between Jesus and the two brothers explains very naturally the promptitude with which the latter are described as answering the call of our Lord by the lake-side, yet the language attributed on this occasion to the Baptist (who alludes to Jesus as the Lamb of God), to Andrew (who informs Simon that they had found the Messiah), and to Jesus (Who tells Simon that he should be called Cephas (or Peter) without any reason being given or implied for such a change of name) is so difficult to reconcile with the representation of Mark and the other Synoptists that the historical value of the narrative falls under grave suspicion.

The Fourth Gospel (i. 43–51) contains also an account of the call by Jesus, when in Galilee, of another disciple, Philip, who is related to have brought to our Lord Nathanael of Cana (xxi. 2). The latter is not named in the New Testament outside the Fourth Gospel, but has been generally identified with Bartholomew.[1] The circumstances that here, at a very early period in our Lord's ministry, Philip is described as recognizing in Jesus "Him of whom Moses and the prophets wrote," and that Nathanael is stated to have addressed Jesus as the Son of God and the King of Israel, are features in the narrative which cannot be easily harmonized with the Apostles' first confession of Jesus' Messiahship at a much later date, as represented by the Synoptists (*Mk.* viii. 27 f.).

It was with a sound judgment, as the event showed, that Jesus avoided at the outset of His Galilæan mission, His native Nazareth (cf. *Mk.* vi. 1–6, and p. 402); and the first place where He is recorded to have preached was Capernaum. Here He, in company with some of the disciples whom He had already attracted to Him, entered the synagogue of the town, where, as was customary, a stranger, if known or conjectured to belong to the lettered class, might be asked, after the reading of the Scriptures, to instruct the worshippers (p. 96). In the course of the service, Jesus was invited by the president of the synagogue to undertake this duty. Although nothing on this occasion is recorded of the tenor of His teaching, yet the manner and tone of it at once arrested attention by the contrast it afforded to the characteristic practice of the Scribes. The latter were conscious of no inspiration which would justify them in handling boldly the difficulties which the Law and its application to the complexities of life presented, so that their comments upon it could hardly fail to be hair-splitting and pedantic, and were based, where possible, upon the pronouncements of their predecessors. Very different was the spirit which marked the teaching of Jesus, if it exhibited in the synagogue there the same features as those which are apparent in the discourses delivered elsewhere, or at other times. His principles will fall to be considered more in detail later (p. 602 f.); here it suffices to notice summarily what lay at the root of the difference between His method of dealing with the Law and that of the Scribes. Like them He acknowledged its Divine

[1] He has also been identified with others of the Twelve, see Hastings, *D.B.* iii. 488–489. The *meaning* of his name favours the suggestion that he was the same as Matthias.

authority; and its rules He honoured alike in precept and in practice.[1] But unlike them He subordinated the letter to the spirit, whilst insisting that the scope and intent of its spiritual meaning should be construed in the most comprehensive and exacting measure. In thus passing judgment upon current religious standards He assumed the same attitude of authoritative criticism as was manifested by certain of the Old Testament prophets.[2] Filled with a tranquil confidence that He possessed a true insight into the character of God, He freely corrected contemporary notions of religious duty, wherever these clashed with, or fell short of, His own conception of the Divine nature and will. In consequence He created amongst His hearers great astonishment, conveying to them the impression that He was Divinely empowered to teach as He did.[3]

The independence which distinguished the teaching of Jesus as contrasted with the spirit in which the Scribes commented upon the Law was not the only fact that excited wonder amongst those who were gathered in the synagogue. There chanced to be in it a man suffering from a disordered mind, one of a class in whom the existence of mental derangement, sometimes accompanied by physical afflictions (cf. *Mk.* ix. 17), was popularly ascribed to the presence in them of demons or spirits of evil, by whom their victims were controlled (just as a prophet might be controlled by the Spirit of God, *Mk.* xii. 36). The afflicted man in the synagogue (presumably admitted there during a lucid interval) had probably had his attention arrested and his fears excited when Jesus, Whose name he had learnt, made the subject of His preaching the approach of the Kingdom of God, the establishment of which meant the overthrow of all demon powers. Inferring that such a herald of the Divine Kingdom must occupy a special relation to God, and therefore be hostile to the demons that had the mastery over himself, he screamed, "What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus the Nazarene? Art thou come to destroy us? I know who thou art, the Holy One of God." The title by which he addressed Jesus was appropriate to One whom he judged to be consecrated in a pre-eminent degree to the service of God (the same is used of Aaron in *Ps.* cvi. 16); and his outcry expressed his shrinking from Him. Jesus, so far as can be ascertained, participated in the contemporary belief respecting the activity of demons as the source of various mental and physical disorders; and presuming that an evil spirit was really present in the man, bade it be silent and come out of him. The command had its effect; and after a final paroxysm of madness, and a loud cry, the sufferer was restored to sanity.

This narrative (omitted by *Mt.*) of the healing of a demoniac is an example of a class of cures attributed repeatedly to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, four instances being described in detail in *Mk.* (i. 23–26, v. 2–15, vii. 25–30, ix. 17–27), whilst there are, in addition, three general references

[1] See *Mk.* x. 17–19; *Mt.* v. 18 (=*Lk.* xvi. 17); *Mk.* i. 44.

[2] *Is.* i. 11–17; *Mic.* vi. 6–8.

[3] In *Mk.* i. 22 the word ἐξουσία, in ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, is probably equivalent, in this connexion, to the Power of God: cf. *Camb. Biblical Essays*, p. 178 and see *Mt.* ix. 8.

to similar cures (i. 34, 39, iii. 11). The possession, however, of ability to effect such cures was not confined to Jesus, but was at least claimed by Jewish and other exorcists (*Mt.* xii. 27 (= *Lk.* xi. 19), cf. *Acts* xix. 13). There was, indeed, a marked difference between the methods pursued. Contemporary exorcists either used certain physical agencies which were thought to expel the evil spirit, such as smoke with a foul smell, or a ring with the root of some herb under the signet (*Tob.* viii. 2, 3, Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2, 5), or else uttered over the afflicted person the name of some superior Power to whom the demon yielded (*Mk.* ix. 38, cf. *Mt.* vii. 22). On the other hand, Jesus with a mere word (cf. *Mt.* viii. 16), bade the demon depart, and it obeyed Him. Nevertheless, Jesus Himself seems to have recognized that His exorcisms and those of others were not essentially different in kind; and it may be inferred that when He cast out demons it was through the exertion not of supernatural power but of natural faculties possessed by Him in a supernormal degree. The maladies which were ascribed to the presence of evil spirits doubtless had their source in brain disturbance, and would now be considered cases of mania and insanity, epilepsy, hysteria, and the like; and where belief in demonic "possession" prevailed, persons of morbid temperament would be liable, even from slight causes, to imagine themselves under the influence of a demon.[1] But so long as the brain cells, or the nerves connected with them, are not destroyed, an adequate stimulus may restore their balance. Such a stimulus is likely to have been supplied in an exceptional measure by words proceeding from Jesus. The circumstance that He was known as a herald of the Kingdom of God, the anticipation that powers of various kinds would attend the manifestation of that Kingdom, and the authoritative tone with which He spoke were all calculated to relieve the tension of a mind obsessed by a belief in demonic control, and so restore the tranquillity needed to enable the brain to resume its normal function. The cure wrought on the present occasion created amongst those who beheld it profound amazement, enhanced probably by the contrast which, in respect of doing such wonders, Jesus presented to John the Baptist (*Joh.* x. 41); and His fame spread throughout Galilee and the adjoining districts (with *Mk.* i. 28 cf. *Mt.* iv. 24).

The restoration of the demoniac to mental health was followed by another act of healing of a different character. Of the four fishermen whom Jesus had summoned first to be His disciples Peter and Andrew had their home in Capernaum, and the former was married. At their house the mother of Peter's wife was lying prostrated by a fever. It was perhaps the cure which they had witnessed in the synagogue that inspired in the two brothers the hope that the same remedial power which had been manifested in the instance of the demoniac, Jesus might be willing to exert in the case of the sick woman, if He were taken to her. Jesus went with them, accompanied by James and John; and when they reached

[1] Myers (*Human Personality*, i. pp. 303–5) quotes the case of a Frenchman who attributed his blasphemies against religion to a devil inside him, moving his tongue against his will.

the house the woman's condition was explained to Him. He thereupon approached her and taking her hand, raised her [1]; and the fever left her, so that she was able to minister to them.

This second miracle differs from the first in the circumstance that the malady relieved was physical and not mental; and as a number of other physical cures are subsequently recorded to have been effected by Jesus, it is desirable at this point to draw attention to one or two considerations in regard to them. The influence of the mind upon the health of the body is as widely recognized as the converse; and it is probable that the explanation of our Lord's cures of bodily illnesses and diseases is to be found in the reaction of the minds of the sufferers to emotional stimulus proceeding from Him, followed by physical effects consequent upon the mental relief. Disease in general is a struggle between some harmful agent that has been introduced into the system, and the resistance of the constitution to it; and any reinforcement of the latter retards the progress of the disease and conduces to its defeat. So long as the bodily organs, though functioning imperfectly, remain potentially efficient, they will recover their normal activity if a reserve of vital energy can be released through some impulse from without. Such an impulse Jesus must have been supremely qualified to impart. Firstly, His complete confidence in God and in Himself as God's Son could scarcely fail, even if disclosed only by His bearing and His authoritative tones, to create faith, and to renew hope, in the afflicted, and so reinvigorate the recuperative forces of the body in their conflict with the disease. And secondly it is likely that He was endowed with exceptional psychic powers, so that by "suggestion" He could impress His will upon another's volition and so neutralize the mental torpor which so often prejudices recovery. Medical science, distinguishing between organic and functional disease, finds nothing incredible in cures of the latter, brought about by faith; and some distinguished medical authorities seem prepared to admit that occasionally even cases of true organic disease can be cured through the same means.[2] On the other hand, it has to be allowed, in regard to the New Testament miracles of healing, (*a*) that scientific diagnosis of the diseased conditions represented as healed is lacking, and (*b*) that there were factors in the religious beliefs of that age and country calculated to produce magnified reports of the miraculous (cf. p. 114).

In respect of the incident here under consideration, febrile disorders, if due to infection, are not among those most readily amenable to emotional stimulus; but there is the possibility that the woman's fevered state was largely due to nervous causes, which would be apt to yield to such stimulus. And if it is true that the subsidence of a state of fever is not likely to be so rapid as the recovery of speech or of the use of a limb (where the response of the nerves to surprise or some other intense feeling may be sudden), the account does not necessarily represent the cure as immedi-

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[1] *Mt.* substitutes "he touched her hand" (viii. 15, cf. p. 380, note); *Lk.* has "he rebuked the fever" (iv. 39).

[2] See *British Medical Journal*, June 18, 1910, p. 1468.

ate (for Mark's *straightway*, i. 29, is merely a feature of his style, p. 179); and the recovery, in view of the brevity of the narrative, may have been less instantaneous than is commonly thought.

The two occurrences just related took place on the Sabbath. In the course of the day information about what had happened spread through the city; but the injunctions in the Law respecting the observance of the Sabbath, and the strictness with which these were interpreted by the Scribes, prevented the help of Jesus from being sought for other sufferers. But when at even the Sabbath came to a close,[1] then the inhabitants gathered round the door of Peter's house, bringing with them all their sick, whether physically or mentally afflicted. St. Mark, by stating that our Lord healed *many* sick and cast out *many* demons, may have meant to convey the inference that not all, but only a large proportion, of those who needed help actually received it, there being absent, most probably, in some cases the faith that rendered a cure possible (cf. *Mk.* vi. 5). Nor can there be left out of account the likelihood that in various instances recovery was impossible for other reasons, such as the atrophy or decay of the injured members and organs.

In the case of the demoniacs that were cured, Jesus is represented as not permitting the demons in the afflicted persons to speak because they knew Him.[2] The Evangelist probably has in mind the cry of the sufferer healed in the synagogue (p. 376). Though the title used on that occasion did not necessarily convey a Messianic meaning, it was conducive to surmises about Jesus which might cause among the people misdirected enthusiasm. He had come to a clear decision that God did not design Him to fulfil the popular ideal of a national Deliverer and a triumphant Conqueror (p. 369); but it was just such a rôle that would be expected of Him, if the multitude was led to believe that He was more than a teacher of righteousness like John the Baptist. His true mission, for the time, was to proclaim the repentance conditioning entry into the Divine kingdom; and anything calculated to interfere with this duty was to be sedulously avoided. Accordingly in the morning following the evening when He had wrought so many cures He withdrew from the city by Himself whilst it was yet dark, and went first to a lonely place where He could obtain both physical and spiritual rest, exhausted as He must have been by the calls upon His strength. His retreat, however, was discovered by His disciples,[3] who tried to induce Him to take advantage of the interest He was arousing. But in reply Jesus told them to accompany Him to the neighbouring villages, that He might preach there also, for He had left Capernaum with that intent.[4] He and His followers then

[1] *Mk.*'s language is modified by both *Mt.* (viii. 16) and *Lk.* (iv. 40, 41), see p. 157; *Mt.*, whilst retaining *Mk.*'s mention of the eventide, omits to explain that the day was the Sabbath.

[2] *Lk.* has "knew that he was the Christ."

[3] *Lk.* represents that it was the multitudes who came to Him (iv. 42).

[4] *Lk.* (iv. 43), interpreting *Mk.*'s ἐξῆλθον to mean "came forth from God," substitutes ἀπεστάλην.

proceeded through Galilee,[1] preaching in the synagogues and healing those who were "possessed" by demons.

It was in the course of this tour, though the precise locality of the occurrence is not described,[2] that the next miracle narrated in detail by *Mk.* took place. The reports which had spread about Jesus' healing faculty caused a leper to come to Him seemingly when He was alone in a house (*Mk.* i. 43, 44)[3] and entreat Him to remove his affliction, saying "If Thou wilt, Thou canst cleanse me." The near approach to Him of a person in such a condition is strange, since a leper was required to keep aloof from passers-by (cf. *Lk.* xvii. 11–19) and to make known his state by crying "Unclean" (*Lev.* xiii. 45). But Jesus did not avoid him as a Rabbi would have done, but was moved by his appeal, and touching him said, "I will, be thou cleansed." St. Mark seems to imply that the leprosy was at once healed,[4] and the man was sternly charged not to disclose to anyone what had occurred (cf. p. 401) but to show himself to the priest that he might by him be declared ceremonially clean, and then offer the sacrifices prescribed by the Mosaic Law (*Lev.* xiii., xiv.) as a proof to people that a complete cure had been effected. The account is not without difficulties. The particular nature of the malady represented as cured instantaneously is not specifically explained, and under the term *leprosy* (Heb. *tsāra'ath*) the Bible includes more than one kind of cutaneous disease. One variety seems to be what modern medical science terms *psoriasis*, which is neither contagious nor dangerous to life. But real leprosy (*elephantiasis*) is contagious, though not easily communicated; and whilst not rapidly fatal, is rarely cured, and if it yields to remedies, the curative process is protracted. The immediate response of Jesus to the leper's petition, and the fact that He did not shrink from touching[5] the polluted flesh, could not fail to stimulate into action any latent reserves of vitality in the sufferer, enabling diseased to be replaced by healthy tissue. But whether the disease was of the gravest variety is not stated; and the direction to the man to show himself to the priest might apply to the time when the process of recovery, started at once, was, after an interval, completed.

The command that what had occurred should not be made known was disobeyed by the leper, who proclaimed the relief that he had experienced. There ensued the consequences which Jesus had sought to avoid: multitudes flocked around wherever He went, bringing (it may be presumed)

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[1] In *Lk.* iv. 44 ℵ B C L, the Sinaitic Syr. and some other authorities have *Judæa* instead of *Galilee*; if this is accepted as the true reading, *Judæa* must be understood to mean Palestine as a whole.

[2] *Mt.* has "when he had come down from the mountain" (viii. 1); *Lk.* has "while he was in one of the cities" (v. 12).

[3] *Mt.* (viii. 1) implies that Jesus was attended by large crowds, which renders the subsequent injunction of secrecy unmeaning.

[4] This follows from the general tenor of the narrative, not merely from the writer's characteristic *εὐθύς*. Old Testament stories of leprosy appearing and disappearing in a moment (*Ex.* iv. 6, 7, 2 *Kg.* v. 14, 27) may have been influential.

[5] For Jesus' practice of *touching* many of those who sought to be cured by Him cf. *Mk.* v. 23, vi. 5, vii. 32, viii. 23; *Lk.* iv. 40, xxii. 51.

their sick relations to be healed, so that when He entered a city, the delivery of His Message was much impeded. Accordingly He withdrew again to lonely localities where they who wished to hear Him could come to Him, but where the diseased and infirm could not so easily accompany them, for His mission was to save men's souls, not to cure their bodily ills.

The journey through Galilee being ended (nothing is said about its duration), Jesus returned to Capernaum. It was apparently a Roman military post, and when He entered the place, He received a request from a centurion [1] belonging to the Roman force there. The man must have been one of those Gentiles who, by St. Luke in *Acts*, are called "God-fearers" (p. 89). This is at least a plausible inference from the fact that those who (according to *Lk.*) conveyed his petition to Jesus were Jewish elders.[2] The petition was on behalf of his servant (*Mt.* παῖς, *Lk.* δοῦλος) who was near death [3]; and the Jews who came to Jesus declared that the centurion was deserving of consideration, since he was attached to their nation and had built for them their synagogue. Jesus consented to go to the man's abode; and on the way thither was met by others of his friends through whom he begged Jesus not to trouble himself further: he had regarded himself unworthy to approach Jesus or to receive Him into his house (to enter which he supposed Jesus as a Jew would regard as polluting), but felt assured that the latter had only to express His will, and the servant's recovery would follow. He himself knew what it was both to obey and to command, and he implied that Jesus could control disease as easily as he could rule his subordinates. On this Jesus turned to the crowd that followed Him and declared that equal faith He had not found in Israel.[4] He then gave the messengers to understand that the request was granted, and on their return to the centurion's house the servant was found restored.

This miracle [5] is of a startlingly different kind from those previously encountered, involving, as it does, a cure at a distance. That the centurion's servant knew of his master's appeal to Jesus for help, and looked forward with hope to His intervention, may be assumed; but the difficulty is to explain how Jesus' will to heal was communicated directly to the sick man, so that through his mind his physical powers were at once reinforced and the recovery of health vigorously started. Consideration of the way in which one person's thoughts are conveyed to another through spoken sounds will perhaps suggest an explanation. Certain mental

[1] Only in *Lk.* is the request conveyed by others, in *Mt.* the centurion makes his own appeal.

[2] The fact that these approached Jesus on behalf of the centurion suggests that there was as yet no open breach between them and our Lord, and so favours the assignment of the incident to this early stage in the Ministry, instead of after the appointment of the Twelve Apostles, where it is placed by *Lk.* (vii. 2–10).

[3] *Mt.* describes him as paralysed and in great agony.

[4] *Mt.* adds here that Jesus went on to declare that many foreigners would feast with the patriarchs in the kingdom of heaven, whereas the Jews, heirs of the kingdom by race, would be excluded; but *Lk.* places the utterance in a different connexion (xiii. 28–29).

[5] On a similar case in *Joh.* iv. 46–54 see p. 485.

processes in the first individual are transformed into nerve-energy controlling his organs of speech, and by these are transmitted as vibrations of the ether to the ears of the second, and the impressions produced on the latter's auditory nerves connected with his brain are converted into thoughts. If it is assumed to be possible for mental impulses to be transmitted without speech to some medium analogous to the ether, and, conveyed by this, to enter (otherwise than through the organs of hearing) another brain, thought-transference between two persons at a distance becomes intelligible. If telepathy is a real process, and if Jesus possessed great powers of "suggestion," a volition on the part of our Lord to heal the servant might influence the latter, and set in motion forces conducive to his recovery. This is not the place to consider the evidence for telepathy, but the hypothesis of thought- and will-transference, if justified, will account for what is narrated.

§ 4. *Antagonism of the Ecclesiastical Authorities*

Up to this point the prominent feature in the historian's narrative is the impression made by Jesus upon the mass of the people by reason of the authoritativeness with which He taught, and His exceptional faculty for relieving sufferings. But among the religious leaders causes of resentment towards Him could not for long be absent. The priesthood, prone to be guided by precedent, inevitably disapproved of those elements in His teaching which clashed with traditional views; whilst His habit of consorting with persons whom the pious held in contempt gave scope for suspicion and dislike. And occasions speedily presented themselves when the secret feelings of hostility which had been growing found vent in open complaint and censure.

The first was soon after His return to Capernaum. He took up His abode in a house (perhaps His own, p. 384), and as soon as it was heard that He was within, a great number of people assembled, so that further access to the entrance of the building was precluded. He proceeded to address them, but it was not long before He was interrupted. Four men approached the house, carrying between them a paralytic, and finding it impossible to bring him to Jesus through the doorway by reason of the crowd, they mounted by an outside stair to the flat roof, and dislodging part of it,[1] lowered the pallet, on which the man was lying, into the room where Jesus was. The determination which the paralytic and his friends showed in thus overcoming the obstacles that impeded them manifested great faith in Jesus' graciousness and power; and it had its reward. Jesus appears to have possessed a wonderful faculty for penetrating into men's secret thoughts[2]; and divining that what was likely to hinder the paralytic from making the effort essential to his recovery was the

[1] *Mk.* (ii. 4) has ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην . . . καὶ ἐξορύξαντες; *Lk.* (v. 19) substitutes διὰ τῶν κεράμων; *Mt.* omits this and other details (ix. 2).

[2] For other instances see *Mk.* xii. 15; *Lk.* vi. 8, ix. 47; and cf. *Joh.* ii. 25, xvi. 30. A like power of reading the hearts of others is attributed to St. Francis: see *Little Flowers of St. Francis*, ch. 34.

consciousness of some sin, presumably repented of but not felt to be pardoned, He said to him, "Child, thy sins are forgiven." Among the audience were certain Scribes, and His words caused them in their hearts to charge Him with blasphemy: God could forgive sins, but a man who claimed to do so, without giving proof that He was a spokesman (or prophet) for God, invaded the Divine prerogative. Jesus discerned at once their secret reflections upon His conduct; and being assured both of the mercy and forgivingness of God towards the penitent, and confident of the effect that a declaration of pardon would exert upon the man's torpid nerves and muscles through the removal of the burden upon his mind, He turned to the murmurers with the question which of the two was the easier, to tell the sufferer that his sins were forgiven, or to bid him take up his pallet and walk. Then, since the one was incapable of proof or disproof, whereas the other could be put to the test at once, and the command, if obeyed, would afford a presumption that He really had authority to speak as He had done, He ordered the man to rise, take up his pallet, and go home. The paralytic at once did as he was bidden, to the amazement of all present, who praised God and acknowledged that they had never previously witnessed the like.

This cure, impressive as it must have been, has its analogies. Intense surprise, unexpected joy, passionate indignation, or other powerful emotion, has been known to restore to activity limbs long disused, provided the muscles have not become atrophied. A sudden and violent impulse, affecting the brain cells, can restore the suspended action of various nerves and the organs with which they are connected, sometimes for a limited period only, but sometimes permanently. The most noteworthy circumstance on this occasion was Jesus' appeal to His faculty of healing as evidencing His right to pronounce a sinner forgiven. It was not, however, the mere ability to perform a wonder that necessarily afforded such proof, for a wonder, according to the Jewish Scriptures, might be performed by a false prophet (*Dt.* xiii. 1, 2); it was rather the beneficent quality of the miracle that warranted the conclusion that the miracle worker was likely to have a true insight into the Divine character.

In St. Mark's narrative as it stands, Jesus is represented as applying to Himself for the first time the designation "the Son of man." The Greek phrase *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* [1] seems to be an unidiomatic rendering of the Aramaic *bar-enāshā*, which is a synonym for "the man," and of which the true Greek equivalent would be *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*. By the title "the Son of man" (or "the Man") Jesus appears to have meant the Personality that is described under that name in the *Similitudes of Enoch* as destined to act as God's vicegerent in the final judgment of the world (p. 41); and it was the function of this Heavenly man that He believed Himself destined to discharge (p. 41 6). But since at this early stage of His ministry He checked such utterances of the sufferers healed by Him as were calculated to create perplexity and to prompt conjectures about Him before

[1] This combination does not occur in the LXX, which only has *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*, usually an equivalent for *ἄνθρωπος* (*Ps.* viii. 4(=5), cxliv. 3).

He was prepared to disclose the truth Himself,[1] it seems improbable that He could have used a term which would have a definite significance for all who were acquainted with the book of *Enoch*. Hence it has been surmised that in this and some other passages the Evangelist has antedated Jesus' application of this title to Himself, and that on the occasion here considered He really used the first personal pronoun (see pp. 615–6).

After this incident Jesus again left Capernaum and pursued His way along the shore of the lake. He continued to be attended by crowds, and these He instructed as He journeyed. Proceeding in a northerly direction, and following the Upper Jordan from the point where it enters the lake, He would reach the spot beyond the Waters of Merom known as the "Bridge of Jacob's Daughters," where the road from Damascus and the east to Judæa and Egypt crossed the river. Here merchandise passed from Ituræa, the territory of Philip (p. 51), into Galilee, which was part of the dominions of Antipas, and tolls would be exacted by the latter (cf. p. 50). At the toll-house was a collector named Levi, the son of Alphæus[2]; and Jesus, as He came by, called him and bade him follow Him. By this time our Lord must have been sufficiently well known in the neighbourhood for Levi to have heard of Him; and the summons met with a response, the official of Antipas becoming a disciple of Jesus. By *Mt.* (ix. 9, cf. x. 3) he is called Matthew (Mattai or Mattithyah); and the double Hebraic name has a parallel in *Joseph Caiaphas* and possibly *Nathanael Bartholomew* (p. 375). The reason which led the Evangelist to mention in particular the call of Levi was probably the nature of his occupation, which gave occasion to another adverse comment passed by the Scribes upon Jesus. Levi's adhesion to our Lord probably brought the latter into contact with many persons of the tax-collector's own class, who, as regards their relations with Gentiles, were neglectful, if not actually of the written Law, at least of the Scribal rules (cf. *Acts* x. 28, xi. 2, Jos. *Ap.* ii. 29), observance of which constituted in the opinion of the Pharisees "righteousness." Shortly afterwards a number of them were present at a meal with Jesus and His disciples. The fact that Jesus, who was ostensibly seeking to fit men to participate in the Messianic kingdom, partook of food with such people elicited censure from the Scribes of the Pharisaic party, and it reached His ears. Whereupon, assuming in irony the standpoint of His censurers, and taking for granted that they were the spiritually healthy, whilst the toll-collectors and their like were the spiritually diseased, He defended His association with the latter on the ground that it was they who needed a spiritual physician. His mission was to call not righteous persons but sinners.[3]

In *Mk.* ii. 15 *his house* probably means that of Jesus (whither Levi followed Him); and *Mt.* styles Capernaum, where the dwelling was situated, Jesus' own city (ix. 1). On the other hand, *Lk.* takes the house to be Levi's (v. 29).

Lk. represents that a like complaint against Jesus was made by Pharisees and

[1] See *Mk.* i. 25, 34.

[2] Probably distinct from the father of James (*Mk.* iii. 18), for Levi (or Matthew) and James are never associated together as a pair.

[3] *Lk.* adds εἰς μετάνοιαν, and *Mt.* represents Jesus as quoting *Hos.* vi. 6 (cf. xii. 7).

Scribes on a later occasion (xv. 1, 2); and narrates that our Lord in reply related the three parables of the Shepherd and his Lost Sheep, the Woman and her lost Coin, and the Father and his Prodigal Son, in which He illustrated the joy felt by God and His angels over the repentance of the sinful, and implicitly reproved the Pharisees for not showing the like satisfaction. In connexion with the self-righteousness of certain classes, Jesus is recorded by the same Evangelist (xviii. 9–14) to have recounted the parable of the Pharisee and the Tax-gatherer (the self-complacency of the one and the self-abasement of the other, as expressed in their prayers, causing the former to be rejected, and the latter to be accepted, by God).

The censorious temper now manifested towards Jesus was again exhibited on the occasion of one of the fasts, prescribed by religious custom (p. 94), which was observed by the adherents of both John the Baptist and the Pharisees, but not by the disciples of Jesus. For this difference of behaviour our Lord was asked [1] the reason. In reply He did not denounce the practice of the Pharisees, or of John's disciples, but drew attention to a principle whereby the conduct of His own followers was defensible. At wedding festivities, He asked, could the guests be expected to fast? The happiness occasioned by the presence of the bridegroom was obviously incompatible with self-mortification and other tokens of grief, which would only be appropriate, should the bridegroom be suddenly removed by death.[2] The brief apologue implied that in connexion with religion, fasting should be the spontaneous expression of genuine feeling; where it was practised as part of a system, it was likely to be regarded as having in itself religious value. And then Jesus proceeded [3] to indicate that between the spirit which He was seeking to introduce into religion, and that which prevailed among the Pharisees, there was a difference which made the retention of their practices inexpedient for His followers. Spirit must, indeed, have forms to express itself in; but these should be appropriate: it would be as useless to try to breathe into the old ceremonial system a new spirit as it would be to patch a worn garment with a strip of undressed (and so unshrunken) cloth, which, if it were to shrink, would cause a rent in what was patched; or to put into old wine-skins freshly-made wine, which by fermenting would burst them.

St. Luke (v. 36) modifies *Mk.*'s version of the comparison of the patched garment, representing the patch as consisting not of a strip of undressed cloth but of a piece of (dressed) cloth torn from a *new* garment, so that the rent occasioned is not in the old garment but in the new, and the patch sewn on the old garment does no more than disfigure it by its incongruity. He also represents our Lord as recognizing as intelligible the hesitation of such as were reared in the tradition of Judaism to abandon it at once for His own teaching, by saying that no one having drunk old wine desires new, since he finds the old good.

The disapproval and dislike with which the Pharisees had regarded Jesus' conduct in mingling with persons whom they deemed irreligious,

[1] In *Mk.* the questioners seem to be the disciples of both John and the Pharisees; in *Mt.* they are the former, in *Lk.* the latter.

[2] In *Mk.* ii. 20 the words "the days shall come when the bridegroom shall be taken away" seem to reflect the writer's knowledge of Jesus' violent death, so that what was probably a hypothetical statement has been converted into a prophecy (Weiss, *Life of Christ*, ii. p. 136).

[3] This may have been said on a different occasion: cf. *Lk.* v. 36.

and in countenancing exemption from the recognized fasts, reached a climax when He disregarded the decisions of the Scribes respecting the observance of the Sabbath. The Mosaic Law required abstention from all work on that day; but the motive assigned for such requirement varied in the different codes. In the earliest enactment dealing with the subject, the motive is purely humanitarian (see *Ex.* xxiii. 12 E_1); but in later directions, the Sabbath rest is invested with an exclusively religious significance (see *Ex.* xx. 8–11 E_2, xxxi. 12–17 P, xxxv. 2, 3 P), and death is the punishment imposed for working upon it (cf. *Num.* xv. 32 f.). No precise definitions, however, were given of what constituted work; and it was the Scribes who made good this defect by determining what might, and what might not, be done on the day. The first occasion on which Jesus came into collision with their decisions was when on a Sabbath His disciples were passing through a field of ripe corn (the time being probably May), the ears of which they plucked as they went along (this being allowed by the Law, *Dt.* xxiii. 25) and, after rubbing off the husks, ate the grain to satisfy their hunger. This, according to the Scribes, amounted to field-labour, and so was prohibited. The Pharisees observed what they did, and drew their Master's attention to their infraction of the Law. Jesus defended the disciples' conduct on the principle that the keeping of the Sabbath rest was subordinate to human necessity, or to a higher duty, citing a parallel from the life of David, who, when he went to the sanctuary at Nob, received from the priest (erroneously in *Mk.* called Abiathar[1]) some of the Shewbread (1 *Sam.* xxi. 1–6) ordinarily eaten by none but the priestly order (*Lev.* xxiv. 5–9). And He defined the true relation between religious forms and the human beings whose welfare these are designed to serve by declaring, "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath, so that man is lord of (*i.e.* has authority over) the Sabbath also."[2]

Mk. (followed by the other Synoptists) for the last sentence has "so that the *Son of man* is Lord of the Sabbath also"; but in view of considerations to which attention has previously been called (p. 383), it is probable that by the Aramaic term employed Jesus meant "man" (which has been substituted above) but that *Mk.* thought that only by the Messiah could authority over the Sabbath be exercised, and explained accordingly. By *Mt.* and *Lk.* the preceding clause (*Mk.* ii. 27), as well as the mistake respecting Abiathar, is omitted.

The First Evangelist (xii. 5, 6) considerably expands St. Mark's report of our Lord's words. He represents Jesus as further defending His disciples (1) by arguing that the Temple service exempted the priests from the rule of the Sabbath (*Num.* xxviii. 9, 10) and something of more importance[3] than the Temple (*i.e.* the diffusion of the Good News which He and His disciples were engaged in promoting) was here involved; (2) by referring to *Hos.* vi. 6, "I (Jehovah) desire mercy and not sacrifice," *i.e.* considerations of humanity must take precedence of legal obligations. In *Lk.* vi. 1 A C D and

[1] The priest from whom David received the Shewbread was Ahimelech, father of Abiathar (1 *Sam.* xxi. 1 f.). The clause "when Abiathar was high priest" is absent from D, Lat. (vet.) Syr. (sin.).

[2] *I.e.* as well as over the obligation to fast.

[3] The true text has μεῖζον, not μείζων: cf. *Mt.* xii. 41 (πλεῖον). The reading μείζων makes Jesus exonerate His followers by appealing to His own pre-eminent authority as the Son of man (the Messiah).

a number of other textual authorities have the curious expression "on the second-first sabbath" instead of "on a sabbath" (ℵ B L and various cursives and versions). The simplest explanation of it is that it has arisen from a dittograph that has been misinterpreted, ἐν σαββάτῳ βατῳ being read as ἐν σαββάτῳ β΄ά-τῳ the superfluous βα being taken for numerals, and the whole phrase being understood to mean ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ.[1] In *Lk.* vi. the Bezan manuscript transfers *v.* 5 to after *v.* 10 and substitutes after *v.* 4 the narrative of the man working on the Sabbath, which is reproduced on p. 207.

The conduct of Jesus in excusing His followers for breaking the Sabbath gave to the religious authorities such offence, that on a following Sabbath (*Lk.* vi. 6) they watched Him narrowly. He had entered, as was His wont, the synagogue (the locality is not stated in *Mk.*, but it was presumably Capernaum); and amongst the people assembled in it, there chanced to be a man with a withered hand. The Scribes and Pharisees (*Lk.* vi. 7), from previous experience, did not doubt Jesus' power to heal the man's infirmity; the question they sought to solve was whether He would do so on the Sabbath, and by causing the afflicted person to exert himself, would give them a handle for accusing Him of occasioning the Sabbath to be broken. The Sanhedrin had authority to punish infractions of the Mosaic Law (p. 100); and if Jesus should do anything in violation of the Law, He would be liable to be charged before that body. Jesus discerned their intentions (*Lk.* vi. 8), and did not shrink from the issue. He bade the man stand forth in full view of the whole assembly, and then challenged His would-be accusers to say whether it was lawful on the Sabbath to do good or to do ill, to save life or to kill. To the question so put they would have had no difficulty in returning an answer: their own principles allowed the Sabbath rest to be disturbed if life were in danger.[2] And they might have contended that they were in no way false to those principles, if, in the case before them, they demurred to the cure which they perceived Him to be contemplating, for a withered hand (they could have argued) did not imperil life, and it was better that the man's relief should be postponed for a day (cf. *Lk.* xiii. 14) than that the Sabbath should be profaned. But a consciousness of their own malice and the contrast to it presented by His gracious purpose kept them silent. And then Jesus bade the man stretch forth his helpless hand; and faith in Him Who gave the command enabling him to do what had been previously impossible, he stretched it forth and it was restored. If the description of the man's hand (the whole arm being perhaps meant) as "withered," with the bones and muscles atrophied, is accurate, an emotional impulse was not calculated to restore it to normal conditions instantaneously; so that unless there is some exaggeration, the cure was a very remarkable one.

Lk. records two other instances of cures effected by Jesus on the Sabbath, with consequent indignation among certain who witnessed them. These instances are placed by the Evangelist in the Travel-section of his Gospel (p. 198); but they may really have occurred in Galilee. Of the one occasion (xiii. 10–17) the scene was a synagogue, and the person healed was a woman suffering from curvature of the spine;

[1] Burkitt, *Gospel History*, p. 81, note.

[2] *Mt.* (xii. 11) represents Jesus as telling them that none would hesitate on the Sabbath to save a sheep that had fallen into a pit.

and exception was taken to His action by the president of the synagogue. Of the other (xiv. 1–6) the scene was the house of a Pharisee where Jesus was a guest; the sufferer relieved was a dropsical man; and those that eyed His action malevolently were Scribes and Pharisees who were present. In both cases Jesus defended His action by the practice of His adversaries, who were accustomed on the Sabbath to relieve the wants of their cattle or to deliver them from situations of peril.[1]

The conduct of Jesus in healing on the Sabbath infuriated the Pharisees, and they determined to compass His death. The Sanhedrin, however, had no power to inflict a capital sentence (p. 100); and so it was not enough to bring against Him a charge of breaking the Law, for the Roman authorities, by whom questions of life and death were decided, might not consider such a charge, even if proved, deserving of the extreme penalty. Accordingly the Pharisees to accomplish their end consulted with the Herodians.[2] These were partisans of the ruling dynasty in Galilee, and being interested in worldly politics rather than in religious questions, were not the Pharisees' natural allies. But in the present instance they were likely to co-operate with them, since they would regard with suspicion any religious reformer who might create an agitation among the populace and so endanger the security of Herod, who would be held responsible by the Romans in the event of disorder. Antipas had imprisoned John the Baptist through fear of his influence with the people (p. 370); and a similar motive might induce him to seize Jesus and possibly to destroy Him.

The occurrence in the synagogue marked a crisis in the career of our Lord. At the outset of His ministry He sought to discharge His mission within the organization of the Jewish religious system. But the heads of that system had become openly antagonistic to Him, and He could not again with any safety place Himself in His enemies' power. Accordingly, henceforward He kept away from the synagogue, never entering another, at least in Galilee, save on one occasion, when He visited His own town of Nazareth (*Mk.* vi. 1, 2). He withdrew once more to the seashore, where He was attended by large crowds. His fame by this time had spread far. From Judæa and even Idumæa (whither Jewish influence had extended, p. 37), in the south; from the country to the east of Jordan; and from the neighbourhood of the Phœnician towns, Tyre and Sidon, in the north, people hearing of what He did, are represented as flocking to see Him, just as they had collected around John the Baptist. But in the case of Jesus the crowds must have included numbers of afflicted persons who desired to obtain the benefit of His healing power. It was believed that even to touch Him brought relief to sickness and infirmity (cf. v. 28, vi. 56); so that they pressed upon Him and hampered the delivery of His Message. Consequently, in order that He might give instruction without impediment, He asked for a small boat to be placed at His disposal, from which He could speak at the water's edge. He did not, however, refuse to relieve suffering; but continued to heal both physical and mental

[1] In *Lk.* xiv. 5 *υἱὸς ἢ βοῦς* has the support of A B N, Lat. vet. (some codd.) and Eg. sah., *ὄνος ἢ βοῦς* that of ℵ L, Lat. vet. (some codd.), Syr. sin., and Eg. boh.

[2] Mention of these is absent from *Mt.* (xii. 14) and *Lk.* (vi. 11).

diseases. And as on previous occasions (i. 24, 34), the demoniacs who addressed Him as the Son of God (cf. *Lk.* iv. 41), thereby implying that He was the Messiah, were charged not to make Him known. The time for His self-disclosure had not yet arrived.[1]

§ 5. *The Nucleus of a New Ecclesia*

The schemes of the Pharisees after the last incident in the synagogue showed clearly that henceforward the ecclesiastical leaders would no longer tolerate Jesus. If He had ever hoped to bring them to share His own spiritual convictions, or to enlist their co-operation in calling the nation to repentance, He could do so no more. He accordingly retired from the sea to the hilly country in the vicinity of the north-west shore of the Lake. There (according to *Lk.* vi. 12) He spent the night in prayer; and in the morning He selected Twelve (the figure clearly having relation to the number of the tribes of Israel, cf. *Mt.* xix. 28 = *Lk.* xxii. 30) to be His constant companions, whom He might train, and eventually send forth in various directions to impart His Message and to heal disease. The existing age was believed to be largely under the domination of Satan and his demons; but the dawn of a new age was on the point of breaking, and to the Spirit of God working in Jesus the predominance of the spirit of evil was already giving way (cf. *Mt.* xii. 28 = *Lk.* xi. 20). But whilst the Twelve were meant to be His helpers in announcing the nearness of God's Kingdom and its conditions, and in releasing men from the power of Satan, they also constituted the nucleus of a new society, a spiritual Israel within which were to be incorporated all who accepted His teaching.

The Twelve whom our Lord chose to be His emissaries and delegates (St. Luke says that He called them Apostles)[2] are variously named in the different lists enumerating them, and it is a little doubtful whether the same twelve individuals are meant; but the circumstance that so many Jews had double names (p. 384) renders it probable that some, if not all, of the variations in lists are due to the fact that the several writers use only one, but not the same, element in such compound names. The order in which the names are arranged differs in the several lists, which are as follows:—

Mk.	*Mt.*	*Lk.*	*Acts.*
1. Simon Peter	1. Simon Peter	1. Simon Peter	1. Peter
2. James, son of Zebedee	2. Andrew	2. Andrew	2. James
3. John	3. James, son of Zebedee	3. James	3. John
4. Andrew	4. John	4. John	4. Andrew
5. Philip	5. Philip	5. Philip	5. Philip

[1] *Mt.* (xii. 18–21) quotes, in connection with His desire to avoid notoriety, 2 *Is.* xlii. 1–4.

[2] In *Mk.* iii. 14 οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν has the support of ℵ B C and the Eg. and Ethiopic versions. Jesus Himself could be regarded as the Apostle of God (*Heb.* iii. 1).

Mk.	*Mt.*	*Lk.*	*Acts.*
6. Bartholomew	6. Bartholomew	6. Bartholomew	6. Thomas
7. Levi or Matthew	7. Thomas	7. Matthew	7. Bartholomew
8. Thomas	8. Matthew	8. Thomas	8. Matthew
9. James, son of Alphæus	9. James, son of Alphæus	9. James, son of Alphæus	9. James, son of Alphæus
10. Thaddæus	10. Thaddæus	10. Simon the Zealot	10. Simon the Zealot
11. Simon the Zealot	11. Simon the Zealot	11. Judas, son of James	11. Judas, son of James
12. Judas Iscariot	12. Judas Iscariot	12. Judas Iscariot	12 [Judas Iscariot]

The appellation *Bartholomew* is a patronymic (son of Talmai), and possibly the Apostle's real name was Nathanael (*Joh.* i. 45), who was a friend of Philip, with whom in the Synoptic lists Bartholomew is associated. In the enumeration of *Mk.* and *Mt.*, *Thaddæus* is replaced in the Bezan codex and some Old Latin manuscripts by *Lebbæus*; whilst in the two lists of St. Luke his place is taken by *Judas, son of James*[1]; and it seems probable that the same individual is meant. The name *Peter* (the Greek rendering of the Aramaic *Cephas*, *Joh.* i. 42, 1 *Cor.* xv. 5) seems to have been given to Simon by Jesus Himself, Who also called the two sons of Zebedee *Boanerges*, a title which is interpreted to mean "Thunderers,"[2] presumably because of a certain vehemence of character (cf. *Mk.* ix. 38, *Lk.* ix. 54). *Thomas* and its Greek equivalent *Didymus* (*Joh.* xi. 16) was a nickname, "Twin": according to the *Acta Thomæ* his real name was *Judas*. James, the son of Alphæus, was known as "the Little," or "the Younger" (*ὁ μικρός*), if he can be identified with the *James* of *Mk.* xv. 40. The epithet *the Cananæan* given to Simon in *Mk.* and *Mt.* is equivalent to the epithet *ὁ Ζηλωτής* in *Lk.* The name *Iscariot* (*Ἰσκαριώθ*), applied to the last of the Twelve, is generally taken to be a transliteration of the Hebrew *Ish Keriyyoth*,[3] "man of Kerioth" (perhaps Kerioth-Hezron in Judah (*Josh.* xv. 25), or Kerioth on the east of the Dead Sea, the modern *Kureiyat*). The Apostle in question would then perhaps be the only non-Galilæan among the Twelve.

It was probably after the appointment of the Twelve that Jesus delivered the discourse which is generally, but seemingly erroneously, called the Sermon on the Mount. The name is derived from *Mt.* v. 1, but the address which follows in *Mt.* v., vi., vii., is lacking in unity as regards its contents; and comparison with *Lk.*, where in vi. 20–49 there is a discourse much briefer in extent, but beginning and ending similarly, seems to show that the Sermon in *Mt.* is drawn from various sources. All that *Mt.* and *Lk.* have together may be presumed to come from *Q*, whilst the considerable sections which are peculiar to *Mt.* probably have some other origin. Not all the material assignable to *Q* occurs in *Lk.* vi. 20–49, some parts being found elsewhere in the Third Gospel. But the Lucan section just mentioned exhibits a unity of tenor which, combined

[1] It has been conjectured that *Lebbæus* is meant to represent Levi (as distinct from Matthew), though this is unlikely.

[2] The title seems to be a transliteration of the Heb. *bĕnē rōgez*, the last term being used in connexion with thunder in *Job* xxxvii. 2.

[3] *Mt.* converts the name into an adjective—*ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης*.

with a formal beginning and end, renders it likely that it really represents a single discourse. And if so, the occasion to which it is ascribed by *Lk.* is much more plausible than that to which it is attributed by *Mt.* By both it is described as addressed by Jesus to His *disciples*, but whereas *Mt.* has previously related nothing about the disciples except the call of Peter, Andrew, and the two sons of Zebedee, *Lk.* has recorded the selection of the Twelve Apostles from among other followers; and the choice of them would afford an appropriate opportunity for an exposition of the characteristics which were to mark the adherents, and especially the emissaries, of Jesus, the principles which were to guide their conduct, and the recompense which they might look for. The conclusion that the occasion of the Sermon is more faithfully represented in *Lk.* than in *Mt.* makes the designation of it as the *Sermon on the Mount* unsuitable, since St. Luke records that it was delivered on a level place after Jesus had descended from the mountain. *Mt.*, who in his additions has aimed at throwing into relief the difference between the teaching of Jesus and that of Moses, has intentionally brought the two into comparison by representing that the Law of the Christian community, like the Law of the Jews, was delivered on a mountain.[1]

The substance of the Sermon, so far as can be judged, consisted of four divisions. (*a*) Four Beatitudes pronounced upon certain classes and conditions of people—the poor, the hungry, the sorrowful, the unpopular—who were such for the sake of Jesus and the principles which He taught[2]; (*b*) Injunctions to display submissiveness under wrong, and to practise unlimited charity both in action and judgment, and towards enemies no less than friends; (*c*) Cautions against self-deception in condemning others; (*d*) A warning that professions would be tested by conduct; (*e*) Descriptions of the happy and unhappy consequences of obedience and disobedience.

In *Lk.* to the four Beatitudes there are attached four Woes pronounced upon the rich, the full, the gay, and the popular, to which nothing corresponds in *Mt.*

Mt. qualifies the first and second Beatitudes, representing them as applying to the poor *in spirit*, and to those who hunger and thirst *after righteousness*[3]; and he adds four others, relating to the meek, the merciful, the pure-hearted, and the peacemakers. He further expands the Sermon (as it is contained in *Lk.*) by incorporating with it (1) a series of contrasts between the legislation and rules of conduct prescribed in earlier times, which prohibited murder, adultery, and perjury, but allowed retaliation and resentment against enemies, and the corresponding precepts of Jesus, forbidding even anger, lustful looks, oaths, and resistance to evil, and enjoining love for enemies; (2) a series of passages, contained also in *Lk.* xi., xii. and other places, inculcating (*a*) trust in God's providential care, (*b*) confident prayer to Him; (*c*) need of undivided service; (*d*) expediency of repairing wrongs to fellow-men before

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[1] Cf. Loisy, *Les Evangiles Synoptiques*, i. pp. 539, 540.

[2] *Mt.* has "for righteousness' sake . . . for my sake"; *Lk.* "for the Son of man's sake." The fourth beatitude seems to have been expanded to make it reflect more closely the persecutions sustained, after Jesus' death, by His followers at the hands of the Jews.

[3] That *Lk.'s* version here is nearer than *Mt.'s* to the actual words of our Lord is probable from a comparison of *Mk.* x. 11–12 with *Mt.* xix. 9 (where the latter qualifies his source).

satisfaction is exacted by the Divine Judge. The injunctions relating to the practice of prayer include the model form of supplication known as the Lord's Prayer. This (which in *Lk.* xi. 1 is represented as furnished in answer to a request made to Jesus by His disciples that He would teach them to pray) appears in a shorter and a longer form in *Lk.* and *Mt.* respectively, the former lacking the third petition and the second half of the sixth, as well as having other differences. In regard to it, only two expressions call for note here: (*a*) The phrase *τὸν ἄρτον . . . τὸν ἐπιούσιον* is best explained on the supposition that *ἡ ἐπιοῦσα*, strictly "the coming day," had become synonymous with "the day" (cf. *Prov.* xxvii. 1, LXX), so that the words in question mean "the bread of the day" (cf. Lat. vet. *panem quotidianum*); (*b*) the combination *ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ* is more natural if the genitive comes from *ὁ πονηρός* (cf. *Mt.* xiii. 19) rather than from *τὸ πονηρόν* (*Lk.* vi. 45): cf. 2 *Th.* iii. 1, *Rom.* xv. 31 and contrast 1 *Cor.* i. 10. The implication in the fifth petition that God's forgiveness is dependent upon a forgiving spirit shown by the petitioner towards his fellows is made explicit in *Mt.* vi. 14–15 (cf. *Mk.* xi. 25, *Ecclus.* xxviii. 2); and the consequence of failure on the part of men to forgive one another is enforced in *Mt.* xviii. 21–35 by the parable of the Unforgiving Debtor. Nevertheless forgiveness is to be conditional upon acknowledgment of the offence; and if, after every means of convincing the offender of the wrong done has been exhausted, he remains obdurate, relations with him are to be broken off (*Mt.* xviii. 15–17, see p. 424). The duty and potency of importunate prayer are emphasized by two parables peculiar to Lk.: (*a*) the Friend at Midnight (xi. 5–8); (*b*) the Widow and the Unrighteous Judge (xviii. 1–8). The fact (illustrated in them) that importunity prevails even where right motives are inoperative, leads to the conclusion that it cannot fail to prevail with God Who is both righteous and gracious.

After the delivery of the Sermon Jesus seems to have returned to Capernaum, for this is probably the scene of the next incident related by St. Mark. In spite of the animosity of the Scribes and Pharisees towards Him, the popular interest which He caused did not diminish. As soon as it was known where He was,[1] the crowd intruded upon Him and His disciples even at meal times. A report of His proceedings, and especially (it may be supposed) of His disregard of the rules laid down by the Scribes for the observance of the Sabbath, and the offence thereby given to that influential class, had reached His relatives[2] at Nazareth, and had caused them much distress. In His youth and early manhood He had apparently shown no disposition to subvert traditional standards, and the only explanation of His conduct now was that He was beside Himself with morbid self-exaltation; so they left home with the intention of placing some restraint upon Him. But if His relatives were only animated by a wish to protect Him against Himself, there were others, Scribes from Jerusalem, who were actuated by suspicion and prejudice, and prepared to put the worst construction upon the exercise, by One Whose teaching they disliked, of powers which they could not deny. They appear to have witnessed a cure by Him of a demoniac. By St. Mark no account is furnished of the occasion which the subsequent narrative implies, but both *Mt.* (xii. 9 f.), and *Lk.* (xi. 14 f.), drawing upon *Q*, relate that there was brought to Jesus a man who was dumb,[3] his infirmity being attributed, like so many others, to the influence of a demon. When Jesus enabled the man to regain his

[1] In *Mk.* iii. 20 *ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον* may mean that He went home (see p. 384).

[2] In *Mk.* iii. 21 the meaning of *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* is explained in *v.* 31; the Vulg. has *sui*.

[3] *Mt.* xii. 22 adds that the man was blind also.

lost capacity for speech,[1] the Scribes, since His success in effecting a cure was indisputable, accounted for it, in their malice, by the presence in Him of a demon, Beelzebul, contending that with the authority of Satan, the ruler of the demons (p. 22), He had driven out the subordinate demon that had caused the man's dumbness. Jesus detected their unuttered thoughts (cf. *Mk.* ii. 8), and replied that variance between Satan and one of his subject spirits was as suicidal as variance between members of a kingdom or a household. What the Scribes and others had witnessed could only mean that Satan himself had been mastered by One Who was stronger than he; and that Jesus, in recovering the dumb man from the power of the demon, had despoiled Satan of what he had held in possession. In ascribing a work of beneficent, not malign, character to Satanic agency they were incurring the guilt of blaspheming the Divine Spirit through which Jesus cast out the spirits of evil (*Mt.* xii. 28, cf. *Lk.* xi. 20); and this sin was less pardonable than any other.[2]

The word *Beelzebul* is elsewhere unknown as the name of a demon. It may mean either "Lord of the lofty abode" (cf. 3 *Is.* lxiii. 15, Heb.) or "Lord of dung" (a contemptuous substitution). The Syr. and Vulg. have *Beelzebub* ("Lord of flies"), the name of the god of Ekron mentioned in 2 *Kg.* i. 6.

In *Mt.* xii. 27, 28 and *Lk.* xi. 19, 20 Jesus cites as a parallel to His own action the exorcism of demons practised amongst the Jews, which they would not allow to be due to Satanic agency. *Lk.* attaches to this context two sayings of Jesus derived from *Q*: (1) a warning that in a conflict between good and evil neutrality is equivalent to hostility towards the good; (2) another warning (having in view the recent cure of the demoniac) that an evil spirit, when expelled from a man, returns reinforced, if the man meanwhile has not come under the control of a good spirit. *Mt.* places the first saying here, but the second in a different connexion.

Meanwhile there had arrived[3] from Nazareth His relatives, including His Mother[4] and His "brethren," who had left their home in the hope that by their interference they might prevent Him from pursuing His present course of conduct. When they came, He was no longer engaged in controversy, but in a house surrounded by a multitude of persons attentively listening to His teaching. The interest and sympathy manifested by them (*Mt.* xii. 49, *Lk.* viii. 21) caused Jesus to feel a sense of spiritual kinship between them and Himself. The crowd hindered His Mother and her companions from approaching Him, but they succeeded in getting a message transmitted to Him, informing Him that they were outside, and wished to see Him. Jesus seems to have divined their intentions. Probably He had previously found them prone to misunderstand and misinterpret Him, and He felt that in spite of their relationship to Him, there was in them little affinity of spirit to Himself. And so, when He received the message, He asked, "Who is my mother and my

[1] In *Mt.* xii. 23 the multitudes ask whether Jesus can be the son of David.

[2] *Mt.* (xii. 32) seems to draw a distinction between the humanity of Jesus and the Divine Spirit within Him, an utterance against the former being pardonable, but against the latter unpardonable; but see p. 616. *Lk.* (xii. 10) has this verse, which must come from *Q*, in a different context.

[3] *Mk.* iii. 31 resumes the narrative left unfinished in *vv.* 20, 21.

[4] Joseph was probably dead.

brethren?" and then looking around on those who were seated near Him, He answered His own question by saying, "Behold my mother and my brethren. Whoever doeth the will of God is my brother and sister and mother."

This incident is preserved in a less intelligible form in *Mt.* (xii. 46 f.) and *Lk.* (viii. 19) than in *Mk.*, for the two later Gospels omit *Mk.'s* statement that the relations of Jesus started from home in order to put some check upon His movements, and the absence of this leaves the attitude of Jesus towards His Mother and brothers unexplained. They also virtually retain *Mk.'s* "standing without," though by them no previous mention is made of His being in a house.

An occurrence similar in tenor to the foregoing is related by *Lk* xi. 27, 28. When a woman pronounced blessed the mother who bore Him, Jesus declared that they rather were blessed who heard the word of God and kept it.

St. Mark, having thus briefly traced our Lord's ministry from the beginning up to the point where an open breach occurred between Him and the Scribes and Pharisees, and having also shown how unsympathetically He was regarded by members of His own family, proceeds at this point to exemplify the matter and manner of His instruction; and relating how, after the occurrence just recorded, He again began to teach, seated in a boat on the Lake, takes the opportunity of describing how He taught by *parables*. Parables, as well as fables, were favourite means of pointing a moral among the Hebrews (*Jud.* ix. 7 f., 2 *Sam.* xii. 1–4, 2 *Kg.* xiv. 9. *Is.* v. 1 f., *Ezek.* xvii. 3), so that Jesus, in employing the former, followed the precedent of other teachers.[1] Though the term *parable* was used to include brief aphorisms and proverbs (*Prov.* i. 6, *Ezek.* xii. 22, *Mk.* iii. 23, vii. 17, *Lk.* iv. 23), it strictly signified an extended simile, without the comparison being made explicit. Parallels were drawn from the natural world and from the ordinary proceedings of men to throw light upon spiritual principles; and in them lessons,[2] which in the abstract might be difficult to grasp, or might fail to arrest or retain the attention, were conveyed by concrete and realistic stories, embellished by details calculated to render them attractive, but not necessarily answering to anything in the subject which they were intended to illuminate. They thus differed from allegories, in which a number of points in the illustration correspond to an equal number of points in the matter illustrated. Some of our Lord's parables, indeed, are not easily distinguishable from allegories; but in general to press the parallelism through all the details is to distort the true significance of the narratives, and leads to mistaken inferences. It was the Kingdom of God which many of our Lord's parables were designed to explain. The similitudes which He employed were meant to impress upon men's minds the supreme importance of the Kingdom, the suddenness of its advent, and the necessity of being ready for it. But though it is certain that Jesus made parables a vehicle for instructing the people at large, it is remarkable that of the few preserved in the Second Gospel some at least appear from their purport to be really intended for His Apostles rather than for the multitude, and to be calculated to prepare

[1] *Mt.* (xiii. 35) in connexion with Jesus' use of parables quotes *Ps.* lxxviii. 2 (attributed to "the prophet," probably David being meant).

[2] In *Mk.* xiii. 28 παραβολή virtually has the meaning of "lesson."

them for experiences awaiting them in their proclamation of the Kingdom, and to encourage them to sustained effort in their work.

The first parable narrated is that of the Sower. Though it is not expressly said, like those that follow it, to relate to the Kingdom, it unmistakably does so, since the Seed sown is "the Word,"[1] *i.e.* the message concerning the Kingdom (*Mt.* xiii. 19), the Sower being Jesus Himself, or anyone engaged in the same mission. Under the figure of a husbandman sowing his land, whose seed is sometimes thrown accidentally beyond the limits of the field on to the road, where it is devoured by birds, or falls where the rock comes near the surface and the soil is quickly baked by the sun (said to be a characteristic of the corn-lands of Galilee), or gets cast among patches of thorns which choke it, but at other times is scattered upon fertile soil, there is set forth both the failures and the successes of those who were, or would be, engaged in dispersing among men the announcement of the coming of God's Kingdom. The various places where the seed falls correspond to human characters, some of which produce no good result, either because the impression made by the Message is destroyed at once by evil influences,[2] or becomes evanescent in consequence of tribulation, or is impaired through the competition of other interests, whilst others yield the fruit of a good life, meet for inclusion in the Divine Kingdom. The explanation of both this and further parables Jesus was begged by His disciples to communicate to them; and He accordingly interpreted it in detail.

Parables were in general designed as a vehicle for popular instruction (*Mk.* iv. 2, 33); and in order to serve as such their import was bound to be perspicuous and easily apprehended. There was always, however, the possibility of their true significance being missed by some of the hearers; and even the chosen Twelve were not invariably quick or sure in comprehending their Lord's meaning. And inasmuch as these were to aid Him in His teaching, it was important to explain fully to them the lessons which the parables were intended to convey if anything in them was obscure. The purport of the parable of the Sower is expressly said to have been expounded to the Twelve at their own petition,[3] though Jesus expressed His surprise at their finding it difficult to understand; and the same request is represented as put and fulfilled in the case of another, reported by *Mt.* alone (but see p. 396); whilst *Mk.* iv. 34 suggests that the like was done in other instances. But it is strange that the Second Evangelist should also (iv. 11 f.) represent Jesus as avowing that He was ready to impart the secret of the Kingdom (*i.e.* the laws conditioning participation in it) plainly to the Apostles, but purposely spoke to the multitude (described as οἱ ἔξω) in parables which conveyed the truth only indirectly, in order that (in the words of *Is.* vi. 9, 10) it might be concealed from them, to the end that they might not turn and be forgiven. Such an intention it is impossible to attribute to our Lord; the notion must represent the belief entertained by St. Paul and adopted here by St. Mark, that the rejection of Jesus by the mass of the Jews was Divinely ordained (*Rom.* xi. 7, 8), and that the enigmatic form in which His teaching was couched served, in God's purposes, to bring about the result.[4]

[1] In the course of the interpretation the seed becomes identified with the *hearers* of the Word whose characters result from the seed, according to the soil receiving it.

[2] *Mt.* and *Lk.* identify the birds with the devil and his agents.

[3] In *Mk.* iv. 13 Jesus' words presuppose a question from the disciples like that in *Lk.* viii. 9; their question in *Mk.* iv. 10 is more clearly expressed in *Mt.* xiii. 10.

[4] *Mt.* (xiii. 13) for *Mk.*'s ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν, κτλ. (followed by *Lk.* viii. 10) substitutes βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν κτλ., and represents *Is.* vi. 9, 10 as thereby fulfilled.

Jesus proceeded to enjoin the Apostles, in figurative terms, not to keep to themselves, but to transmit to others, any knowledge which they received from Him : a lamp was not meant to be put under a corn-measure or under a bench (or couch), but in a lampstand, where it could shed its light (cf. *Lk.* viii. 16, xi. 33).[1] And He went on to affirm that recompense and retribution awaited men's treatment of His message ; and that whilst effort to retain truth imparted would be rewarded by the communication of further truth, indifference would be penalized by the loss of what was already acquired.

The parable of the Sower, according to St. Mark, was followed by another parable, the Seed growing secretly (found only in the Second Gospel). In it the interval elapsing between the announcement to mankind of the message about the Kingdom and the actual realization of the latter was compared to the period of inaction between sowing and harvest. Like the seed germinating in the ground, so the message was working secretly in men's hearts ; but just as the ripening of the grain was awaited by the husbandman before he put in the sickle, so God was awaiting the maturity of the spiritual conditions which He desired before intervening to preserve and to destroy. From such a comparison those who were entrusted with the diffusion of the message among men might learn not to lose heart because the consummation of their hopes was delayed. To this parable was appended a third, the Mustard Seed, in which the Kingdom was likened to a seed of the mustard-plant, of which, though the smallest of all seeds, the upgrowth exceeded in size all herbs.[2] This is sometimes thought to imply that the Kingdom would be consummated by a process of development, or to depict it as an expanding institution (the Church). But such explanations are contrary to the general drift of Jesus' teaching, at least in *Mk.*, for this represents the realization of the Kingdom as abrupt and sudden, and the parable is probably meant to encourage the disciples with the prospect of seeing momentous results in the future, though the immediate outlook was so unpromising.

Both *Mt.* and *Lk.*, drawing upon *Q*, place in succession to the last mentioned parable another, wherein the Kingdom is compared to leaven mixed in three pecks (*σάτα* = Heb. *Seim*, *Gen.* xviii. 6) of dough, the whole of which it causes to ferment, the truth illustrated being the power of the unseen forces that were secretly at work to bring about the Divine ends.

With the parables of the Sower, the Mustard Seed and the Leaven *Mt.* combines four others : (1) the Wheat and the Tares,[3] (2) the Hidden Treasure, (3) the Pearl

[1] *Mt.* v. 14–16 gives to the figure of the lamp a rather different significance by representing Jesus as commanding those addressed to let the light of their good works shine forth that men might glorify God. In *Lk.* xi. 33 *κλινή* is replaced by *κρυπτή* ("cellar").

[2] The *Sinapis arvensis* (field mustard) is said to grow in Palestine under favourable conditions to a height of 10 or 12 feet (Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 463). The description in *Mk.* iv. 32*b* is conventional : cf. *Ezek.* xvii. 23, *Dan.* iv. 12.

[3] Thought to be not a vetch but the Bearded Darnel (*Lolium temulentum*), a plant as tall as wheat or barley and at an early stage resembling them. The interpretation of this parable, at least in its present form, probably does not proceed from our Lord,

of great price, (4) the Drag net. The first and fourth throw light on the mixed character of the aggregate of people drawn together by the proclamation of the Kingdom, of whom the good and the bad would only be separated at the end of the age; whilst the second and the third illustrate the surpassing value of the Kingdom, in comparison with which all else is worthless. In connexion with Jesus' use of parables the First Evangelist quotes *Ps.* lxxviii. 2.

§ 6. *Unfriendliness on the other side of the Lake*

At the conclusion of the section in *Mk.* which furnishes examples of Jesus' parabolic teaching, the Evangelist resumes his narrative of events interrupted at iv. 2. Our Lord, after He had finished His instruction of the multitude, remained in the boat, and bade His disciples cross to the other side of the Lake. There He was less known, so that for a brief while He hoped to have respite from the numbers that thronged Him; whilst in view of what is said in *Mk.* v. 19 He may have contemplated an attempt to preach on the eastern shore. The disciples at once did as He wished, and leaving the crowd behind, but being accompanied by some enthusiastic followers in other boats, they started. In the course of the passage there sprang up one of the violent squalls to which this low-lying sheet of water is subject. The waves that were raised promised to swamp the boat, so that the disciples grew seriously alarmed for their safety. Jesus was asleep on the helmsman's cushion in the stern, and was awakened by them with the words, "Teacher, carest thou not that we perish?" He at once arose, and according to the Evangelist's narrative, He rebuked the wind and said unto the sea, "Hush, be still." The wind, thereupon, fell, and the storm was succeeded by a profound calm. Then Jesus turned to the disciples and said, "Why are ye timid? How is it that ye have not faith?[1] The experience filled them with awe, and they began to wonder, in the light of it, Who their Master could be.

The narrative is obviously meant to describe a miracle, for though the wind might drop suddenly, the swell resulting from it would not naturally subside with the same rapidity. But whether Jesus really controlled the elements as here related, or whether the miracle has been imported into the story, is a question to which the answer depends upon the presuppositions with which the account is approached. If it is assumed that Jesus had at His disposal the resources of omnipotence which He drew upon, or dispensed with, at pleasure, acting as God and man by turns, the narrative is credible as it stands. But on the assumption that His miracles in general were accomplished through faculties of Divine origin inherent in His humanity and occurring, though in a much smaller degree, in other individuals, parallels to such control over natural forces as is here related are more difficult to find than parallels (admitted by medical science) to His miracles of healing. And although the future may

Who at this stage of His ministry could scarcely have spoken of Himself as the Son of man (cf. p. 383) or of *His* Angels and *His* Kingdom (*Mt.* xiii. 41). The authenticity of the explanation of the parable of the Drag net is also open to suspicion in consequence of its resemblance to that of the Tares: cf. *vv.* 49, 50 (which suit ill the figure of "fish") with *vv.* 41, 42.

[1] In *Mt.* the reproof is uttered before the storm is calmed.

enlarge our knowledge of the range of power to which human personalities (participating as they do in varying measure in the Spirit of God) can attain, yet until further evidence is forthcoming for the exercise by the human will of control over the elements, we are left to conclude that the present narrative has been shaped under the influence of later religious reflection. If this conclusion is justified, it may be supposed that Jesus, in reality, encouraged His terrified disciples to have faith in God's protecting providence, and that His own tranquil confidence in His Father proved well founded through the speedy lulling of the tempest; but that the incident has been enhanced in consequence of presumptions as to what was appropriate for the Son of God in such an emergency (cf. *Ps.* lxv. 7, lxxxix. 9, civ. 7, cvii. 29).

This narrative is the first of a series of four reports of miracles related by St. Mark consecutively. The second is connected with the eastern shore of the Lake. This is variously described as the country of the Gerasenes, Gadarenes, and Gergesenes, in *Mk.*, *Mt.* and *Lk.*[1] respectively. The best-known places bearing the names Gerasa and Gadara are too far away to be meant (the first being in Gilead, 30 miles from the Lake, and the second 5 or 6 miles from it). But there is a modern village called *Khersa* situated on the shore, with a steep precipice in its neighbourhood, of which Gerasa or Gergesa may have been the ancient name. As Jesus landed here, He was met by a madman,[2] whose mania was so violent that people had been unable to provide fetters sufficiently strong to control him; and naked and bleeding from self-inflicted gashes he used to haunt the tombs in the vicinity of the place, thereby confirming the popular idea that he was a victim of the demons supposed to frequent such localities. When the poor wretch saw Jesus approach, he ran towards Him; but cowed by the command which Jesus addressed to the unclean spirit to come forth, he fell down prostrate, with a loud petition that He, Son of the Most High God, would not torment him. *Mk.* describes the demoniac as calling Jesus by His personal name; but this is difficult to understand, unless the narrative is much compressed and Jesus had been there long enough for His name to have reached the man's ears. The address, "Thou Son of the Most High God" is more intelligible, even if the man were a heathen, for the Divine appellation "God Most High" (*El Elyon*) was not confined to the Jews (*Ps.* xviii. 13, *Ecclus.* vii. 15), but was in use among pagans[3]; and the madman in his awe would not unnaturally salute Jesus by the highest title he could think of. Jesus, in answer, asked his name, the commonplace question being perhaps designed to help him (accustomed as he was to be mocked and jeered at) to recover, at least momentarily, his self-possession. The man, with a touch of

[1] There is, however, strong support for *Gerasenes* in *Lk.* viii. 26 (B D, etc.), and in *v.* 37, where C has the same reading.

[2] *Mt.* viii. 28, who omits the account of the demoniac at Capernaum (*Mk.* i. 23–28), mentions *two* demoniacs on this occasion, who rendered the road dangerous.

[3] It was known at least to the Phœnicians, in whose theogony there was an Ἑλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος (Driver, *Gen.* p. 165). In the Old Testament it is put into the mouth of Melchizedek, Balaam, and the King of Babylon.

sardonic humour suggestive of a semi-lucid interval, replied "Legion" (as though he would say, "I feel as if I were possessed by 5,000 devils").[1] The tranquillizing influence which Jesus was beginning to exert over him was manifest by his begging that Jesus would not send the demons out of the country,[2] but that they might be allowed to enter a vast herd of swine feeding on the cliffs. Wandering spirits (it was assumed) needed a tenement, and could dwell in the bodies of animals as well as in those of human beings. Jesus consented to the petition, and though the Evangelist doubtless assumes that the demoniac's madness was now transferred to the swine, probably in reality the man, believing himself delivered from his tyrants, who had passed into the swine, strove with shouts and violent gestures to drive the latter as far from him as possible; and thereby so frightened them that they plunged madly down the steep into the water and were drowned. The relief arising from the reflection that the evil spirits had left him for ever was calculated to aid the maniac's cure, so that he became calm and allowed himself to be clothed. Those who had charge of the herd (presumably an aggregate of smaller herds belonging to different owners), when they saw the occurrence, hurried away and reported it in the town and outlying farms, a large crowd gathering in consequence, to ascertain the circumstances. They found the man, with his senses restored, seated quietly in the company of Jesus; and the proof of the latter's power, afforded both by the cure of the demoniac and by the destruction of the swine, filled them with a sense of fear. But the relief rendered to their fellow-man moved them less than the loss of their property, and they entreated Jesus to withdraw from them. He did not hesitate to leave those who did not want Him; and He entered a boat to return. The man who had been healed begged that he might accompany his Deliverer; but Jesus would not permit it, and since He Himself was not allowed to stay in the district, directed him, instead, to go home and to make known to his friends the mercy which God had shown him. Our Lord's injunction possibly had in view the prospect of a second and more successful visit to the east of the lake, for which the tidings of what had happened might prepare the way (cf. *Mk.* vii. 31). The man obeyed, and proceeded to proclaim throughout the district of the Ten Towns[3] (p. 7) the wonderful cure that Jesus had wrought in him.

The question has been raised whether it was justifiable for our Lord to inflict on the owners of the swine the heavy loss caused by the destruction of the herd. It is a precarious explanation to suppose that the owners were Jews, who by keeping pigs broke the Jewish law, and consequently had no claim to consideration; for it is by no means clear that the inhabitants of this district were predominantly Jews.[4] A preferable solution of the difficulty is that Jesus did not foresee what would happen to the swine. There is considerable evidence that Jesus' knowledge,

[1] Cf. Gould, *St. Mk.* p. 90.

[2] *Lk.* represents that they asked not to be sent into the abyss (probably meaning the sea, cf. *Job* xxviii. 14, LXX).

[3] *Lk.* has "throughout the whole city" (cf. p. 138).

[4] Josephus describes them as a mixture of Jews and Syrians (*B.J.* iii. 3, 5).

during His earthly life, was not all-embracing (*Mk.* v. 31, vi. 38); and He possibly thought that in unclean beasts unclean spirits would find a congenial home, without considering such a contingency as the communication to the herd, through the man's behaviour, of panic terror.

The boat in which Jesus re-embarked crossed to the western shore, seemingly putting in at Capernaum.[1] There a multitude at once flocked to Him, and He apparently resumed His teaching by the sea. Knowledge of His ability to cure diseases was by this time widespread; so that it is not surprising that one of the presidents of the local synagogues (p. 95), Jair (cf. *Num.* xxxii. 41), or Jairus, by name, whose only daughter, a girl of 12 (*Lk.* viii. 42), was at the point of death, came to Him, beseeching Him to lay His hands upon her, that she might recover. Touch was sometimes employed by our Lord in performing works of healing (see note, p. 380); so that His habit was perhaps commonly known. Jesus immediately accompanied His petitioner, and was followed by a large crowd that pressed close to Him in eagerness to see another marvel. Among those who had also heard of the cures effected by Him was a woman who had suffered from hæmorrhage for twelve years, and who, in spite of expensive treatment by physicians, had not regained her health. She now came behind Him amid the crush, in the confident hope that she would be healed if she could but touch one of the tassels hanging from His outer garment.[2] She succeeded in doing so, and her faith brought about her relief. Possibly the cessation of the hæmorrhage was gradual, but it began from the moment that she touched the Lord's raiment. But what she did was not undetected by Jesus, Whose extraordinary psychical sensitiveness (it would seem) caused Him to discern near Him an intense desire for His help, which the woman probably shrank from seeking openly because her malady rendered her ritually unclean (*Lev.* xv. 25 f.). Turning to the crowd, He asked who touched Him, some of the disciples being surprised at His question under such circumstances. As He glanced about Him, the woman, filled with apprehension, came and confessed the truth; whereupon Jesus at once calmed her fears, and declaring that her faith had healed her (cf. *Mk.* x. 52, *Lk.* xvii. 19), bade her go in peace and be fully restored.[3]

Meanwhile messengers had come from the house of the president of the synagogue, announcing that his daughter was dead, so that there was no need to trouble the Teacher further. Jesus overheard the message, and bade the father take courage and have faith. When the house was reached, He allowed none to enter except Peter, James and John. Then going in with them He found the professional mourners[4] already gathered. He ordered them to cease their wailing, for the maid was not dead but

[1] Cf. *Mt.* ix. 1. The First Evangelist inserts a number of incidents between the occurrence just related and the next which by *MR.* are placed earlier.

[2] These, made of white wool, fastened with a cord of blue, every Jew was required by the Law to attach to the four corners of his garment (*Num.* xv. 38 f.).

[3] Eusebius *H.E.* vii. 18 represents that the woman was a Gentile and belonged to Cæsarea Philippi, and tradition names her Bernice.

[4] References to such occur in *Am.* v. 16, *Jer.* ix. 17, 2 *Ch.* xxxv. 25. For fife-players on such an occasion (*Mt.* ix. 23) cf. Jos. *B.J.* iii. 9, 5.

sleeping; but His words were received with derision. He turned them out of the house; and then in company with the parents entered the room where the maiden lay. Then He took her by the hand, and addressing her in Aramaic said, "Damsel, arise." The touch, the voice, the aid given by the hand—all (it may be supposed) contributed to rouse her from her death-like trance, and she got up and was able to walk, to the amazement of those who were present. Jesus then directed that the occurrence should not be made known (cf. i. 44, vii. 36), perhaps because it would encourage hopes that could seldom be fulfilled; and He told her parents to give her food.

It is, of course, possible that when Jesus said *οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ἀλλὰ καθεύδει*, His meaning was that a state of death from which there was to be an immediate awakening could only be regarded as a sleep.[1] But if death had really occurred, He must have brought back the soul which had departed, and instantaneously restored the physical organism, fatally injured by disease, to a condition enabling it to retain the vital principle; and if He, being human as well as Divine, actually possessed power to do this, it might be expected that something analogous would occur in ordinary experience, for which there does not appear to be adequate evidence. It seems, therefore, preferable to conclude that our Lord, when using the words just quoted, meant exactly what they signify when taken literally. Though (if the narrative is accurate) He was not at the moment in the room where the maid lay and so could not have detected by the evidence of sight signs of life imperceptible to her parents, yet He may have been sensitive to indications other than those which appeal to the organs of vision. "There is probably no such sensitive receptor as certain developments of the human body, and when one asserts that he has feeling of a certain kind, or that he can see or hear certain things which to other less receptive organisms are not apparent, we should be able to allow that the condition is quite possible, and that the recipient of the impression is a living scientific proof of it."[2] Such assertions, of course, if they are to carry conviction to the minds of doubters, require to be supported by evidence that can be tested; but in this case, according to the historian, it was forthcoming in the fact that the maid awoke and rose up. Although the persons in the house are represented as believing that death had taken place, error, especially in an age when medical knowledge was very defective, must have been easy. Nevertheless if life was not really extinct, so that there was no restoration of the actually dead, yet the existence of Old Testament narratives relating the revival of the dead (p. 117) would almost inevitably create the belief (reflected in the Evangelist's narrative) that re-animation of the lifeless had on this occasion also occurred.

Mt. represents that Jairus told Jesus at the outset that his daughter was dead (not dying), and begged Him to restore her to life; whilst *Lk.* (who confuses our Lord's

[1] Swete, *St. Mk.* p. 102.

[2] *British Medical Journal*, June 18, 1910, p. 1473 (T. Claye Shaw, M.D., F.R.C.P.). The passage in the original context is not brought into connexion with the miracle here discussed.

entry into the *house* with His entry into the child's *chamber*) states that when Jesus bade the maid arise her spirit returned.

In *Mt.* the raising of Jairus' daughter is followed by two other miracles recorded in the First Gospel alone. One, wrought seemingly at "the house" in Capernaum (p. 384) was the restoration of sight to two blind men (ix. 27–31). This has been suspected of being a duplicate of the very similar miracle at Jericho in *Mt.* xx. 29–34 (=*Mk.* x. 46–52): common features are the afflicted men's address to Jesus ("Have mercy upon us, thou Son of David") and His touching of their eyes.[1] The other, also at Capernaum, was the expulsion of a demon from a dumb man, whose speech thereupon returned (*Mt.* ix. 32–34). The comment of the Pharisees in *v.* 34 is omitted by D and the Old Lat. and Syr. versions, and may be interpolated from xii. 24.

Lk., prior to relating the raising of Jairus' daughter, narrates how on going to a place called Nain (p. 4), Jesus met a funeral procession carrying to burial a young man, the only son of a widow; and how Jesus, stopping the bearers of the bier, bade the young man arise, whereupon he sat up and began to speak (vii. 11–17). The explanation suggested above would apply to this instance likewise.

From Capernaum Jesus, followed by His disciples, went to His early home Nazareth (15 or 20 miles away to the south-west, p. 3). It was the first occasion on which He had visited the town since He had begun His public ministry; so that when, according to the custom which He had followed elsewhere (*Mk.* i. 21, iii. 1), He entered the synagogue on the Sabbath and taught, He created great astonishment among those who had been acquainted with Him as a youth, by the character of His teaching. But whilst this impressed numbers who heard Him, it also perplexed them; and the perplexity was increased by reports of His wonderful works. His authoritative words, and the marvellous cures which He had effected, could not be accounted for by either heredity or training. Previously when living in the place, He had only been known as a carpenter,[2] not as a Rabbi, much less as a prophet; and His mother, His brethren and His sisters were in no respect distinguished above their neighbours. The contrast between His past and His present, and between His relatives and Himself, was a baffling problem; and being inexplicable, was irritating. Consequently people took refuge in the conclusion that He was seeking to impose upon them. Such a repulse from His fellow-citizens, so unlike that which He had received in many places, drew from Him the comment, couched in a current proverb, that it was what prophets, honoured though they might be by strangers, were to expect from their own country and kin. This failure to inspire any general confidence in Himself and His mission limited the scope of the relief which He could bring to the diseased. Where faith was wanting He could do nothing, and only a few sufferers had sufficient trust in Him to enable them to experience the benefits He was ready to confer.

St. Luke strangely places the visit to Nazareth almost in the forefront of our Lord's public ministry (iv. 14–30), though he inconsistently includes in his account of what Jesus said there a reference to previous work at Capernaum (*v.* 23). He represents Jesus as reading on the Sabbath, for the second lesson, 3 *Is.* lxi. 1, 2 (quoted from the LXX with an insertion (*v.* 18, last clause) from 3 *Is.* lviii. 6), and declaring in a discourse which He proceeded to deliver (cf. *Acts* xiii. 15 and p. 96) that the prophet's

[1] Cf. McNeile, *St. Mt.* pp. 128–9.

[2] *Mt.* has "the carpenter's son," *Lk.* "Joseph's son."

words were then and there fulfilled. His lowly station made His hearers sceptical, and they bade Him do there miracles similar to those reported from Capernaum; but instead of gratifying them, He likened them to the widows and the lepers of Israel who were unrelieved by Elijah and Elisha, when those prophets benefited a widow of Sidonian Zarephath, and Naaman the Syrian captain. Infuriated, they endeavoured to destroy Him by flinging Him from the hill (p. 3), but He nevertheless went on His way unharmed.[1]

The repulse which our Lord encountered at Nazareth led Him to leave the place for a renewed tour of instruction in the neighbouring towns; but He did not now confine Himself to His own individual efforts. The time had at length come for using the help of the Twelve whom, after the hostility manifested in the synagogue at Capernaum (p. 388), He had chosen and taught with a view to employing them as agents for extending a knowledge of the Kingdom independently of the opportunities presented by the Sabbath meetings for public worship. Accordingly He began to send them forth in pairs to declare amongst men the need of repentance as an essential condition for entrance into the Divine Kingdom. And as the spiritual influences of that Kingdom were already making themselves felt, His own preaching being accompanied by the expulsion of demons and the cure of the sick, so He likewise now commissioned His Apostles to exorcize in His name unclean spirits and to heal diseases (cf. *Mk.* vi. 13, *Mt.* x. 1,[2] *Lk.* ix. 1). They were to take with them no provisions for their journey, nor even the means of buying or carrying such; they were to restrict themselves to such garments as were absolutely necessary (even an additional tunic being disallowed); they were to depend for their sustenance upon the hospitality of those to whom they preached; and they were not to be fastidious about their lodging, but remain in the house which they first entered.[3] Should shelter be refused and the people of any place decline to give them a hearing, they were to make it plain to such that further intercourse or warning was impossible for the future, and that they were free from all responsibility for any consequences that might ensue.[4] These directions were obeyed, and the Twelve went forth preaching, exorcizing demons, and healing many sick persons. In the cure of disease they employed as an aid the external application of oil, a remedy often figuring in ancient medical treatment.[5]

Between the different Synoptic accounts of the injunctions given by Jesus to the Twelve there are a certain number of discrepancies. In *Mk.* a staff is not forbidden, and footgear is allowed, but restricted to sandals, whilst all money, even copper, is

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[1] Loisy, *Les Ev. Syn.* i. p. 839, supposes that *Lk.* has transposed the visit to Nazareth from its true chronological position in order to symbolize, at the outset of his history, the rejection of Jesus by the Jews and the consequent extension of the Gospel to the Gentiles.

[2] *Mt.* (x. 8) adds "raise the dead," but the words are not in all MSS.

[3] In *Mt.* they are directed to find out some one fitted by character to entertain them.

[4] For the symbolic act of shaking off the dust of a place which is to be left to its fate cf. *Acts* xiii. 51.

[5] Cf. Pliny, *H.N.* xv. 7 *veteri oleo usus est ad quaedam genera morborum*, Jos. *B.J.* i. 33, 5 (Herod Agrippa in his last illness was put into a bath of oil). The use of saliva by our Lord (*Mk.* vii. 33, viii. 23) is a parallel.

prohibited. *Mt.* and *Lk.* alike exclude both staff and shoes (for the latter cf. also *Lk.* x. 4), but whereas *Mt.*, like *Mk.*, forbids all kinds of coins, *Lk.* excludes silver only (unless ἀργύριον is a general term for money). *Mt.'s* account is expanded by the addition of some Marcan passages which in the Second Gospel occur in another connection (ch. xiii.), as well as sections which are partly derived from *Q* and partly are peculiar to himself. The First Evangelist (x. 5) represents our Lord as directing the Twelve to go neither to the Gentiles nor to the Samaritans, but to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and with this Jesus' own practice agreed (cf. *Mk.* vii. 27; *Mt.* xv. 24). The appended sections from *Mk.* and from *Q* warn against allowing the fear of men and of human tribunals to take the place of the fear of God; and declare that strife and not peace must be the result of His mission in the world. The appropriations from *Q* are by *Lk.* (xii., xiv.) placed in a different context.

Before Jesus had entered upon the opening stage of His mission, His forerunner, John the Baptist, had been arrested by Herod Antipas (p. 370). At some period during his imprisonment he had heard of Jesus' activity, and the report of it now [1] prompted him to send some of his disciples to Him with the question whether He was really the expected Messiah.[2] As there is nothing in the earliest authorities to favour the view that John, when baptizing Jesus, had recognized Him to be his destined Successor (p. 366), the inquiry must have proceeded not from waning faith or flagging patience because Jesus' career so far had not answered his expectations (though this, in view of *Mt.* iii. 14, 15, may be in the mind of the First Evangelist), but from a nascent hope, roused by what he had heard, that Jesus might be the anticipated Deliverer. The question was not answered directly (Jesus had not yet determined to reveal the truth about Himself even to His own chosen disciples, p. 389), but the inquirers were told to inform John of the cures wrought on the diseased and infirm, of the raising of the "dead," and of the preaching of good news to the poor, all such occurrences suggesting that the powers of the Messianic age were already at work (cf. *Is.* xxxv. 5, 6, 3 *Is.* lxi. 4); and a caution was added against allowing disappointment at the want of explicitness in the message to stand in the way of belief. On their departure Jesus imparted to the multitude His own judgment concerning John, to see whom crowds had gone forth into the wilderness. He declared that he was more than an ordinary prophet; that he was the Messenger whom Malachi (iii. 1) had predicted Jehovah would send to prepare the way before Him[3]; that none among mankind was greater than he; but that even he, as being only a herald, and so outside, of the Kingdom of God, was inferior to an actual member, however insignificant, of that Kingdom. And then, in view of the fact that, whereas numbers of the common people had been influenced by John, the Pharisees and Scribes had rejected his teaching, Jesus went on to compare the attitude of the latter towards John and

[1] *Mt.* places the incident after the Mission of the Twelve, *Lk.* earlier.

[2] It is possible, though not likely, that by σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος John meant "Art thou Elijah?" (cf. *Mt.* xi. 3, ὁ ἐρχόμενος, with *v.* 14, Ἠλείας ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι).

[3] The quotation from *Mal.* iii. differs from the original by the insertion of πρὸ προσώπου σου in the first clause, and the replacement of πρὸ προσώπου μου by ἔμπροσθεν σου in the second. It does not appear that John was regarded either by himself or by the people as discharging the office of Elijah, but only by Jesus: cf. *Mk.* ix. 11–13, *Mt.* xvii. 12.

Himself to that of children who would not play either at dances or at dirges when their playmates wished; the religious authorities thought John too ascetic and Jesus not ascetic enough (p. 385). But from wise men [1] the methods of the Divine Wisdom that sent both John and Himself received vindication, for if some people had been unresponsive to both, yet the wise and discerning had responded either to the one or to the other.

In *Mt.* xi. 3 (=*Lk.* vii. 19) the phrase "he that cometh" seems to have been drawn from *Hab.* ii. 3 ἐρχόμενος ἥξει (though in the original the verb refers to καιρός), and had seemingly become descriptive of the Messiah or of the Heavenly man (*Lk.* xiii. 35, *Heb.* x. 37). In Jesus' answer to John, the sentence "the dead are raised up" was doubtless taken literally by both the First and Third Evangelists, and the latter, who has placed the incident of Jairus' daughter *after* John's inquiry, introduces the narrative of the widow's son at Nain immediately *before* it. But νεκροί may have a figurative meaning, designating such as were dead in sin: see *Mt.* viii. 22 (=*Lk.* ix. 60); *Lk.* xv. 32; *Joh.* v. 25; *Eph.* ii. 1.

A reference in *Mt.* xi. 12 to the impetuosity with which numbers sought to enter the Kingdom since its first proclamation by John is placed by *Lk.* (xvi. 16) in a different context.

At this point *Mt.* introduces two further passages from *Q*. The first (xi. 20–24=*Lk.* x. 12–15) is a denunciation by Jesus of Chorazin (p. 5), Bethsaida, and Capernaum for their unresponsiveness to His appeal, in spite of the mighty works done by Him in their midst. The position is appropriate, since the reference to the miracles performed in the Galilæan cities seems to be called forth by the report of them which John's disciples were to carry back to their Master (xi. 5). *Lk.* brings the passage into connexion with his account of the Appointment of the Seventy (p. 426), where it has less relevance. The second passage (xi. 25–27=*Lk.* x. 21, 22) is a thanksgiving by Jesus to God for imparting His revelation to the simple-hearted (like the disciples) rather than to the wise (such as the Scribes thought themselves), followed by a declaration that the Father alone had knowledge of the Son, and the Son alone (with those to whom He should disclose it) knowledge of the Father. This declaration is most illuminating by reason of the light which it throws upon our Lord's own conviction about His relation to God and about His mission in the world, and is discussed on p. 617.

To the foregoing there is appended by *Lk.* from *Q* a beatitude pronounced by Jesus upon His disciples because they were privileged to enjoy experiences (*i.e.* such knowledge of God as He alone imparted) which had been desired by prophets and kings, but had been withheld from them. This is brought by *Mt.* (xiii. 16) into connexion with the interpretation of the parables, which was granted to the disciples only; but the context in *Lk.* is the more appropriate.[2]

To our Lord's declaration concerning His unique knowledge of the Father the First Evangelist attaches a short saying (preserved only by him, xi. 28–30), in which Jesus exhorts men to seek relief from the burden of legal requirements (laid upon them by the Scribes, cf. xxiii. 4) by taking Himself as their Ideal, Whose example would

[1] In *Lk.* vii. 35 the best attested reading seems to be τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς (cf. *Ecclus.* iv. 11), whereas in *Mt.* xi. 19 it is τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς, though even there the δ text has τέκνων.

[2] For *Lk.*'s βασιλεῖς *Mt.* has δίκαιοι.

prevent the spiritual commands which He imposed, however exacting they might be, from being grievous.

John's imprisonment (probably of only a few months' duration at most) ended with his execution. Herodias (p. 370), moved by revenge and by fear lest the Baptist might cause Antipas to renounce her, found an opportunity of getting rid of him on the occasion of a birthday (or perhaps accession) feast given by Antipas (presumably at Machærus) to which he invited the officers of his army and the grandees of Galilee.[1] At the banquet Herodias' daughter (by her first husband) Salome, who became the wife of Philip, tetrarch of Ituræa, so delighted Antipas by her dancing that he promised in a conventional phrase (cf. *Esth.* v. 3, 1 *Kg.* xiii. 8) to present her with anything she asked. At the instigation of her mother, she demanded on a dish then and there the head of John, and Antipas very unwillingly giving orders that her wishes should be gratified, John was beheaded in his dungeon. His corpse was buried by his disciples.

In *Mk.* vi. 22 instead of *τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς* 'Ηρωδιάδος, "Herodias' own daughter" [2] (A C N and most uncials), there occurs in ℵ D B L the curious reading *τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς* 'Ηρωδιάδος, "his (Herod's) daughter Herodias."

Mt. xiv. 5 (in contradiction to *Mk.* vi. 19, 20) represents that Antipas, when he arrested John, was only deterred from putting him to death by fear of the people who regarded him as a prophet, but the Evangelist retains *Mk.'s* statement that, when his execution was demanded by Herodias, he gave way much against his will. By *Lk.* the death of John is not mentioned except allusively (ix. 9).

How long the mission of the Apostles lasted is left quite undefined, and neither the range of their movements, the extent of their success, nor the place where they reassembled, is indicated. It seems unlikely, however, that the mission, though zealously conducted and exhausting, was prolonged. It attracted to Jesus the attention of Antipas, and in view of the design of the Pharisees and the Herodians to kill Him, it is possible that fear of what the tetrarch might do contributed to bring this tour to a close and to cause Jesus to withdraw to the other side of the Lake. Yet inasmuch as the report of the cures wrought on the sick by Him and His Apostles, which suggested to some persons that Jesus was Elijah (whose return was predicted by Malachi) or a prophet, like those who had appeared in the past, led Antipas to believe that He was John, restored from the dead and in his renewed phase of existence endowed with extraordinary powers, it would appear that the first feeling inspired in him was apprehension.[3] Consequently when Jesus bade His disciples accompany Him in a boat to a lonely spot across the Lake, probably the sole motive was the desire to gain for them some repose, since the numbers of people that flocked around prevented them from taking any rest. The place to which they retired is not named, but it has been plausibly con-

[1] In *Mk.* vi. 21 *Galilee* no doubt includes *Peræa*, which also belonged to Herod.

[2] The curious phrase seems to be meant to emphasize the fact that Salome was the daughter of Herodias but not of Antipas.

[3] *Lk.* (ix. 9) states that Herod, perplexed about Jesus, desired to see Him. Cf. *Lk.* xxiii. 7–11.

jectured that it was a locality now called *El Batîhah*, a little south of Bethsaida Julias (cf. *Lk.* ix. 10) on the north-east shore.[1] But the effort to avoid the multitude proved unavailing. As soon as their departure was known, crowds went on foot round the head of the Lake to rejoin them. Such an earnest desire for instruction on the part of those whom the authorized exponents of religion despised appealed to Jesus' compassion; and notwithstanding the exhaustion of Himself and His companions He proceeded to teach them.

When the end of the day approached, the disciples suggested that the concourse should be dismissed in order to procure for themselves food; but were told by Jesus to provide them with it. In surprise they asked whether they should go and buy bread to the value of 200 *denarii* to supply their wants, for they explained, in answer to His inquiry, that they had with them no more than five loaves and two fish (probably salted or cured). And then the Evangelist narrates that Jesus commanded that all should sit down in orderly groups[2]; and taking the loaves and fishes He offered thanks to God and then divided the food into pieces for distribution by the disciples among the people, who, numbering 5,000 men, were all satisfied, whilst the fragments that remained filled twelve baskets.[3]

This miracle, which alone figures in all the Gospels, is among the most difficult to understand for several reasons. (*a*) The instantaneous production of a large quantity of food (either out of nothing, or out of chemical constituents of food present in the atmosphere or elsewhere) is strange in view of Jesus' repudiation, in the wilderness, of the suggestion that He should convert stones into bread, even if in the one case it was the need of strangers, and in the other His own need that was to be satisfied. (*b*) The call for such a miracle seems inadequate, since there was within reach opportunity of procuring provisions at the cost of some expenditure of toil and money (*Mk.* vi. 37). (*c*) The process whereby the small supply was augmented must have been the immediate and continuous replacement of the pieces broken from the loaves and fishes, or else the sudden appearance of additional loaves and fishes where none existed before—both alternatives being very difficult for modern thought to entertain. (*d*) Though it is reasonable to assume that in One who was in a unique sense the Son of God there were present exceptional faculties, yet the exercise by Him of such creative power as is here implied seems inconsistent with His true humanity, since no satisfactory parallel or analogy to it is furnished by human experience. It therefore seems best to suppose that no physical miracle was wrought but that some arresting figure of speech used on the occasion has been misunderstood, and has caused some non-miraculous incident to be transformed into a miracle, such transformation being promoted by the occurrence in the Old Testament Scriptures of an account of a prophet's multiplication of food in

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[1] Swete, *St. Mk.* p. 122.

[2] In *Mk.* vi. 40 πρασιαί is literally "leek beds" (from πράσον).

[3] The term used (κόφινοι) could describe agricultural baskets, or such as were employed for carrying clay or bricks (*Ps.* lxxxi. 6, cf. Jos. *B.J.* iii. 5, 5); but in Juv. *Sat.* iii. 14, *Judæis quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex*, it seems to denote a wallet.

order to provide for a number of hungry men (2 *Kg.* iv. 42–44, cf. also iv. 1–7, 1 *Kg.* xvii. 8–16). It may be suggested that Jesus had been speaking of the surpassing importance of spiritual, as compared with material, food; that when He urged His disciples to relieve, so far as they could, the physical needs of the multitude (*v.* 37), others gave up for the same purpose whatever provisions they had; and that the absorption of all in our Lord's teaching caused them to feel little lack of bodily fare in spite of the scanty supplies. This explanation, though purely conjectural, finds some countenance in the following facts: (*a*) Metaphors drawn from food and from eating and drinking to describe spiritual sustenance were especially common among the Jews, see *Prov.* ix. 5, 2 *Is.* lv. 1, *Ecclus.* xv. 3, xxiv. 21, and cf. *Joh.* iv. 14, 34, vi. 27, vii. 37. (*b*) Such metaphors were sometimes misunderstood, see *Mk.* viii. 15, 16. (*c*) The possibility of a figure of speech, taken literally, giving rise to a story of miracle is proved by the instance in *Josh.* x. 12–14 (p. 116). That the record of Elisha's miracle has helped to mould the one under discussion is suggested by the circumstances that food is described as left over, even in excess of the original store (a superfluity of the supernatural which is not characteristic of our Lord's miracles in general, but accountable by the influence of 2 *Kg.* iv. 44), and that in *Joh.'s* version of the narrative the loaves are said to have been of barley (cf. 2 *Kg.* iv. 42).

Between the Synoptic accounts the variations are mostly verbal, but *Mt.* to the 5,000 men adds women and children (xiv. 21). The Fourth Evangelist assigns the miracle to the season of the Passover, names two of the Apostles who took part in the discussion (p. 212), and appends a discourse in which Jesus bids men work for meat which does not perish but abides unto eternal life.

There follow at this point in the Second Gospel a number of sections which are reproduced by *Mt.* but not by *Lk.* If, as is argued on p. 160, there were two editions of *Mk.*, one lacking and the other including these, this part of the Gospel cannot be regarded as having quite the same good authority behind it as the rest, though certain portions, by the character of their contents, authenticate themselves.

The first of the series relates that when the multitude had been fed, Jesus constrained His disciples to embark for Bethsaida Julias, on the northerly side of a little bay near the scene of the incident just related, He Himself staying behind to dismiss the crowd, and intending, after retiring to the hill-side for prayer, to rejoin the Apostles at some point further along the shore. Meanwhile darkness had come on, and the boat on the sea made little progress, for the wind was contrary (blowing, apparently, from the north), and the waves rough, so that the rowers were much distressed. The narrative states that Jesus, an hour or two before sunrise, seeing the disciples in difficulties, came towards them, walking on the sea, and would have passed them by, had they not taken His figure for a phantom, and in their terror cried out. Their cry reached Him, and in answer He bade them fear not, for it was He. Their alarm being thus allayed, He got into the boat; and as soon as He was on board, the wind, previously so boisterous, suddenly dropped, the occurrence filling them with great amazement.

The Evangelist's narrative seems to imply not only that Jesus walked on the sea,[1] but also that, as on a former occasion, He controlled the wind. But there are some features in it that are exceedingly puzzling, for (*a*) it is strange that the disciples, starting in the evening for a place only a few miles away, should still be on the sea not long before daybreak; (*b*) if the miracle of walking on the sea was to enable Jesus to reach His companions (though the statement that He sought to pass them implies the opposite), it supplied His own wants, contrary to His habitual practice,[2] since at the cost of a little exertion He could have rejoined them later at Bethsaida or elsewhere; (*c*) if the miracle was a mere display of supernatural power, it was equally opposed to His habit; (*d*) if the miraculous causing of the wind to lull was to relieve the disciples' distress, it could as easily (it might be thought) have been accomplished from the shore. If these difficulties be set on one side, and the narrative be accepted as it stands, it must be concluded that our Lord possessed and exercised a faculty of levitation, instances of which some investigators believe to have occurred in modern times.[3] If, on the other hand, the narrative, in consequence of the features noticed above, is rejected as an inaccurate record of what actually happened, the origin of it may be explained in one of two ways. (1) The boat had drifted closer to the shore than was suspected; the disciples, strained and nervous from toil and anxiety, when they saw Jesus on the edge of the land, imagined in the gloom that He was on the sea, and fancy was afterwards reported as fact. (2) The figurative language of religious faith (Christ at hand to help His servants, embarked on troubled waters, cf. *Ps.* xlvi. 1–3, xciii. 3, 4) has been taken literally and interpreted as relating to an historical occurrence.

Mt. by stating that the boat was "in the midst of the sea" seems to mean that it was far from the land; and the uncial B and some other textual authorities represent that it was many furlongs away (cf. *Joh.* vi. 19). The First Evangelist adds that when St. Peter heard Jesus' voice, he tried to cross to Him over the waters, but, becoming affrighted and beginning to sink, cried for help to his Master, Who took him by the hand and saved him; and that when Jesus got into the boat, all acknowledged Him to be the Son of God (though the writer records later the incident at Cæsarea (xvi. 16), which was clearly the first occasion of the confession). Symbolism here is plainer than in the preceding Marcan passage, St. Peter's impulsive promise of allegiance, his later denial of his Lord, and his subsequent restoration (*Mk.* xiv. 27–31; *Lk.* xxii. 32) being emblematically portrayed.[4]

The Episode (without the Matthæan addition) also appears in *Joh.* vi. 15, 21, where the reason for Jesus' withdrawal to the mountain is the desire to frustrate the wish of the multitude to make Him King; the destination of the disciples is Capernaum; and the boat, as soon as Jesus entered it, is represented as being at once at the land whither it was going.

When Jesus rejoined the Apostles they did not proceed further in the direction of Bethsaida, but towards the western shore of the lake, reaching

[1] In strictness ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης may mean no more than "by the sea": cf. *Joh.* xxi. 1.

[2] See *Mt.* iv. 3, 4 (=*Lk.* iv. 3, 4), and cf. Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, p. 113.

[3] See Barrett, *On the Threshold of the Unseen*, p. 70 f.

[4] Cf. Bacon, *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, p. 83. The use of τὰ ὕδατα seems to reflect the influence of *Ps.* xlvi. 3, LXX, more clearly than the earlier narrative which *Mt.* has in common with *Mk.*

it at the plain of Gennesaret (p. 4). As soon as Jesus landed He was recognized; and at once the people began to bring to Him for restoration to health those of their friends who were diseased. He did not remain at the place where He disembarked but seems to have made a progress through the surrounding country: and wherever He came, sick and infirm persons were laid in the market-places of the towns in order that they might touch even the tassels of His robe, and so obtain relief; and those who did so were healed.

§ 7. *Renewed Opposition; Withdrawal from Galilee*

The return of Jesus to the western shore of the lake was sure, sooner or later, to embroil Him once more with the religious authorities; and a collision with His antagonists soon came. Certain Pharisees, perhaps belonging to local synagogues, had been joined by some Scribes who had recently arrived from Jerusalem; and together they had noticed the disregard shown by some of our Lord's disciples for the traditional rules of Rabbis like Hillel and Shammai for the preservation of ceremonial purity. These prescribed that, before eating, the hands should be washed vigorously [1]; that the body should be sprinkled [2] with water after return from the market-place; and that all drinking cups, measures,[3] and copper vessels should be rinsed. These practices were designed not to ensure physical cleanliness but to remove ceremonial pollution, which might have been contracted through touching persons or things considered defiling. The neglect of such by the disciples caused the Pharisees and Scribes to ask our Lord why they thus ignored religious tradition. The answer which He is represented as giving is not a direct justification of His disciples, and perhaps is only a summary of His rejoinder. In it the tradition of the Scribes, intended as a safeguard for the written law (p. 18), was denounced for what it had in practice become—a substitute for it; and to the supporters of it were applied the words of *Is.* xxix. 13 (quoted from the LXX with some variation), describing the futility of professed devotion, when Divine directions were replaced by human regulations. And Jesus illustrated how the laws in the Pentateuch (*Ex.* xx. 12, xxi. 17) enjoining filial duty were contravened by the rule of the Scribes that if anyone pronounced the word *Corban* ("gift or offering to God") over any property from which another person might expect to benefit, it was placed out of that person's reach, even though it was not really expended on the Temple Service; so that by this formula a son was enabled to relieve himself of his obligation to support his parents. It has been, indeed, pointed out that the Mishnah allows the cancelling of such a vow where

[1] This seems to be the meaning of πυγμῇ (literally "with the fist" in *Mk.* vii. 3, though Edersheim (*L. and T.* etc., ii. 11) thinks it equivalent to a Heb. or Aramaic term signifying "down to the wrist."

[2] In *Mk.* vii. 4 ℵ and B have ῥαντίσωνται, though most MSS. have βαπτίσωνται.

[3] The Greek ξεστής is the Lat. *sextarius*, holding about a pint. The vessels in question were those which were made of materials other than earthenware, and so could not be destroyed if polluted: cf. *Lev.* xi. 32, 33.

parents are concerned [1]; but the general trend of the oral Law was to confuse the real values of conflicting obligations and to subordinate the essential side of religion to the formal.

After thus replying to the Scribes, Jesus summoned to Him the multitude, and dealt with the principle which underlay the specific attack made upon His disciples, expressing His thoughts enigmatically, so as to prompt reflection in those who heard Him. "There is nothing," He declared, "outside a man which by entering into him can pollute him; but the things which come forth from a man are they which pollute him." The import of the saying was, on the surface, ambiguous; for whilst the first half of it denied that defilement could be caused by eating certain kinds of food (as the law of *Lev.* xi. implied), the second half of it might be taken to re-affirm the law (*Lev.* xv.) that various issues and hæmorrhages polluted religiously the person suffering from them. Accordingly His disciples, when He went indoors, asked of Him His meaning. He showed surprise at their want of intelligence; and explained that spiritual beings could not be defiled in a religious sense by certain kinds of material food entering the body, for these did not penetrate into the heart, the seat of the intellectual and moral life, whereas it was from the heart that there came all that really defiled—vicious thoughts, having their issue in vicious words and deeds. This declaration was a momentous one, for since the distinction of clean and unclean meats was drawn by the written law itself, Jesus' denial that defilement could be caused by particular kinds of food destroyed the authority of the ceremonial rules of the Jewish Law (which constituted its most characteristic part) and so in principle abrogated it, without giving scope for antinomian deductions, such as St. Paul's unqualified statements afterwards occasioned.[2]

The obscure saying in *Mk.* vii. 15 is modified in *Mt.* xv. 11, where τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενα is replaced by τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος, so that the ambiguity in the original largely disappears and an explanation is scarcely required. *Mt.* adds that the disciples reported that the Pharisees were offended by Jesus' saying, that our Lord rejoined that every plant not planted by His heavenly Father must be rooted up (cf. xiii. 30), and pronounced the Pharisees blind guides, this last utterance appearing in a different form and context in *Lk.* vi. 39.

St. Luke, in place of the occurrence here narrated (which has no place in his gospel), relates (xi. 37–41) that a similar complaint against Jesus Himself for not having washed before meat was made by a Pharisee when entertaining Him; and that Jesus, in reply, contrasted the Pharisees' care for external cleanness with their indifference to internal sanctity, and bade them escape defilement not by cleansing vessels but by giving their contents as alms. This passage is followed by a denunciation of the Pharisees because of their concern for the minor, and their indifference towards the major, requirements of the Law, and because of their pride and self-assertion. This reproach a Scribe felt to be levelled at his own class, and Jesus then denounced the Scribes also, for making religion burdensome to the people, and declared that upon that generation should fall vengeance for all the murders of the prophets recorded in the Hebrew

[1] Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, i. pp. 164–166.

[2] In *Mk.* vii. 19 the weight of manuscript authority (ℵ A B E L, Eg.) is in favour of καθαρίζων, which must be a comment of the Evangelist's (cf. St. Paul in 1 *Cor.* viii. 8; *Rom.* xiv. 17). The variant καθαρίζον (K M U etc., and Syr. sin.) means that evacuation places clean and unclean food on the same level, and so extinguishes the difference between them.

Scriptures from *Genesis* (iv. 8) to 2 *Chronicles* (xxiv. 20–21). This discourse caused the Scribes and Pharisees, when He left the house, to assail Him vehemently ; whilst, He, when the multitudes again gathered round Him, cautioned them against the leaven of the Pharisees, which He declared to be hypocrisy. Much that *Lk.* recounts here is reproduced from *Q*, but is placed in a somewhat different setting from that to which it is assigned by *Mt.* (xxiii. 23–36).[1]

A further denunciation of the Pharisees on the ground of their love of money occurs in *Lk.* xvi. 14–15.

The attitude of Jesus, now so plainly evinced, towards the traditions of the Scribes, which were held to be of more binding importance than the ordinances of the Scriptures themselves, made it certain that, if His opportunities of giving further instruction were not to be abruptly ended, He would have to take steps for His self-preservation. And it must have been in the hope of escaping for a while hostile molestation that He now withdrew from the borders of the Holy Land altogether, into the country of Tyre and Sidon. Here He entered into a purely Gentile district, though not to impart His message to its people ; and it is uncertain how far He penetrated in the direction of the chief towns, Tyre (40 miles from Capernaum) and Sidon (30 miles farther). Tyrian territory came as far south as Gischala, south-west of the Waters of Merom ; and in *Mk.* vii. 24 the words *and Sidon* are omitted by some textual authorities.[2] Probably He did not go much beyond the Jewish frontier, where Jewish homes might still be found ; and it was in one of these that He seems to have taken up His abode, but with the intention of keeping His presence in the neighbourhood a secret. This, however, proved impossible, for rumour about Him had preceded Him (cf. *Mk.* iii. 8, *Mt.* iv. 24). A woman who was a Syro-Phœnician[3] by descent, but whose mother-tongue was Greek, had a daughter who was demented (according to current belief) through an evil spirit in her ; and she, having heard of Jesus, came to Him with an entreaty that He would cast the demon out of her child. Jesus did not judge that His mission included more than His own countrymen[4] ; so, adopting, more ironically than seriously, the contemptuous language common amongst the Jews when referring to members of other nations, He declared that the children of the house had a right to be satisfied first ; the bread that was due to them should not be given to the dogs. The woman was familiar with the scornful term employed (cf. *Mt.* vii. 6), and humbly assented, but added that even the dogs under the table had the crumbs which the children let fall. The apt reply made its own appeal, and Jesus bade the woman return, in full assurance that her request was granted ; and on going to her house she found His words fulfilled. In this instance *Mt.* (xv. 28) attributes the cure to the mother's faith ; but it

[1] In *Mt.* xxiii. 35 Zachariah, son of Jehoiada, is described (by confusion with Zachariah the prophet) as son of Barachiah.

[2] The words καὶ Σιδῶνος are absent from D, Lat. (vet.), Syr. (vet.).

[3] The term is used in contrast to *Libyphœnician*, applied to Phœnicians living in North Africa. *Mt.* calls her a Canaanite.

[4] *Mt.* represents that the woman came out from the borders of Tyre and Sidon (so that he supposes Jesus to be still on Israelite soil) ; that she saluted Jesus as the Son of David (cf. ix. 27) ; that the disciples urged Him to dismiss her ; and that Jesus told her plainly that He was sent to none but the lost sheep of Israel.

may be presumed that the mother had imparted her own hopes to her daughter; and the stimulus towards recovery afforded by the knowledge that the help of the Hebrew prophet was being sought may have been aided by psychic influence actively exerted by Jesus (cf. p. 381).

How long our Lord spent on Phœnician soil is unknown; and uncertain, too, is the route by which He returned southward. *Mk.* represents that from the borders of Tyre He passed through Sidon. If so, He must have followed a road which crossed the slopes of Lebanon and the river Leontes to Cæsarea Philippi, whence He could descend along the banks of the Upper Jordan to the eastern shore of the Galilean lake, which was the locality He reached.[1] But it seems unlikely that, if He passed by Cæsarea Philippi on this occasion, He would have gone thither a few days later (*Mk.* viii. 27); and it has been conjectured that in *Mk.* vii. 31 *Sidon* is a mistake for *Bethsaida*, so that the route followed to the east of the lake was really much shorter than that just described. Be this as it may, Jesus eventually came into the region of Decapolis; and here He performed another cure which is recorded in the Second Gospel alone. The afflicted man was deaf and had a difficulty in speaking (the latter disability being often occasioned by the former); and our Lord was entreated to put His hand upon him (cf. v. 23, vi. 5). A crowd surrounded them; but Jesus drew the deaf and dumb man apart (thereby securing his undivided attention, cf. viii. 23)[2]; and then thrusting His fingers into his ears and touching his tongue with saliva, He looked up to heaven with a sigh, and said in Aramaic, "Be opened." The physical acts, and the use of saliva, a familiar remedy in antiquity (p. 117), could be understood by one to whom words were inaudible, and were likely to encourage the man (in whom the fame of Jesus as a Healer must have already created hope of relief) to make the effort expected of him, and when he did so, he found that he could both hear and speak. Jesus, perhaps fearing that people would be more interested in the physical cures that He wrought than in the spiritual instruction which it was His principal aim to give, bade the eye-witnesses be silent about what had occurred, though unsuccessfully. Reports got abroad, and produced a profound impression, which was perhaps the greater because the restoration of hearing to the deaf and speech to the dumb was a feature in prophetic predictions of the Messianic Age (*Is.* xxxii. 3, 4, xxxv. 5, 6).[3]

The view already adopted that the section in St. Mark's Gospel, which is comprised between vi. 45 and viii. 21 (or 26), rests, as a whole, upon a less trustworthy basis than the remainder of the work, is confirmed by the next narrative occurring within it, which relates another occasion when a large multitude was satisfied with a few loaves and fishes, and which presents features suggesting that it is a duplicate of the Feeding of the 5,000 (vi. 30–45). The time is vaguely indicated as "in those days"; there is no explanation of the cause that brought large numbers of people

[1] Cf. Burkitt, *The Gospel History*, etc., p. 92.
[2] Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, p. 159.
[3] *Mt.* generalizes and represents that numbers of afflicted persons were healed.

together; and there is a remarkable resemblance, though accompanied by certain divergences, between the details. Thus the scene (a desert place, east of the lake), Jesus' motive (compassion), His question to the disciples ("How many loaves have ye?"), His command to the people to sit down, His thanksgiving before dividing the food,[1] the distribution by means of the disciples, the satisfaction of the people's hunger, the gathering of the fragments, and the subsequent departure by boat, are the same in both. The differences occur in respect of the numbers of the loaves and fishes (five and two, seven and *a few*), the number fed (5,000, 4,000),[2] the number and kind of baskets filled with the remains (twelve *κόφινοι*, seven *σπυρίδες*), and the subsequent destination of the boat (Bethsaida (the actual arrival being at Gennesaret), Dalmanutha).[3] Two such stories can scarcely relate to distinct events; the very lack of definition in the second as regards time and circumstance suggests a floating tradition; and the disciples' question in viii. 4 shows that the emergency which confronted them was new, and evinces no recollection of how it had been met previously. Consequently this incident (except for the return to the west of the lake) may with some confidence be discarded from among those which constitute the brief history of our Lord's ministry.

The immediate sequel to the narrative just discussed was also probably absent from the earliest form of *Mk.*, but the internal character of the account is strongly in favour of its being a trustworthy piece of tradition. It is pre-supposed that Jesus was on the west of the lake; and the Pharisees are represented as asking for a sign from heaven in proof of His claim to speak for God (cf. *Ex.* iv. 1–9). The sign desired was probably some wonder from the sky, if not as destructive as that by which in the Scriptures Elisha vindicated himself when he called down fire from heaven (2 *Kg.* i. 10), at least as spectacular and impressive as the return of the sun's shadow on the dial of Ahaz, with which Isaiah gave assurance from Jehovah to Hezekiah (2 *Kg.* xx. 8–11). But with such a demand Jesus refused to comply; it was not in this way that He felt certain that God willed that He should manifest His Divine Mission; and so He curtly declared that no sign should be given to that generation.

That a reply of this tenor was returned by Jesus on one occasion in response to a demand for a sign is put beyond doubt by the evidence not only of the present passage in *Mk.*, but also by one in *Q*. In *Mt.* there are *two* accounts of a request for a sign followed by a refusal from Jesus: (*a*) *Mt.* xii. 38–40, (*b*) *Mt.* xvi. 1–4[4]. It is the latter that probably corresponds to the Marcan passage; whereas the former, to which *Lk.* xi. 16, 29, 30 seems to be parallel, appears to be derived from *Q*. In the version from *Q* the refusal of a sign is qualified by a reference to "the sign of the prophet Jonah," who, through announcing to the Ninevites that they would perish with their city unless they repented, was declared by Jesus to be typical of Himself, Who warned the Jews that they would perish at the Judgment unless they, too, repented. This reference to Jonah seems to have been introduced by *Mt.* into xvi. 4

[1] In viii. 6, 7 the thanksgiving or blessing is uttered twice.

[2] *Mt.* adds women and children (cf. xiv. 21).

[3] *Mt.* xv. 39 has *Magadan* (late MSS. *Magdala*). *Mk.'s Dalmanutha* may be a corruption of *Magdalutha*.

[4] Verses 2 and 3 are omitted by ℵ B, and by the Syr. (vet.) and Eg. versions.

(if this *v.* comes from *Mk.* viii. 12) in order to bring it into accord with the earlier passage extracted from *Q*.

To *Mt.* xii. 38-39 there is appended a different explanation of how Jonah was a "sign" of our Lord, viz. through his imprisonment in the belly of the sea-monster for three days and nights, which prefigured Jesus' entombment for the same period in the earth. This explanation seems to have originated after our Lord's Resurrection (for, if given by Jesus at this stage of His Ministry and addressed to Scribes and Pharisees, it would have been quite unintelligible); but the writer, for the sake of drawing the desired parallel, has forsaken Christian tradition, according to which Jesus lay in the grave not more than one whole day and parts of two others, and only two nights at most.[1]

In *Mt.* xii. 41, 42 (=*Lk.* xi. 31, 32) our Lord goes on to contrast with (*a*) the Ninevites (who repented at the preaching of Jonah) and (*b*) the Queen of Sheba (who came from far to hear Solomon) the Jews of His own generation who refused to heed One Who was more than either.

Our Lord's stay on the Galilæan side of the lake must have been brief; at any rate, after the preceding incident He is represented as once again crossing to the eastern shore. But since in the ensuing narrative reference is made to the two accounts of feeding a multitude on a few loaves and fishes as though they related to distinct occurrences; and since reasons have been adduced above for considering the two accounts to be variant versions of one event, it is impossible to feel confidence at this point in the accuracy of the record, and it is perhaps not unlikely that the incident which follows really happened after the early crossing in which the storm occurred (iv. 35–41). In any case, the scene was the east shore. Jesus, reflecting on the alliance between the Pharisees and the Herodians (iii. 6), addressed to His disciples a caution against becoming infected by their evil influence—the religious formalism of the one, and the worldliness of the other—using, to describe the corrupting nature of their principles, the metaphor of leaven (cf. *Mt.* xiii. 33, 1 *Cor.* v. 6, *Gal.* v. 9), and bidding them beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod. But the disciples happened to have with them but a single loaf; and with a strange lack of penetration they supposed that He had this deficiency in mind, and was warning them against replenishing their store from members of the two classes named, should they be inclined to do so. But how exactly He corrected their misunderstanding cannot be ascertained with certainty from St. Mark's narrative, which relates that He bade them remember the many baskets of fragments gathered on both the occasions when the needs of thousands were satisfied with a few loaves and fishes, as though He meant them to understand that so long as He was with them, they could not lack bread. For the reference to these two miracles throws no light upon the figure of speech (viii. 15) which they had failed to comprehend; and if the second miracle is only a duplicate version of the first (p. 414), the reported allusion to it must be an error.

In *Mt.'s* reproduction of *Mk.* Jesus cautions the disciples against the leaven of the Pharisees and *Sadducees*, and the Evangelist, conscious that *Mk.'s* account leaves something to be desired, explains that after Jesus' reply, the disciples understood that the term "leaven" was a metaphor for "teaching." In the Third Gospel the

[1] Cf. Allen, *St. Mt.* p. 139; see also p. 418 below.

only allusion to the occurrence, whatever it was, is a command to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is declared to be hypocrisy (cf. p. 412).

The scene of the next incident recorded is definitely stated to have been Bethsaida Julias, where a cure was wrought by Jesus on a blind man. This, like the restoration of hearing and speech to the person who was deaf and almost dumb (vii. 32–37), is related by St. Mark alone, and has some details in common with it. In this instance, too, our Lord isolated the afflicted man from the crowd of onlookers (taking him out of the village),[1] used saliva (putting it on his eyes) and laid His hands upon him. But the unusual feature about this case is the fact that the man's sight was only restored gradually. He had once enjoyed the power of seeing, and he knew what men looked like. But his first experience of recovered sight only enabled him to distinguish men from trees by their movements ; and it was not until Jesus touched his eyes again that he regained fully his faculty of vision, and saw everything clearly. After the cure he was bidden not to enter the village, but to go straight to his home (apparently on its outskirts) that less attention might be attracted to the marvel.

The similarity of the language describing this incident and that in *Mk.* vii. 32–37 has led some scholars to deem them variant narratives of the same occurrence. As there are in all probability two accounts of a single miraculous feeding of the multitude (p. 414), there may well be two accounts of another miracle ; but the arguments for such a conclusion in this instance are not so cogent.

§ 8. *Avowal of Messiahship : Predictions of Death and Resurrection*

Henceforward St. Mark's narrative is again used by both of the other Synoptists (see p. 408). From the vicinity of Bethsaida our Lord went on to that of Cæsarea Philippi (p. 7), the modern Banîas, a town occupying a site of great beauty more than 1,000 feet above the sea and 1,700 feet above the lake. The route to it was rather circuitous, since the plain north of Lake Huleh (the Waters of Merom) is very marshy ; and from the " Bridge of Jacob's Daughters " (p. 384) the Damascus road would have to be followed for some distance. Jesus now reached the crisis of His ministry. The conviction entertained by Him since His baptism that He was the Messiah, predicted by the prophets of His race, He had hitherto kept to Himself. He had announced the near approach of the Kingdom of God, but had said nothing concerning Himself as its King. The only suggestion in His own utterances (as recorded by the earliest authorities) hinting of mystery about His Personality is the enigmatical title " Son of man," and it may be that this is due to an error on the part of the historians (p. 383). He had prohibited any words of others that were calculated to suggest the truth (cf. i. 34, iii. 12) ; and He had left those whom He had chosen as His companions to form their own inferences as to His Personality and mission. At last, however, the moment had come for a more explicit disclosure about Himself ; and the tenor of it constituted for His followers, after His departure from earth, an essential element of the Gospel which

[1] To the village Herod Philip had given the dignity of a city (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2, 1).

they proceeded to communicate to the world (p. 624). For He had at last realized what the malice of His enemies portended : and He had discerned the significance of the issue that confronted Him. If a violent death was to be His destiny, that death must have both a purpose and a sequel commensurate with the Messianic office. Nevertheless the idea of a Messiah who should suffer and die was so unfamiliar to Jewish minds that it was necessary to prepare His disciples for such a result. He therefore determined to reveal to them more definitely than heretofore Who He was and what was to befall Him, lest, when there should take place the event which He expected, it might prove too great a strain for their faith in Him to support.

With this purpose in view, when crowds were no longer around them, He asked them[1] who He was thought to be. Peter, acting as spokesman for the rest of the Twelve, mentioned the various conjectures that circulated, some persons supposing Him to be John the Baptist (cf. vi. 14, 16), others Elijah, others one of the prophets.[2] He then asked them plainly of their own conclusions about Him, and Peter at once replied, " Thou art the Christ." The successive steps by which Peter and his fellow Apostles had been led to this belief, it is, of course, impossible to trace. But the fact that they had reached it shows that, notwithstanding their dullness of perception, they had spiritual vision enough to see that He by His character and works of healing had demonstrated His title to exercise the function of God's vicegerent. Peter's conception of the Messiah's office (as was shown almost immediately) was, indeed, as yet not that which was entertained by Jesus Himself. Nevertheless the confession was a momentous one, constituting the earliest creed of the society of which the Apostolic band was the nucleus. But for the present, the fact that the belief had behind it the authority of Jesus Himself was not to be divulged ; and by His express direction it was to remain for a time a secret of the Apostles. The reason why Jesus thus enjoined silence was perhaps to avoid, so far as possible, the risk of interference with His movements before He could reach Jerusalem. That city was the religious centre of the nation, and He desired to present Himself there before the expected end came.

Mt. (xvi. 17–19), expanding *Mk.'s* account, represents that Jesus pronounced Simon Peter blessed for recognizing His Messiahship, since the revelation of it came from God only ; solemnly affirmed his name to be Peter [3] (Rock-man), and upon him as upon a rock (cf. *Eph.* ii. 20), in virtue of the faith he had just been the first to confess, He would build His Church, against which the gates of death, which close

[1] *Lk.* (ix. 18) says that the disciples were with Jesus as He was praying in a solitary spot, but does not name the locality.

[2] *Mt.* (who in Jesus' question replaces our Lord's *με* by *τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, cf. p. 383) has " Jeremiah or one of the prophets " (cf. 2 *Esd.* ii. 18). The coming of Jeremiah in particular was perhaps looked for on the strength of the representation that he had secreted in a rock the Tabernacle and the Ark when Israel was carried into captivity, and might be expected to divulge their hiding-place before the Messianic age should begin (see 2 *Macc.* ii. 1–8). For the honour in which he was held in post-Captivity times see 2 *Macc.* xv. 13–16.

[3] Jesus would probably use the Aramaic *Cēphā* (cf. *Joh.* i. 42).

upon all individual men (cf. *Wisd.* xvi. 13), should never prevail; declared that He would authorize Peter to dispense the privileges of the Kingdom, and asserted that whatever regulations he on earth might impose or relax would possess the sanction of heaven. The passage probably proceeds not from our Lord but from the Evangelist, who regarded the Church on earth as the antechamber to the Kingdom of heaven, the motive for the insertion being the desire to emphasize the prominence of St. Peter in the Christian body, and to represent it as foretold and authorized by Christ Himself.[1]

According to *Mt.* xiv. 33, *Joh.* i. 41, vi. 69, Peter and others of the Apostles had acknowledged the Messiahship of Christ, before the journey to Cæsarea Philippi (pp. 409, 375).

Jesus having thus drawn from His disciples a confession of belief in His Messianic dignity proceeded to explain to them the destiny in store for Him. His ideal of religion and His conception of the Messianic office so clashed with the ideal and the conception cherished by the bulk of His countrymen that the collision could only result in the rejection of His claims to be the Messiah by the chief council of the nation, and His execution at their hands, His death being preordained by God. Nevertheless He was not to remain in the realm of the dead, but after a brief interval would rise again from it (for death without a renewal of life was incompatible with Jesus' conception of His Messianic function). This announcement of His impending destruction He uttered within the hearing of all His disciples. To St. Peter the mere contemplation of such a fate for One who had just avowed Himself to be the Messiah seemed intolerable, since it implied defeat and degradation. He therefore took Jesus aside and began to remonstrate with, and to censure, Him for entertaining such a thought. But his Master, turning round, rebuked him (as one possessed, cf. *Mt.* xvii. 17) with the words, "Get thee behind me, Satan, for thy thoughts are not those of God but those of men."[2] And then summoning to Him the multitude, not to make as yet the same avowal to them as He had just made to His Apostles, but in order that none who contemplated becoming His disciples might be under any delusion as to the cost (cf. p. 426), He declared that any who wished to follow Him must forgo his own aims and interests and be prepared, like Him, to face death[3]; but that the sacrifice, for the sake of Christ's cause, of the lower, the physical, life, would ensure the preservation of the higher, the spiritual, life; that for the loss of the latter no material gain, however vast, would compensate; and that any who should reject Him and His message would be rejected by the Son of man when He should come in the glory of His Father with the angels.[4] And He then added that within the lifetime of some of the bystanders the Kingdom of God would be manifested with power.

Our Lord's prediction in *Mk.* viii. 31 that He would rise again "after three days" is replaced in *Mt.* (xvi. 21, xvii. 22) and *Lk.* (ix. 22) by the statement that He would be raised up "on the third day." There are other variations in reckoning the interval

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[1] Cf. Allen, *St. Mt.* p. 179 and see below p. 612.

[2] The protest of St. Peter and Jesus' rebuke of him are omitted by *Lk.*

[3] Under Roman rule death by crucifixion was common enough for our Lord to use ἆραι τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ as equivalent to facing death in an extreme form.

[4] *Mt.* adds "and then shall He render unto every man according to his deeds."

between His death and resurrection ; *Joh.* ii. 19–22 has " in three days," whilst *Mt.* xii. 40 has " three days and three nights " (p. 415). Probably all the expressions are meant to denote a brief but not closely defined period (cf. *Lk.* xiii. 32, 33 ; *Hos.* vi. 2 ; 2 *Kg.* xx. 8). Instead of *Mk.*'s *τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐληλυθυῖαν ἐν δυνάμει* (ix. 1) *Mt.* has *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ* (xvi. 28) ; *Lk.* merely *τὴν βασίλειαν τοῦ θεοῦ*.

Some difficulty is presented by the inconsistency between the prohibition, imposed on the disciples (viii. 30), of any disclosure of His Messiahship (cf. *Mt.* xvi. 20) and the apparent identification of Himself with the Messiah in the address to the multitude (viii. 38). But the words in the latter verse seem carefully chosen in order to leave scope for His hearers to take, if they pleased, rejection by the Son of man to mean rejection by another than Himself. The right moment for a public identification of Himself with the Messiah had not yet come.

The concluding words of this discourse (ix. 1) involve the inference that our Lord expected that He would return a second time within a generation, for not only is this sense put upon *Mk.* ix. 1 in *Mt.* xvi. 28, but it is confirmed by the statement in *Mk.* xiii. 26, 30, *Mt.* x. 23, and by the belief entertained by the Apostles and others. Jesus' expectation (if the Evangelist's language does not misrepresent it) was not fulfilled in a literal sense ; nevertheless there occurred within the period He named events manifesting in a signal way the presence of Divine activity in the world, namely, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish commonwealth, and the rise of the Christian Church, and this in a measure—though only in a measure—verified our Lord's faith in God's vindication of Himself and His Gospel (cf. *Lk.* xxi. 20–24).

To the north-east of Cæsarea Philippi, 14 miles away, rise the lowest slopes of Hermon, and here, on the sixth day after Jesus, with His disciples, had reached the place, He underwent a remarkable psychical experience. As He had done on a previous occasion (p. 400), He drew apart Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and with these He ascended the mountain side. With a violent end confronting Him, Messiah though He was, His thoughts turned both backward to the preannouncements of the Messiah's advent in the previous history of His nation, and forward to the realization of the Messianic glory to which the way of attainment was to be through the gate of death. Becoming rapt in contemplation He saw Himself transfigured in the dazzling light of heaven, His garments white and lustrous, and Moses and Elijah talking with Him. This vision of Himself, by some transference of thought, He communicated to His three Apostles, who consequently, in a trance-like condition, saw the same two figures which appeared to Jesus' mental view ; and Peter, speaking for himself and his companions (they were all filled with fear and bewilderment), said it was well that they were there ; and should they construct three tents (or booths) to shelter their Master and those who were conversing with Him ? And then, as the conviction of His Father's approval impressed itself again upon Jesus' spirit with the same intensity as once before at His baptism, He caused the impression of this likewise to reach the disciples, who inwardly heard, as out of the cloud that concealed the Deity Himself,[1] the words, " This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him " (cf. *Dt.* xviii. 15 end).

[1] Cf. *Ex.* xvi. 10, xix. 9, xl. 35 ; *Num.* xi. 25.

And suddenly the state of abnormal sensibility which for a brief time had marked the three Apostles passed away, and they found themselves with Jesus only.

The supposition that what is recorded in *Mk.* ix. 2–8 represents psychic experiences which had their origin and centre in the mind of Jesus and were transmitted by Him to Peter, James and John, best explains the fact that the three Apostles became sensible of the presence with Jesus of Moses and Elijah. The hypothesis of an actual appearance to the disciples of the spirits of the dead Legislator and the dead Prophet is faced with the difficulty of explaining how they were recognized ; whilst if it is suggested that the disciples' vision of them had its source in themselves independently of Jesus, the Messiah being associated by them with the two great personalities named, such a solution is not plausible in view of the fact that their belief in Jesus' Messiahship had only recently found expression, and they are scarcely likely at this stage to have searched the Scriptures for passages throwing light upon the nature of His office. It seems probable, therefore, that it was in Jesus' mind alone that the Transfiguration scene originated ; that He mentally saw Himself transformed from earthly to heavenly conditions ; that He thought of Moses and Elijah as witnessing to Him[1] by reason of the predictions found in *Dt.* xviii. 18 f. and *Mal.* iv. 4–6 ; and that in order to confirm the Apostles' faith, He conveyed to their minds by some process of telepathy, both the vision which then filled His own mind and the voice of Divine approval of which He was more than ever conscious.

In *Mt.* the words of the Voice from heaven are assimilated to those at the Baptism (in 2 *Pet.* i. 17 the assimilation is carried further still), and the Apostles' fear is experienced when they hear the Voice. In *Lk.* the Transfiguration is placed "about eight days" after the avowal at Cæsarea Philippi ; Jesus is stated to have ascended the mountain to pray ; Moses and Elijah speak to Him of His approaching death (cf. *Lk.* xxiv. 25, 26), and the words heard from heaven are, "This is my Son, my chosen (cf. *Mt.* xii. 18, 2 *Is.* xlii. 1), hear ye him."

As Jesus and the Three returned to the rest of the disciples, Peter and his companions were directed by their Master (who desired to retain within His own control the right time for His self-disclosure (cf. viii. 30)) not to reveal what they had seen until after He, the Son of man, should have risen from the dead. The injunction perplexed them, for though they were familiar with the idea of a general resurrection at the last day (p. 41), their Master clearly had in view His own individual resurrection prior to that ; and they discussed therefore with one another what He meant. Nor was this the only element in His recent utterances which puzzled them, for He had declared that He, the Christ, the Son of man, was destined to suffer ; so they called His attention to the statement of the Scribes that the coming of Elijah must precede that of the Messiah (it being understood that the purpose of the former's advent was to set everything right for the latter) and asked how it was that prophecy affirmed (as He implied it did) that the Messiah must suffer and be rejected ? Jesus acknowledged that (according

[1] The same are probably the "two witnesses" of *Rev.* xi. 3.

to the Scriptures) Elijah, when he came, was to effect a moral reformation (*Mal.* iv. 5, 6, cf. *Ecclus.* xlviii. 10); but He declared (having in mind John the Baptist, cf. *Mt.* xvii. 13) that he had already come, and men had worked their will upon him, as had also been predicted (the reference being probably to the persecution of Elijah by Ahab and Jezebel, 1 *Kg.* xviii., xix.). The disciples were seemingly meant to infer from His words that there was a foreordained parallelism between the destiny of John and Himself, and as the former had suffered death, so they must expect that He too must suffer.

In *Mk.* ix. 12, 13 some misplacement of clauses seems to have occurred. In *v.* 12 the order of the two halves of the verse ought probably to be transposed, so that the question in 12*b* may form part of what the disciples said, and 12*a* may immediately precede *v.* 13 as it does in *Mt.* xvii. 12; and this transposition has been adopted above. *Mk.* ix. 11–13 is absent from *Lk.*

When Jesus and His companions rejoined the rest of the Twelve, next day (according to *Lk.* ix. 37) they found a multitude gathered round them, listening to a dispute between them and some Scribes. As soon as the crowd saw Jesus, Whose unexpected arrival startled them, they ran towards Him; and when He asked them why they were disputing, a man explained that he had brought to be cured by the disciples (in the absence of Jesus) his son,[1] who was deaf and dumb and suffered from convulsions;[2] but they had failed to heal him. It was possibly this failure that occasioned the dispute with the Scribes, who contended that it proved that Jesus, Whose name had presumably been used to expel the evil spirit distressing the boy, was an impostor. Jesus, rebuking the lack of faith evinced by the disciples, bade the sufferer be led to Him. The boy, when he reached Jesus' presence, had one of the violent seizures with which he had been afflicted from childhood, causing him to fall to the ground; and the father entreated our Lord to help them if He could. Jesus declared that everything was possible to one that believed; whereupon the father, begging Him to aid his unbelief, recovered from the mistrust caused by the disciples' failure, and perhaps by look and bearing imparted something of his own renewed faith to his unhappy son. For when Jesus addressed the evil spirit that was held to occasion the maladies which He was asked to cure, saying, "It is I that command thee to come out of him," the boy, after another convulsion, became as still as a corpse, and was deemed by the bystanders to be dead; but Jesus, taking him by the hand, raised him and he stood up. It is apparent from the account that, as in other cases, faith contributed to the cure, though the faith in question was primarily, at any rate, the father's, the influence of this upon the son being only an inference. On the other hand, lack of sufficient faith in their own power to convey relief had occasioned the failure of the disciples (as implied in *Mk.* ix. 19, cf. *Mt.* xvii. 20). This was explained to them afterwards by Jesus, Who intimated that for such a case as that which they had vainly

[1] According to *Lk.* ix. 38 his only son; cf. vii. 12, viii. 42.
[2] In *Mt.* xvii. 15 he is described as a lunatic (σεληνιάζεται).

sought to heal their spiritual resources required to be reinforced by prayer;[1] and in such preparation they had been deficient.[2]

§ 9. *Departure for Jerusalem*

Jesus' premonition that He was destined to be killed by His own people now led to a decisive change in the sphere of His activity. If He, the Son of man, the Heavenly Messiah, foreboded that He would be put to death by those whom He had come to save, it was inconceivable that such a crime should be perpetrated until the supreme ecclesiastical authorities, the priests and elders at Jerusalem, had an opportunity of fully considering His claims. His work in Galilee, if not altogether a failure, had been successful only in a qualified degree. It is clear, from the denunciation of woe against Chorazin, Bethsaida, and even Capernaum (*Mt.* xi. 21–24 = *Lk.* x. 13–15), that His preaching had made comparatively little impression upon these places. But even if it had not lacked success, His mission was incomplete so long as it did not include the capital. He must, of course, have been fully aware of the increased danger that He was incurring from the hostility of the Pharisees and the priesthood by proceeding to Jerusalem, the centre of their influence. But there seems no sufficient reason for supposing that He went thither with the settled intention of provoking His death.[3] That He really went up to Jerusalem in order to address to its inhabitants the same call to repentance as He had urged upon the Galilæans seems certain from His lament over the city in *Mt.* xxiii. 37–39 (= *Lk.* xiii. 34, 35); whilst the conviction which He entertained before leaving Galilee that He was going to destruction is sufficiently accounted for by the probabilities of the situation, without being attributable to a deliberate resolve to throw away His life as a sacrifice for the people. Accordingly, from the vicinity of Cæsarea Philippi, Jesus turned southward in the direction of Judæa and Jerusalem. He had journeyed to Cæsarea Philippi along the east bank of the Lake of Galilee and the upper waters of the Jordan; but He now directed His course along the western side of the river and the lake, taking Capernaum on His way. He kept His movements as secret as possible, for He did not wish His design of ascending to the capital to be interrupted, and He desired to familiarize His disciples with the thought of His death as being part of the predetermined counsel of God and as having its sequel in His resurrection after a very brief interval. But when He proceeded to speak of it, the idea was altogether too strange and mysterious for them to comprehend it; and in their awe of Him, now that they acknowledged Him as Messiah, they were afraid to ask for an explanation, and so passed on their way full of perplexity and mental distress.

Mt. has a narrative of an incident that occurred on their arrival at Capernaum. The collector of the Temple-tax of half a shekel, or two *drachmæ* (p. 71), about 1*s.* 7*d.*,

[1] In *Mk.* ix. 29 A C D L and several versions add "and by fasting."

[2] In *Mt.* the failure is simply attributed to their insufficient faith, and they are told that faith no greater than a mustard seed would enable them to remove mountains (cf. p. 434).

[3] As represented by Schweitzer, *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 389.

asked Peter whether Jesus paid the tax and was answered in the affirmative. When Peter entered the house where Jesus was, the latter showed His knowledge of what had taken place by reminding Peter that kings took tribute from subject-peoples, not from their own family, and that by analogy He and His disciples, as members of God's family, should be free from contributing to the support of God's Temple. But to avoid offence He bade Peter cast a hook into the lake, and he would find in the mouth of the first fish caught a *stater* (the equivalent of four *drachmæ*), which would suffice for the tax due from two persons. To regard this narrative as recording a real miracle is to suppose that Jesus availed Himself of supernatural power or knowledge to provide money which could have been otherwise obtained. To avoid this conclusion, it has been suggested that He really bade St. Peter procure the money by fishing and then selling what he took. But it seems more likely that the story is the product of a subsequent time (but prior to A.D. 70), when Christian and non-Christian Jews were becoming more and more sundered, and some of the former were inclined to refuse the Temple-tax, an inclination which the narrative was designed to repress.

Jesus' words about His impending death made so little impression upon His disciples that they were chiefly occupied with mutual rivalries. On the way to Capernaum He had overheard, or perhaps detected by His preternatural insight into men's thoughts (cf. p. 387), a dispute between them as to which enjoyed pre-eminence over the rest. The discussion had possibly been occasioned by the privilege granted more than once to Peter, James and John. He now questioned them about it, and shame kept them silent. So after reaching the house (p. 384), He took the opportunity of explaining how real pre-eminence was to be attained, namely, not through lordship and mastery, as the Gentiles thought, but by way of service: he who would be first of all must be the servant of all. And in order to rivet upon their minds by a concrete illustration the lesson that unassumingness (in contrast to self-assertion) was the quality of highest excellence, He placed a little child (perhaps playing near the house) in the midst of them, so that when they in the future saw a child, they might mark the character to which they were to conform their own. And He then took the little one into His arms and declared that whoso welcomed a child because children and childlike dispositions were commended by Him,[1] thereby welcomed Him, and a welcome extended to Him was a welcome to God (cf. *Mt.* x. 40, *Lk.* x. 16).

In *Mt.* xviii. 2–4 the words of Jesus to the disciples after this dispute are given rather differently from *Mk.*'s version, for He is represented to have begun by taking a little child and saying that except they turned and became as little children they should in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven; and that whoso should humble himself as a little child was greatest in the heavenly kingdom.

The rebuke which the disciples had just received created in them misgivings about their conduct on a recent occasion, which was now related to Jesus by St. John. They had encountered (possibly in the course of their evangelistic tour, see *Mk.* vi. 7) a man who had presumably noticed them using the name of Jesus for the purpose of exorcising demons, and had copied their example (cf. *Acts* xix. 13); but because he did not belong to their company, they had sought to stop him; so they wished to know what Jesus thought of their action. Their Lord replied that their

[1] Cf. Allen, *St. Mark*, p. 129.

interference was unjustified: in combating evil as Jesus and His disciples combated it, the man was enlisted on the same side.[1]

After this interruption our Lord resumed His previous train of thought. The principle that the reception of a little child because the childlike nature was approved by Christ was equivalent to the reception of Christ Himself, admitted of wide application. The smallest service to one of His disciples because they were Christ's (Jesus here for the first time unmistakably used the title *Christ* (or *Messiah*) of Himself) would not go unrewarded: conversely, the occasioning of such a one's spiritual downfall would entail retribution so severe that drowning in the sea would be a preferable fate. Jesus then warned His hearers that to avert spiritual destruction in Hell,[2] the self-inflicted sacrifice of any faculties which were likely to prove incentives to sin was expedient. Every life devoted as an offering to God, to be burnt (as it were) in His altar-fire, must at all cost be preserved from moral corruption (just as sacrificial flesh was salted to keep it from physical corruption). Then, varying the metaphor, He implied that the Apostles were meant to be in a moral sense the salt of mankind, keeping the world wholesome by their spiritual influence; but if they themselves became corrupt (through mutual jealousy and wrangling), they were useless for the purpose they were intended to serve.[3]

Mt. (xviii. 10–35), after including most of this passage from *Mk.*, adds (*a*) a warning against despising little ones [4]; (*b*) a similitude (drawn from *Q*, see *Lk.* xv. 4–7) illustrating the care shown for the erring by God, Who is likened to a shepherd seeking straying sheep; (*c*) directions how men are to treat offending fellow-men [5]; (*d*) the parable of the Unforgiving Debtor (with *vv.* 21, 22, cf. *Lk.* xvii. 3, 4 and see p. 392), who, though a debt of 10,000 talents (nearly 2½ millions sterling) owed by him has been remitted, yet exacts a debt owed to him of 100 *denarii* (£4).

From Capernaum Jesus now proceeded to turn His back finally on

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[1] For *Mk.*'s *καθ' ἡμῶν . . . ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* *Lk.* (ix. 50) substitutes the second person. The incident is absent from *Mt.* Both *Mt.* (xii. 30) and *Lk.* (xi. 23) elsewhere include (from *Q*) a converse saying, "He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth." Varying circumstances may make each of the aphorisms equally true.

[2] The word here used, *Γέεννα*, is the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew *Gē Hinnōm*, the valley of Hinnom (p. 10), which had once been the site of human sacrifices, had been in consequence desecrated by King Josiah (2 *Kg.* xxiii. 10), and had become a receptacle for the refuse of Jerusalem, for the destruction of which fires were often kindled. Its associations led to its name being used to denote the place of punishment for the wicked after death. The language of *Mk.* ix. 43, 48 is derived from 3 *Is.* lxvi. 24.

[3] At the end of *Mk.* ix. 49 there is added in A C D N Lat., Syr. (pesh., hl.), etc., the words *καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται* (taken from *Lev.* ii. 13). The addition is probably a gloss, but seems to give the right clue to the thought expressed in the rest of the *v.*, which is otherwise obscure, the obscurity being increased through the R.V. rendering of *πυρί* by "with fire." The only translation which yields sense is "for fire" (cf. for the dat. 2 *Pet.* iii. 7 (*τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰσὶ πυρί*)).

[4] For the "angels" of children cf. *Jubilees* xxxv. 17, "the guardian of Jacob is great . . . and praised more than the guardian of Esau."

[5] *Mt.* xviii. 15 (=*Lk.* xvii. 3) seems to come from *Q*. On *v.* 17 ("the church") see p. 418. On *v.* 18 see p. 612. *Vv.* 19, 20 imply the existence of the Church after the Resurrection when Jesus' bodily presence with His disciples was replaced by His spiritual presence (cf. xxviii. 20).

Galilee, and bent His steps towards Judæa (*Lk.* ix. 51); but the route He followed is not easily determined. St. Mark says nothing about the journey itself, but merely describes Him as coming "into the borders of Judæa and beyond Jordan." This, on the surface, means that He went first through Samaria into Judæa, and then into Peræa, whence He returned through Jericho (*Mk.* x. 46). But the passage last cited more naturally describes His *first* entry into Judæa, implying that He travelled towards Judæa through the country east of the Jordan. Nevertheless, that His original intention was to journey through *Samaria* appears from *Lk.* ix. 51–56 (a section which, in view of what it relates about James and John, is not likely to be an invention), and it was only abandoned by reason of the hostility of the Samaritans. It is related that these refused to receive Him because He was travelling to the rival Temple of Jerusalem, and that, in consequence, the two sons of Zebedee wished to call down fire from heaven upon the offenders (cf. 2 *Kg.* i. 10–12), thereby evoking a rebuke from their Master.[1] The abandonment, indeed, of the western route is not actually asserted, and at first sight is implicitly denied by the statement in *Lk.* xvii. 11, as translated in the Revised Version, that on the way to Jerusalem He passed "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee" (though the order of the words, if He were travelling from north to south, is very unnatural). And inasmuch as Peræa, like Galilee, belonged to Herod Antipas, in whose power He did not wish to place Himself unnecessarily, it has been suggested that Jesus Himself really took the route through Samaria, whilst some of His company, including Peter, went by Peræa, the two parties meeting at Jericho.[2] This is an ingenious explanation; but it seems unlikely that, at a time when our Lord was anxiously engaged in instructing His disciples, any of them would be separated from Him; and in point of fact, allusion is made to the Twelve (*Mk.* x. 32), and to the Ten in contrast to James and John (*Mk.* x. 35, 41), before Jesus reached Jericho (*Mk.* x. 46). Probably, therefore, Jesus, meeting with a repulse from the Samaritans, did not proceed farther on the road leading to Jerusalem through Samaria, but passed "between Samaria and Galilee" (*Lk.* xvii. 11), crossed the Jordan at the ford near Scythopolis (p. 8), pursued His way through Peræa, notwithstanding the circumstance that it was within the territories of Herod Antipas, and recrossed the Jordan near Jericho.[3]

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[1] The clauses in *Lk.* ix. 54, 55 which are relegated by the R.V. to the mg. have no place in ℵ B L and the Sinaitic Syr.

[2] See Burkitt, *Gospel History*, pp. 95–98, who rejects the reading in *Mk.* x. 1 *εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* (though having the support of ℵ B C L) in favour of the omission of *καί*, which is absent from D, Lat., Syr. (sin. pesh.), and from the parallel text in *Mt.* xix. 1; and thinks that the words *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* in relation to *τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας* describe the borders of Judæa as looked at *from the Peræan side*, and may represent the point of view of Peter, who was St. Mark's authority (p. 174). There is a parallel to this mode of expression in 1 *Kg.* iv. 24, where Solomon's dominions are described as "beyond the River" Euphrates (see mg.) from the point of view of the post-exilic historian who wrote on the east side of the Euphrates.

[3] It seems necessary to adopt the reading of D and other authorities mentioned in the preceding note, which omits *καί* before *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, and to interpret

It was probably as Jesus departed from Galilee that there occurred certain incidents which, recorded in *Q*, are assigned by *Mt.* and *Lk.* to distinct periods. A man (called by *Mt.* a scribe) came to our Lord declaring that he would follow Him wherever He should go ; but Jesus, in order that he, before impulsively undertaking to do so, might count the cost, told him that the Son of man, unlike foxes and birds, had no assured place of shelter. To a second Jesus addressed a command to join Him in His mission [1] ; and when the man, perhaps shrinking from what it involved, asked that he might first bury his father, he was bidden to leave the physically dead to be buried by such as were spiritually dead, and to devote himself to proclaiming the Kingdom. *Lk.* adds another offer of adherence from one who wished first to say farewell to his friends, but who was told that fitness for the Kingdom of God was incompatible with divided interests, just as a straight furrow could not be driven by a ploughman whose eyes were always directed backwards (cf. Hes. *Op.* 443–5). By *Mt.* (viii. 18–22) the interviews are placed after the cure of St. Peter's mother-in-law and just before the first journey across the Lake of Galilee, the account of them, indeed, interrupting the narrative of the latter. But the circumstance that Jesus is represented as declaring that He had nowhere to lay His head is inconsistent with the conditions in Galilee, where, even if He had not a house of His own (see p. 384), the house of Peter at Capernaum must have been always open to Him ; whereas on the journey to Jerusalem He could not count upon any settled abode.

Jesus' practice of urging would-be followers to estimate the sacrifice which adhesion to Him would involve may be further illustrated by His declaration that none could be His disciple who was not prepared to renounce his nearest and dearest, if necessary, in order to be loyal to Him. This utterance comes from *Q* (*Mt.* x. 37, 38=*Lk.* xiv. 26, 27), and the Third Evangelist appends to it two additional sayings expressing the same lesson by reference to the prudence shown in the affairs of ordinary life by those engaged in building or in warfare, who, before entering upon their undertakings, calculate in the one case the cost of materials and labour, and in the other the relative strength of their own forces and the enemy's.

By St. Luke it is related (xvii. 11–19) that as our Lord journeyed towards Peræa, passing between Samaria and Galilee (p. 425), He was met at a certain village by ten lepers who, recognizing Him and knowing His power to heal (cf. *Mk.* i. 40–45), begged Him to have mercy upon them. On this occasion (unlike the former, when a single leper entreated Him to cleanse him, p. 380) Jesus did not touch them or utter more than a command that they should show themselves to the priests ; and as they went, their leprosy was cured. All by their obedience demonstrated their faith, but only one, a Samaritan (whom a common affliction had associated with a company of Jews), had sufficient gratitude to thank his Healer ; and his isolated action naturally caused Jesus to contrast his conduct with that of his companions.

Shortly after recording our Lord's departure on His journey to Jerusalem St. Luke narrates (x. 1–20) that He sent forth besides the Twelve to be His emissaries and heralds, seventy (ℵ A C L) or seventy-two (B D Syr. vet.) others. The first figure recalls the elders who were appointed by Moses (*Num.* xi. 16), or who accompanied him up the mount (*Ex.* xxiv. 1). The historian represents that Jesus gave them directions almost identical with those elsewhere enjoined upon the Twelve (see. ix. 1–6, and cf. x. 2, 3, 5–7 with *Mt.* ix. 37, 38, x. 16, 12, 13, 10), bidding them heal the sick and announce the nearness of the Kingdom ; that they returned with joy, having found even the demons subject to them through His name ; and that Jesus saw in their success Satan's overthrow, but told them to rejoice less because of their control over evil spirits than because their names were on the roll of heaven. There is nothing intrinsically improbable in an account of the dispatch by Jesus, on the occasion of His last attempt to convert His countrymen, of a larger number of His followers to propagate His message ; but the fact that no record of His having thus acted is preserved in the earliest authorities has raised the suspicion that the narrative is intended to be symbolic of the evangelization of the Gentile world (the number of nations

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the latter phrase in the sense put upon it by A N and other MSS. which replace it by διὰ τοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

[1] In *Mt.* he is represented as already a disciple.

enumerated in *Gen.* x. being seventy).[1] On *Lk.* x 21, 22 see p. 617. *Lk.* x. 23, 24 recurs in *Mt.* xiii. 16, 17 in another connexion. The Third Evangelist also introduces here a question, put by a lawyer, which resembles that in *Mk.* x. 17, but elicits an answer like that given in *Mk.* xii. 30, 31, and is followed by the Parable of the Good Samaritan (see p. 429).

Another occurrence related by St. Luke alone seems to belong to this period. The district of Peræa formed part of the dominions of Herod Antipas, who appears to have heard that Jesus was passing through it. The same motive that caused him to fear John the Baptist's influence with the people (p. 370) likewise made him apprehensive of Jesus, but it served his purpose as well to drive Him out of his territory as to kill Him ; and it was probably with this end in view that he uttered threats to take His life, hoping that they would be reported and would induce His withdrawal. Information of such threats was carried to Jesus by some Pharisees, and as it cannot be assumed that all Pharisees were equally hostile to Him, those who communicated Herod's words probably did so from friendly reasons. Jesus, however, felt so fully assured that His destiny was determined by His Father's will that He was undisturbed by tidings of Herod's menaces ; but He penetrated the tetrarch's motive, and bade His informants carry word to " that fox " that however he might threaten, yet for a short while still (cf. *Hos.* vi. 2) He Himself had works of mercy to perform, and only when those were accomplished would His career reach its prescribed completion. Nevertheless He was departing from Herod's dominions (though not from fear of him) for no prophet of God could perish elsewhere than at the religious capital of God's own people ! (cf. 2 *Ch.* xxiv. 20–21 ; *Jer.* xxvi. 20–23).

It was seemingly in continuation of the journey through Peræa that Jesus was approached by a party of Pharisees, who demanded His opinion on a legal point—the lawfulness of divorce. Their object was to discover whether His teaching was at variance with the Law, in order that, if it proved to be so, they might convict Him of encouraging disloyalty to the Mosaic legislation. In it the right of a husband to divorce his wife was recognized (though the purpose of the enactment in *Dt.* xxiv. 1–4 to which they referred was to impose limitations upon the exercise of the right[2]) ; and Jesus did not dispute that the Law allowed it. But He declared that it was a concession to avoid worse evils, and that it did not correspond to the purpose of God, Who at the Creation designed the union between a man and a woman to be permanent. When Jesus reached a house where He meant to lodge, His disciples questioned Him about the same subject ; and to them He laid down the principle that divorce, followed by a second marriage, involved adultery. The conclusion to be drawn from the statement here made is considered elsewhere (see p. 610).

In *Mt.*[3] the question put to Jesus is couched in the form " Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife for every cause ? " thus inviting Him to take a side in a dispute between two Rabbinic schools (p. 609). His utterances concerning re-marriage after divorce are differently worded in various Synoptic passages. Adultery is committed (*a*) in *Mk.* x. 11, 12 by a husband or wife divorcing the other and re-marrying ; (*b*) in *Mt.* xix. 9 by a husband divorcing his wife, *except for fornication*, and re-marrying,

[1] It is noteworthy that *Lk.* xxii. 35 (addressed to the Twelve) refers to x. 4 addressed to the Seventy. Eusebius (*H.E.* i. 12) mentions as included by tradition among the Seventy Barnabas (*Acts* iv. 3), Sosthenes (1 *Cor.* i. 1), Matthias, Joseph (*Acts* i. 23) and Thaddeus (enumerated by *Mk.* among the Twelve (p. 390)).

[2] See Driver, *Dt.* p. 269 f.

[3] The incident is absent from *Lk.*, but Jesus' decision on the subject appears in *Lk.* xvi. 18.

and by the man who marries the divorced woman [1]; (*c*) in *Lk.* xvi. 18 as in *Mt.* xix. 9, *but without the exception.* (*d*) In *Mt.* v. 32 a man divorcing his wife except for fornication is said to cause her to commit adultery, and the man who marries her is declared an adulterer. The case contemplated in *Mk.* x. 12 of a woman divorcing her husband was only possible according to Roman, not Jewish, Law, though it had occurred in the instance of a Jewish princess, Salome, sister of Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7, 10). In *Mt.* the disciples, after Jesus' reply, are represented as saying that on the principle affirmed by their Master, it was better not to marry, and He is said to have replied that abstinence from marriage was expedient only in certain circumstances due to physical or religious causes.

The reputation of Jesus as a prophet had preceded Him, and probably it was in the expectation that mere physical contact with Him (cf. *Mk.* viii. 22) would impart a blessing that some little children were brought to Him that He might touch them. The disciples, jealous that the time and attention of their Master should be thus occupied, censured those who had charge of them. But Jesus indignantly checked their interference, and bade them allow the children to come to Him, for they only would enter the Kingdom of Heaven who received the message about it with the trustfulness and docility of children. And taking them in His arms, and laying His hands upon them (cf. *Gen.* xlviii. 14, 15), He blessed them.

From the house where He had stayed (*Mk.* x. 10), He was again departing, when there ran up a man who, addressing Him as "Good Teacher," asked Him what he should do to inherit eternal life. Jesus, conscious that God was the Source of all goodness, including His own (cf. *Joh.* v. 19), remarked the epithet, and asked why he had so saluted Him, since none was good but God. Then adopting the man's assumption that he could gain eternal life by doing certain acts instead of being of a certain character, He cited some of the commands of the Decalogue (vi., vii., viii., ix. v.).[2] These the other declared he had always kept; and though his reply seemed to reflect self-complacency, yet the fact that he was not content with negative virtues, but was eager to attain to positive merits, won for him our Lord's affection. Nevertheless he had to learn that he sought his end along mistaken lines; and since he supposed that it could be reached by obedience to external commands, it was needful to impose one which he would find it difficult to discharge. So Jesus directed him to bestow all his possessions on the poor, and follow Him. To the demand thus made he was unequal, for he had great wealth, which he could not bring himself to sacrifice.

The inquirer is described by *Mt.* (xix. 20) as a young man, by *Lk.* as a ruler (of a synagogue, p. 95, cf. *Joh.* iii. 1), the two descriptions not being very consistent. For "Good Teacher, what shall I do?" *Mt.* substitutes "Teacher, what good thing shall I do?" with a corresponding change in our Lord's reply (see p. 176), and adds to the commandments cited "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (*Lev.* xix. 18).

Lk., in addition to reproducing *Mk.*'s narrative, recounts also (x. 25–37) that the same inquiry was put to Jesus by a lawyer; that when Jesus asked him what was directed in the Law, he cited the words of *Dt.* vi. 5 and *Lev.* xix. 18 enjoining love to God and to one's neighbour; that Jesus approved the answer, and when the man

[1] The last clause is absent from ℵ D, Lat. (vet.), Syr. (vet.) and Eg. (sah.).

[2] *Lk.* has the order vii., vi., viii., ix., v. (cf. *Rom.* xiii. 9). *Mk.* adds "Do not defraud."

rejoined by asking who was his neighbour, Jesus related the parable of the Good Samaritan, who succoured a wounded Jewish traveller, whom a priest and a Levite passed by. The parable did not answer the inquirer's question directly (contrast *vv.* 36, 37 with *v.* 29), but by the instance of the Samaritan who considered even a hated Jew, when in misfortune, his neighbour, implied that every one, especially if needing help, should be counted such.

Jesus, as His questioner withdrew, remarked how difficult entrance into the Kingdom of God was for the rich.[1] His words greatly astonished His disciples (since there prevailed the belief that prosperity was a proof of God's approval). But Jesus affirmed that it was more difficult than the passage of a camel through the eye of a needle, causing His followers to ask who, if the rich were excluded, could possibly be included; and Jesus thereupon explained that God's power could not be measured by man's. The recent incident reminded the disciples that they had done what another had found too hard, and Peter gave expression to their reflections. Jesus replied that sacrifice made for Him and for His message had abundant compensations (though not without persecutions[2]), even in the present (ties of blood being replaced by ties based on spiritual affinity, cf. *Mk.* iii. 35); and would be recompensed in the future by eternal life. But God's estimate of merit was not man's, and many who supposed that they had first claim to a reward would find themselves accounted last.

Mt. prefixes to the promise of compensation for sacrifices in Christ's cause an assurance (drawn from *Q*, cf. *Lk.* xxii. 30) that when the Son of man should sit on His throne, His Apostles should also sit on thrones administering justice to[3] the tribes of Israel. He also appends (xx. 1–15) the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, wherein an employer is represented as duly paying to some labourers the stipulated day's wage but no more, whilst generously giving the same wage to others who had done less than a day's work, and thereby eliciting murmurs from the former. The parable seems out of harmony with its immediate context, and appears to be directed against the discontent of the Pharisees, who were lifelong observers of the Law, with the Divine mercy shown to tax-gatherers and sinners who for a large part of their lives had neglected it (cf. p. 384).

Attention may be called here to certain parables peculiar to *Lk.* which relate to wealth and its use. An appeal to Jesus made by a man who had a dispute with his brother about the division of an estate and who wished our Lord to decide it (xii. 13–15), evoked a warning against covetousness, embodied in the Parable of the Rich Fool (whose end came as soon as he had amassed the fortune he had hoped to enjoy). The wisdom of so using wealth lawfully acquired as to promote its owner's spiritual welfare in the next world was illustrated (xvi. 1–12) by the Parable of the Unrighteous Steward (who shrewdly provided for his future material needs even by fraudulent application of what was not his own). Finally, the truth that the possession of great wealth was calculated, if not employed for the relief of others' necessity, to have as its sequel torment in Hades, whilst extreme poverty, if patiently borne, might be the prelude to eternal felicity, was set forth in the parable of the Rich Man and the beggar Lazarus (xvi. 19–31). This parable is an expansion of the First Beatitude, as expressed in *Lk.* vi. 20, and requires to be qualified in the same way as the latter.

[1] In *Mk.* x. 24 "the rich" of *v.* 23 is replaced by "those who trust in riches" on the authority of A C D N Lat., Syr., but the substitution is not found in ℵ B Lat. (vet. *k*), Eg. (sah.).

[2] This clause, absent from *Mt.* and *Lk.*, may reflect the conditions of the Apostolic age, and be unauthentic.

[3] For "judge" in the sense of rule cf. *Jud.* x. 2, xii. 9, etc.

As the company proceeded towards Jerusalem, Jesus went on alone, in front of His disciples; and the prospect of the fate awaiting Him there invested His mien and bearing with a solemnity that awed His followers. When He allowed them to rejoin Him, He explained for the third time what He expected to befall Him. The account of what He said on this occasion, as compared with the two preceding, corresponds so much more closely to the events which actually occurred, including not only His condemnation by the Sanhedrin and His consequent execution by the Gentiles (results which perhaps might be confidently anticipated (p. 100)), but also the mocking and other incidents of His trial, that probably the historian, in the light of what he knew to have taken place, has made our Lord's words more precise than they actually were. Had so exact a prediction of His sufferings been uttered, the close agreement of events with the pre-announcement of them should have caused the Apostles to abide the fulfilment of the prophecy about His resurrection with greater hopefulness than was the case.

But it was the prospect not of outrage and death for their Master, but of a share in His ultimate triumph, that principally engaged the minds of the Apostles: and James and John, still prompted by ambition, despite Jesus' earlier rebuke (ix. 35 f.[1]), asked that when He entered upon His glory, they might fill the places of most honour next to Himself. Jesus gave them to understand that closeness to Him in His glory must depend upon nearness to Him in the prior sufferings[2]; and asked whether they were able to drink of the same cup of destiny[3] as He, or be immersed in the same flood of ill.[4] They responded in the affirmative; and their Master thereupon declared that they should; but that in the bestowal of the honour they coveted, fitness (not favour) would decide. The request of the two became known to the rest, who were indignant at their conduct; and the quarrel did not escape the notice of Jesus. Calling them to Him He contrasted the principles prevailing in the world and in the Kingdom of God: in the one, primacy and greatness were associated with mastery; but in the other it was dependent upon service. For He Himself had come not to be served, but to serve, and to give His life as a ransom for many.

In *Mt.* the request for precedence put by James and John proceeds from their mother (cf. p. 188). After xx. 28 there is added in D Φ Lat. (vet.) and Syr. (cur.) a passage transcribed on p. 194, the greater part of which is parallel to *Lk.* xiv. 8–11. From *Lk.* the request of the sons of Zebedee is absent, but a contention as to which of the Apostles was greatest appears in the account of the Last Supper (p. 456); and

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[1] The parallelism in substance between *Mk.* ix. 30–37 and x. 32–45 is suggestive of variant versions of a single occasion (cf. Loisy, *Les Evang. Syn.* ii. p. 235).

[2] Cf. the Agraphon, *Qui iuxta me est, iuxta ignem est; qui longe est a me longe est a regno.*

[3] For the metaphor cf. xiv. 36; *Rev.* xiv. 10, xvii. 2, 4; 2 *Is.* li. 17; *Jer.* xxv. 15; *Ezek.* xxiii. 32; *Hab.* ii. 16; *Ps.* xi. 6, lxxv. 8; Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 527, δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων.

[4] In *Mk.* x. 28 for the sense of βαπτίζομαι cf. *Is.* xxi. 4 (LXX) ἡ ἀνομία με βαπτίζει. In *Ps.* lxix. 2 Symmachus has ἐβαπτίσθην εἰς ἀπεράντους καταδύσεις, and in *Jer.* xxxviii. 22 he has ἐβάπτισαν εἰς τέλμα τοὺς πόδας σου.

in this the substance of Jesus' reproof (*Mk.* x. 42–45) is reproduced, but without any equivalent for the words "and to give His life a ransom for many."

Jesus, in the allusion to His impending death just related, attached to it a significance of which there is no suggestion in the earlier references to His end. It is plain that He now thought of His death (in some measure voluntary, since by dereliction of duty He could have shunned it) as a means of bringing within the Kingdom numbers who would otherwise be left outside it; but it is not equally clear whether by the words *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . ἦλθε . . . δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* He meant that His impending death was to be regarded as substitutionary, His life being delivered up to save the forfeited lives of sinners, or was to be viewed merely as a means of deliverance for them from the control of sin (through the appeal which His self-sacrifice in pursuance of His mission was calculated to make to their hearts) without any idea of substitution or exchange being involved. The question is discussed further on pp. 620–1.

The road from the Jordan towards Jerusalem passed through Jericho (p. 9). A report about Jesus had preceded His approach to the place, so that as He departed from it, He and His disciples were attended by a great concourse. The trampling of the crowd attracted the attention of a blind beggar named Bartimæus, who was seated by the wayside. In spite of Jesus' instructions to the Apostles to disclose to none that He was the Christ (viii. 30), hints of it had doubtless got abroad and had reached the blind man; so that when he asked who was passing and was told it was Jesus the Nazarene, he cried out "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me!" The crowd bade him hold his peace; but he was too intent upon recovering his sight, if that were possible, to heed their interference, and only repeated his appeal. His cry reached our Lord's ears; and stopping, He directed that he should be brought to Him. Bartimæus at once sprang up (the bystanders no longer rebuking but encouraging him), and casting aside his loose upper garment lest it should impede his movements, went to Jesus. In reply to a question, he explained that he wanted to regain his sight; and Jesus at once declared that through his faith, his impaired power of vision was restored to soundness. In response to so stimulating an assurance the inactive organs and nerves resumed their suspended functions; and once more able to see, he mingled with the crowd to follow his Benefactor on His way.

Mt. (xx. 29–34), who with *Lk.* omits the cure of a blind man at Bethsaida (*Mk.* viii. 22–26), represents that Jesus restored sight (by touch) to *two* men and not to one alone (cf. p. 398). St. Luke follows St. Mark in mentioning one blind man only, but diverges from the Second Evangelist by placing the cure in the course of Jesus' *approach* to Jericho, and not of His departure from it.

St. Luke also narrates that Jesus, after healing the blind man, entered Jericho. The town, as being on the road from the fords of the Jordan to Jerusalem (from which it was distant between fifteen and twenty miles), was a suitable spot for collecting tolls on merchandise passing from Peræa, the territory of Herod Antipas, to the Roman province of Judæa. One of the chief collectors (*ἀρχιτελώνης*) of such tolls, probably in the service of the Roman *publicani*, though a Jew by race, who had his residence here and whose name was Zacchæus (=Zaccai, cf. *Ez.* ii. 9), wished to see Him; but

being overtopped by the crowd in consequence of his shortness of stature, climbed a tree known as a fig-mulberry [1] (*συκομορέα*). Jesus presumably overheard the man's name shouted by the multitude, perhaps accompanied with expressions of execration on account of his profession, and was filled with the pity He always felt for such social outcasts as he. So He called to him, and told him that He was going that day to rest at his house. Zacchæus, full of joy, descended and prepared to receive Him; but our Lord's words at once drew murmurs from the crowd, prejudiced as they were against the tax-gatherer's calling. It looks, indeed, as though Zacchæus had in the past been as unscrupulous as his class were generally reputed to be; for while Jesus was in his house, he declared his intention of giving [2] half his possessions to the poor and of making fourfold restitution (cf. *Ex.* xxii. 1, 2 *Sam.* xii. 6) to all whom he had wronged by false statements or unjust exactions. In the resolve thus made known Jesus saw the fruits of His compassion for one who, disliked by his compatriots, was yet an Israelite, and if a sinner, was for that very reason an object of solicitude to Him who came to seek and save the lost in Israel (cf. *Mt.* xv. 24, x. 6).

§ 10. *Entry into the Capital and Purification of the Temple*

When our Lord turned His steps from Galilee towards Jerusalem, it was in the expectation that He was going to His death (p. 422). His life had been sought, indeed, in the course of His Galilean ministry, in consequence of His attitude towards certain regulations of the Jewish Law, which the zealous upholders of the Law would not tolerate (p. 388). But the certainty with which He anticipated death at Jerusalem was due to His determination to make known there His conviction that He was the Messiah, with the result of exposing Himself to repudiation by the priesthood and deliverance to the Roman authorities for execution as an impostor. Such an issue He could only avoid by remaining in obscurity, and to do this would be to abandon the very purpose which His Father had designed Him to accomplish—the revelation to God's people of the Divine nature and the Divine requirements. It was therefore with the intention of challenging acceptance or rejection by the hierarchy of the capital that Jesus determined to enter Jerusalem in a manner that would call attention to His Messianic claim. The Messiah was a King, and it was as a King, and not as a prophet merely, that Jesus resolved to present Himself to them. But His conception of kingship did not involve regal state or warlike equipment: the qualities which He deemed kingly were those of humility and peaceableness, and it was in the aspect of the king portrayed in 2 *Zech.* ix. 9 that He wished to appear at the religious centre of His race. Although it is probable that He had not previously been in Jerusalem during His ministry (see p. 220), He must have been there in earlier years, for one of His disciples was seemingly a Judæan (p. 390), and the fact that after a few hours' stay in Jerusalem, He retired to Bethany to spend the night (*Mk.* xi. 11) shows that He had acquaintances there. Bethany was a village less than two miles east of the city (*Joh.* xi. 18), near the Mount of Olives, the site being commonly identified with the modern *El Azerîyeh* (which owes its name to the association of Bethany

[1] The tree has a short trunk, leaves resembling those of the mulberry, and fruit like the fig.

[2] In *Lk.* xix. 8 the presents *δίδωμι* and *ἀποδίδωμι* probably mean "I give," "I restore" *here and now.*

*** *To illustrate the Judæan Ministry.*

with Lazarus (*Joh.* xi. 1)). Here He seems to have been received and entertained by a woman named Martha, whose sister Mary became preoccupied with listening to His discourses, leaving the task of providing the meal to Martha, who in consequence complained to Him, but was told ambiguously that one, not many, things were needed, and what Mary had chosen could not be taken from her.[1] These particulars are furnished by *Lk.* only, but though he leaves unnamed the village where Martha dwells, St. Mark's statement already referred to implies that Jesus found hospitality at Bethany, and St. Luke's narrative suits well the circumstances. Apparently between Bethany and the Mount of Olives was another village called Bethphage, and the nearness of the two localities to one another enabled Jesus to make arrangements for a plan which He carried out next day. On Nisan 9 (Sunday), He sent to Bethphage (cf. *Mt.* xxi. 1) two of His disciples, telling them that at the entrance of the place they would find an ass's colt[2] tied at a house-door, and were to unloose it and bring it to Him; and in case they were questioned about their proceedings, they should say that their Master needed it and would return it. They carried out the directions, and bringing the colt, which was without trappings, to Jesus, put upon its back some garments in place of a saddle, and then Jesus mounted it. To do Him honour some carpeted the road with their outer robes (cf. 2 *Kg.* ix. 13), whilst others strewed upon it layers of fallen leaves.[3] A joyous procession, with Jesus in the centre, was formed; and by both those who were in front and those who were behind was raised a song of prayer and praise, drawn in part from *Ps.* cxviii. 25, 26, a psalm liturgically used at the feast of Tabernacles, and containing words which, originally meant as a welcome to the pilgrims that came up for the feast, were now employed to greet Jesus as One whose approach preluded the establishment of the kingdom of the national hopes: "God save him!" "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David; Save him from on high." The words do not necessarily imply that Jesus was greeted as the actual sovereign of the coming kingdom; they were compatible with His being the herald of it, and *Mt.* records that when it was asked who He was, the multitude replied that He was the prophet, Jesus, from Nazareth of Galilee. Jesus, after having thus entered the city, proceeded to the Temple courts (p. 90); and having looked around and observed much that called for reform, He withdrew, since the hour was late, and returned to Bethany.

Mk.'s description of the colt whereon no man had ever yet sat reproduces the idea found in the Old Testament that what had previously been used was unsuitable for sacred purposes (*Num.* xix. 2; *Dt.* xxi. 3; 1 *Sam.* vi. 7; 2 *Sam.* vi. 3; cf. *Lk.* xxiii. 53). *Mt.* in his account of the entry (xxi. 1–11) quotes freely the prophecy from *Zech.* ix. 9, which seems to have been in our Lord's mind, but misunderstanding the parallelism of the words "an ass, and a colt, the foal of a she-ass" (describing a single

[1] In *Lk.* x. 42 *μερίς* is used in the double sense of a portion of food and of a lot in life (*Ps.* lxxiii. 26).

[3] *Joh.* has "branches of the palm trees"; cf. 1 *Macc.* xiii. 51.

[2] *Mk.* merely has *πῶλον*, which is applicable to both a horse and an ass,

animal) represents that the disciples brought to Jesus a she-ass together with its colt, and placed their garments on them both. Our Lord's undertaking to send back the colt is replaced by an assurance from Him that the owner of the ass and the colt would send them. *Mt.* has for the greeting of the crowd "God save the Son of David"; and the Evangelist adds that in the Temple He healed the blind and the lame. The same words "God save the Son of David," shouted there by the children, were made by the priests and scribes a subject of complaint to Jesus, but He bade them take note of what was said in *Ps.* viii. 2 (LXX), which was then finding its fulfilment. *Lk.* has "Blessed is the king that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven and glory in the highest"; and adds that when some of the Pharisees, as Jesus descended the Mount of Olives, bade Him rebuke the disciples for so hailing Him, He replied that, if they ceased, the very stones would immediately take up the cry (cf. *Hab.* ii. 11). *Lk.* also records that as Jesus drew near the city He lamented over its insensibility to its true welfare (as evinced by these complaints of the Pharisees), and the retribution which was so shortly to overtake it.

Joh. who states that Jesus "found a young ass and sat thereon" in fulfilment of *Zech.* ix. 9, appears to place the Entry on Nisan 10 (Monday), if the "six days before the Passover" (xii. 1) be reckoned inclusively, for the sixth day would be Nisan 9 (Sunday), and the entry occurred on the day following (xii. 12).

The next day (Nisan 10, Monday) He started early from Bethany for Jerusalem. On the way, according to the historian's narrative, He saw a solitary fig tree prematurely in leaf; and since the fruit usually appears before the leaves, which afterwards screen it, the sight of the foliage caused Him (for He had seemingly not yet broken His fast) to hope to find, if not ripe figs (these are not forthcoming until May or June, and this was only March or April), at least immature green figs. The tree, however, proved to have none. Jesus, therefore, in His disciples' hearing, addressing the deceptive tree, sentenced it to perpetual sterility. After He had carried out at Jerusalem the design for which He went thither and which is related below (p. 435), He returned to Bethany; and on the ensuing morning when He and His disciples passed the tree a second time, it was noticed that it had withered. Peter drew his Lord's attention to it; whereupon Jesus bade them have faith in God, and declared that anyone who should bid the neighbouring hill (the Mount of Olives) be transported into the sea, without doubting that his desire would be fulfilled, should find it realized. And He went on to assure them that whatsoever they prayed for, with full confidence that they would receive, they should have; but He enjoined them that their prayers should be accompanied by the forgiveness of such as had wronged them (cf. p. 392).[1]

The beginning of this narrative represents Jesus as cursing the tree for false pretensions to fruitfulness, His action admitting of being understood as a warning to the bystanders against insincere professions and hypocrisy, although no such warning is explicitly enforced in words. But in the conclusion the lesson conveyed is the power of prayer, when accompanied by faith, a further and more extreme illustration of what faith can accomplish being added. But the latter—the removal of mountains—was a common figure of speech for the surmounting of diffi-

[1] *Mk.* xi. 26 (R.V. mg.) is found in A C D, etc., and Lat. vet. (most codd.), but is absent from ℵ B L, from Lat. vet. (some codd.), Syr. (sin.), and Eg.: cf. *Mt.* vi. 15.

culties (see 1 *Cor.* xiii. 2, *Mt.* xvii. 20, *Zech.* iv. 7 [1]); and this suggests that the withering of a tree by a word may also have been a rhetorical hyperbole, used by our Lord to indicate how much could be achieved by faith—a hyperbole which has been taken literally and converted into an occurrence (cf. p. 116). If a figurative expression has thus been materialized into an actual incident, the need at a later period of accounting for Jesus' action would naturally lead to the invention of circumstances supposed to be appropriate, such as those which are described in the opening of the story. This explanation seems preferable to believing that Jesus really treated an inanimate object as if it were a responsible agent, and that His words caused the tree to decay within a few hours.

Mt. represents that as soon as Jesus imprecated barrenness upon the fig tree, it withered away *immediately* (cf. p. 188). In *Lk.* xvii. 6 (cf. *Mt.* xvii. 20) a petition by the Apostles that Jesus would increase their faith is answered by the statement that if they had faith as a grain of mustard seed, they might bid a *sycamine tree* [2] plant itself in the sea, and they would be obeyed. The Third Gospel does not contain the cursing of the fig tree, but has a parable (xiii. 6–9) in which the owner of a vineyard, when ordering the felling of a fruitless Fig tree, is entreated by his vine dresser to spare it for another year in the hope that after being pruned and manured, it may produce fruit; if it then fails to do so, it deserves no further respite. The fig tree stands for the Jewish people, and the postponement of its destruction illustrates the Divine mercy. Some suppose that it is this parable that has been transformed into the narrative of the Cursing of the Fig Tree.

On the morrow of the day which had seen Jesus enter Jerusalem attended by an acclaiming multitude, He again (as has been said) returned thither accompanied by His disciples alone. On the preceding visit He had gone to the Temple and had noticed what took place in the outer court, where it was customary to offer for sale the animals and birds required for the altar, together with the other commodities (like wine and oil) which were used in connexion with various sacrifices. Here, too, were the tables of the money-changers who were wont to supply the half-shekels paid as the annual Temple dues (p. 71), receiving their value (no doubt with a substantial commission for the accommodation) in the several sorts of coins which pilgrims from foreign countries brought with them. This traffic was permitted by the ecclesiastical authorities, and the market in the Temple for the sale of sacrificial victims seems to have been known as "the bazaars of the sons of Annas," Annas himself having a bad reputation for avarice as well as violence (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9, 2 f.).[3] The merchandise sold thus brought in much gain both to the vendors and to the priesthood; and the desecration involved was increased by the fact that the Temple court was made a thoroughfare between the eastern and western sides of the city. To such desecration Jesus proceeded to put an end. He drove from the court the sellers and buyers, turned out the tables of the exchangers and the seats of the dealers in doves, and stopped the passage of those who carried goods through the court; and He justified what He did by reference to 2 *Is.* lvi. 7, "My house shall be called a house of

[1] A famous Jewish teacher is said to have been known as "a rooter-up of mountains."

[2] The Black Mulberry (*Morus nigra*).

[3] Edersheim, *L. and T.* i. p. 371.

prayer for all the nations," adding, "But ye have made it a robbers' cave" (cf. *Jer.* vii. 11).[1]

St. Mark cites no further utterance of our Lord's in connexion with His cleansing of the Temple, but there is reason to suspect that He said more than the words here recorded by the Evangelist. For at His trial there was brought against Him the charge that He had said, "I will destroy this temple which is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands" (p. 460); and it seems probable that the charge rested upon the distortion of some expression used on the occasion just described. That the words attributed to Him before the Sanhedrin were not those which He actually said is an almost certain conclusion from the circumstance that, though they were uttered only a few days before, the witnesses summoned to testify to them could not agree about them; but unfortunately the earliest authorities do not enable their original form to be recovered. Under these circumstances it seems necessary to have recourse to the version of them which appears in *Joh.* ii. 19 (where the purification of the Temple is antedated, p. 218) and which are appropriate to the situation. "*Destroy* this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." This version may correctly preserve the fact that the words which were misrepresented at His trial really began with an imperative, the priests being ironically bidden to bring to final destruction, by a continuance of their conduct, the religious system of which they were the authorized guardians and of which the Temple at Jerusalem was the local centre, and Jesus going on to declare that He Himself within a brief interval would restore it in a worthier form. The Fourth Evangelist has explained that by the Temple which was to be destroyed and then restored Jesus meant His body; but if so, His meaning was expressed so enigmatically that the import of His words could scarcely fail to be misunderstood. It seems much more likely that He really referred to the actual Temple and the religious system which hinged upon it, and that His words were a declaration that the latter would before long be replaced by another from which the abuses He had condemned would be absent.[2]

§ 11. *His Death Devised*

The utterances and actions of Jesus were bitterly resented by the High Priestly party and the Scribes; and in consequence they sought His destruction. They did not, however, find it easy to accomplish it, since upon the multitude, here as in Galilee (*Mk.* i. 22), His teaching of which the Temple (it would appear) was daily the scene (cf. *Lk.* xix. 47) made a deep impression, and an attempt at open violence might have been attended by danger to themselves (*Mk.* xi. 18, cf. xii. 12, 37). Nor was assassination under cover of darkness altogether feasible, for Jesus

[1] For the account of the cleansing of the Temple in the Fourth Gospel see p. 485.

[2] The Jewish and Christian religious communities might be described figuratively as buildings: cf. 1 *Cor.* iii. 16, 17; 2 *Cor.* vi. 16; *Eph.* ii. 21.

did not remain in the city during the night, but every evening retired with His disciples to Bethany for rest.

In these circumstances it was decided to proceed circumspectly and to try to draw from Him statements clashing with the Law, or calculated to awaken the suspicions of the Roman governor, or in some way likely to turn the tide of popular feeling, now running in His favour. Representatives, therefore, of the High Priests, Scribes, and Elders (the three constituent elements of the Sanhedrin, p. 99) took the opportunity when He and His disciples again came to the city on Nisan 11 (Tuesday) to ask Him, as He was walking and teaching in the Temple courts (cf. *Lk.* xx. 1), the nature and source of His authority for interfering with arrangements that had their sanction.[1] Their own authority had been transmitted to them from their predecessors: the prerogative of priesthood, for example, belonged exclusively to the descendants of Aaron, and Scribes who undertook to teach had themselves been instructed by Scribes (p. 97). Hence they desired to know what warrant Jesus possessed, that He had presumed to decide adversely to their own regulations. But they overlooked the fact that there was another kind of authority besides theirs, having its origin in the illumination imparted directly by the Spirit of God, and manifesting its credentials through the intrinsic appeal which it made to the reason and conscience of men. Such in all ages had marked the prophets; and it was this which Jesus claimed, even in a higher measure than the prophets had done. But instead of affirming plainly His possession of this kind of authority He was content to suggest it. So He said that He would put to them a prior question, and upon their response His own reply would depend. Was the teaching of John, which had its symbol in the baptism which he administered, of Divine or human origin? His interrogators were confronted with an awkward dilemma. If they said that it came from a Divine source, *i.e.* that John was endowed with the spirit of the ancient prophets, not only might Jesus claim for what He Himself had said and done the same authority, but He could ask them how it was that they, for the most part, had rejected John (cf. *Lk.* vii. 30); whilst if they replied that it was of human origin (their real opinion), they feared a violent protest from the people, who (with an appreciation of vital religion truer than their own) held that John was really a prophet, and who might stone those who denied it (*Lk.* xx. 6). So they escaped the dilemma by professing ignorance; and thereby released Jesus from any obligation to give them the explanation which they had sought from Him.

When our Lord was in Galilee one of the forms into which He cast His teaching was the parable (p. 394). The same method of instruction was now adopted by Him in an attempt to expose to the members of the Sanhedrin the true bearing of their attitude towards Himself, some imaginary incidents being recounted, which reproduced under a transparent disguise the conduct of the Jewish ecclesiastical rulers.

[1] In *Mk.* xi. 28 "these things" refer to what is recorded in xi. 15–18.

Mt. places in immediate succession to the interview just narrated three parables, the first of which was addressed to the Scribes and Pharisees and illustrated their attitude to John the Baptist. This described how a man had Two sons, one of whom at first met with a refusal his father's orders to go to work, but afterwards repented and went; whilst the second at first professed obedience, but did not carry out his promise. The first son represented the tax-gatherers and loose women, who though leading, at first, godless lives, yet repented at John's appeal; whilst the second son stood for the professedly pious classes, who nevertheless repudiated the teaching of John. The Vatican MS. and some versions alter the order in which the two sons are mentioned, and in *Mt.* xxi. 31 replace ὁ πρῶτος by ὁ ὕστερος as the argument requires. But D, Lat. vet., and the Sinaitic Syr., which have the ordinary arrangement adopted above, nevertheless replace in *v.* 31 ὁ πρῶτος by ὁ ἔσχατος, which supposes that the priests, recognizing that Jesus' question was intended to condemn themselves, refused to draw the inference He wanted.

Mk. illustrates by only a single parable (which by *Mt.* is placed second in his group of three) the way in which Jesus sought to create in His opponents a sense of the real significance of the course they were pursuing in regard to Himself. The parable in question (the Wicked Husbandmen) was designed to be a warning of what the consequences of their conduct would be, if it remained unchanged. The owner of a vineyard after fencing it against depredators (cf. *Ps.* lxxx. 12, 13), excavating a wine vat (ὑπολήνιον), and building a tower to shelter a watchman (*Is.* v. 2), let it to tenants while he went abroad. At the vintage season he sent several servants in succession to demand the proportion of the produce due to the owner, but these the tenants either beat or murdered. Finally he sent his only well-beloved son, in the hope that he at least would be respected; but the occupants of the vineyard, recognizing him to be the heir, and hoping by his death to secure the property for themselves, killed him likewise and cast out his body.[1] Such conduct could have only one issue; the owner would come and destroy the tenants and would transfer the vineyard to others. And then Jesus asked His audience whether they were unacquainted with the purport of even so familiar a passage in the Old Testament Scriptures as *Ps.* cxviii. 22, 23, describing how the stone which human builders rejected was deemed worthy by God of the position of greatest eminence and importance.

The general meaning of the parable was clear on the surface. By a vineyard of which the owner was God, Israel was frequently symbolized in the Old Testament (*Is.* iii. 14, v. 2 f.), and the figure as now used by our Lord had the same import. To those who were responsible for the spiritual welfare of the people, God had sent His prophets to demand His due; but they had maltreated or killed them and were now meditating the destruction even of God's Son, a crime which would cause their overthrow and their replacement by others (*i.e.* the class whom the religious leaders despised, but from whom the adherents of Jesus were drawn and who constituted a new *ecclesia*). The application of the passage from *Ps.* cxviii. to the situation was equally plain. The stone, originally a figure for Israel, once despised and oppressed by the great powers of the east,

[1] *Mt.* and *Lk.* represent that the husbandmen ejected the son from the vineyard *before* killing him (cf. *Heb.* xiii. 12).

but afterwards vindicated by God, was here used as a symbol of Jesus Himself, Who, rejected by the contemporary ecclesiastical authorities, was destined to unite the walls of the spiritual building which God was about to rear.[1] This reference to themselves was not lost upon the representatives of the Sanhedrin, and they were eager to arrest Him; but the fear of the multitude continued to deter them, and they were constrained for the time to abandon their purpose and to leave Him.

Mt. implicitly and *Lk.* expressly represent the parable as addressed not to the deputation from the Sanhedrin but to the people, though they inconsistently retain St. Mark's words in xii. 12, the former evangelist appending as an explanation from Jesus that the Kingdom of God should be taken from them (the Jews) and given to another *nation*. The alteration reflects the condition of the later period when the Jewish polity came to an end through the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., and when the Christian Church became almost exclusively Gentile. To Christ's quotation from *Ps.* cxviii. both Evangelists [2] add from *Q* the statement that he who should fall on the stone would be shattered in pieces (cf. *Is.* viii. 14–15), but he on whom it should fall would be scattered like chaff.

Mt. subjoins a third parable which likewise is assumed to be addressed to the Jewish people as a whole, not to the hierarchy only. In it the Kingdom of Heaven is likened to a royal Marriage Feast, to which those who were invited refused to come, some proceeding about their business, whilst others killed or injured the servants who were sent to apprise them that the feast was ready. The king in anger destroyed the murderers and their city, and bade his servants fill their places with persons gathered from the highways. *Lk.* xiv. 15–24 has what appears to be a duplicate version of the parable,[3] but differing in respect of the giver of the feast ("a certain man") and the classes of persons brought to fill the vacant places (poor from the streets, as well as travellers from the highways), and not mentioning any maltreatment of the bearer or bearers of the invitation. Of the two versions *Lk.'s* is likely to be the most original, the invited guests representing the Jewish religious classes, who for the most part rejected God's message, the poor from the streets standing for the publicans and sinners, and the travellers from the highways symbolizing the Gentiles (cf. *Mt.* viii. 11=*Lk.* xiii. 28). In *Mt.*, where there are only two classes, the invited guests are the Jews collectively (who reject the Divine invitation, kill Jesus and some of His Apostles and Evangelists (St. Stephen, St. James "brother" of our Lord, and probably St. John (p. 226) and are punished by the destruction of Jerusalem), whilst the travellers from the roads are the Gentiles. The modifications reflect events subsequent to the Crucifixion. There is also appended to this parable in *Mt.* a portion of another (*Mt.* xxii. 11–13) of which the beginning is lost. This must have described how a King issued invitations to a feast, the surviving part of the story narrating how the King came in to see the guests and observed one who lacked a wedding garment, and who, having no excuse for his discourtesy, was cast forth. This clearly can be no part of the first parable, for persons gathered from the roadside could not be expected to be properly attired. The lesson implied is that inclusion within God's favoured people Israel does not of itself ensure salvation (cf. *Mt.* iii. 9, xiii. 47, 48).

On one occasion during our Lord's ministry in Galilee there had been formed against Him a rather unnatural alliance between the Pharisees and the Herodians (p. 388). The same alliance was now renewed with the sinister purpose of putting to Him a question seeming to admit of only two answers, either of which would compromise Him. Some representatives of both parties came to Him under pretence of seeking from Him, as a candid and fearless instructor in religious duty, a solution of

[1] Cf. *Acts* iv. 11; 1 *Pet.* ii. 4–7.

[2] *Mt.* xxi. 44 is omitted by D, Lat. vet., Syr. vet.

[3] This is represented as narrated at a meal where Jesus was present.

a difficulty, and asked Him whether it was right for them to give tribute to the Roman Emperor (p. 71). The Law enjoined certain dues to God, but said nothing about dues to a foreign potentate, the payment of which appeared like disloyalty to their Divine King. They anticipated that He would be driven either to deny the lawfulness of tribute paid to the Emperor and so render Himself liable to be viewed by the Romans as a plotter of sedition, or else to admit its lawfulness and so disavow any claim to be the Messiah of popular expectation, with consequent loss of popular sympathy. Jesus detected the insincerity of their pretended interest in religious truth, and told them to bring Him a *denarius* as a specimen of the coinage in which the tribute was paid. This, being silver, bore (unlike the copper coins) the head of the Emperor; so when they produced one, He inquired with whose effigy and title it was stamped, and on being informed, He bade them pay both to the Emperor and to God what belonged to each. The answer surprised the questioners, partly because it successfully evaded the snare which they had laid for Him, and partly, perhaps, because it presented the subject of the question in a new aspect. For it suggested the reflection that inasmuch as Cæsar, whose coinage circulated among them, gave the country security and orderly rule (cf. 1 *Pet.* ii. 13, 14), he had a claim to a return [1] in the shape of tribute. Between his rights and God's there could be no necessary conflict (since God was the ultimate source of all government, cf. *Rom.* xiii. 1–7), and loyalty to their Divine King was not incompatible with submission to their human ruler.

The failure of the Pharisees together with their Herodian allies did not discourage their opponents, the Sadducees, from propounding to Him a problem, bearing upon one of the principal matters of religious controversy. They denied a future life in which the Pharisees believed (p. 101), and they professed to be desirous of an opinion about it from the new Teacher. Their question, however, was not intended to elicit fresh light upon the subject, but to expose Jesus to derision, whilst it might also damage the rival sect. The popular conception of a future life took a very materialistic form (see p. 42), and it was supposed that the bodily functions and social relationships of the present age would be restored in the next. This enabled them to submit to Him a case, possible rather than actual, in which a widow whose husband had died childless was married, acccording to the law of *Dt.* xxv. 5, 6, to his six brothers in succession, each of whom had no children; and they wished to know whose wife of the seven she would be in the life after death. Jesus replied that in considering such a contingency as an impediment to belief in the resurrection they showed themselves ignorant both of the power of God and of the evidence furnished by their own Scriptures. In the first place, God was able not only to restore men to life after they had died, but to alter the conditions of life, so that they would not be the counterpart of those of the present world; and the complications that perplexed the Sadducees would not arise. The state of human beings after the resurrection would resemble the state

[1] For the δοῦναι of the Pharisees Jesus substitutes ἀπόδοτε.

of angels (whose reality the Sadducees also denied, p. 102), and a relationship like marriage, which was necessary now for the continuation of the race, would then not be called for,[1] since those who should share that second life would be immortal (cf. *Lk.* xx. 36). And in the next place, evidence that death did not end human existence was furnished by the passage of *Exodus* (iii. 1 f.) called " the Bush " [2] (the authority of which, as part of the Law, the Sadducees admitted, p. 101). In this Jehovah, addressing Moses, declared that He was the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob [3]; and since He entered into such intimate relations with the patriarchs as to be called their God, they must be still alive, otherwise the privilege and distinction conferred by intimacy with the Deity would be as transitory as ordinary human intimacies. Death changed the position of men relatively to this world, but not relatively to God, in regard to Whom they were alive even after they had died.

The argument for human immortality here used by Jesus appears on the surface to lack cogency; for Jehovah's words, " I am the God of Abraham," etc. (there is no verb in the Hebrew), only mean that He was the Deity formerly worshipped by the patriarchs, and no more necessarily imply their survival than the words of Pharaoh's counsellors (*Is.* xix. 11), " I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings," imply the continued existence of the ancient kings. Yet if not in form, yet in essence the reasoning of our Lord is the same as that which appeals most forcibly to the human mind still. In the race of men, who physically have so much in common with the brute creation, there are present moral and intellectual qualities, such as the sense of right and the desire for truth, which not only create belief in, and worship of, God, but crave for satisfaction from God. But this craving is too persistently baffled and foiled here for this life to be the limit and sum of our being, unless it can be assumed that the Creator has meant such a yearning to be finally disappointed. If this is too pessimistic a view of God and the world to be permanently harboured, another sphere of existence must be postulated, wherein right will be vindicated and truth attained.

It will be observed that Jesus' reasoning points to the immortality of the human soul, not necessarily to the resurrection of the body, against which the Sadducees' argument was directed; and it can only afford countenance for the latter, if it is assumed that the body is an inseparable constituent of human nature.

The discussion between the Sadducees and our Lord was heard by a Scribe whose sympathies were with the Pharisees [4] on the question debated, and who (in common with others to whom *Lk.* xx. 39 alludes) approved of the answer returned by Jesus to His recent questioners.

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[1] Contrast the materialistic view in *Enoch* x. 17–19.

[2] Cf. *Rom.* xi. 2 (mg.) " in Elijah," *i.e.* in 1 *Kg.* xix. 14 f. So Philo refers to God's words ἐν ταῖς Ἀραῖς, *i.e.* in *Gen.* iii. 15 f. It is noticeable that the citation comes from the " Law " (p. 98).

[3] *Lk.* represents that *Moses* called the Lord by this title.

[4] *Mt.* xxii. 35 describes him as a Pharisee. The incident is omitted by *Lk.*, though there is some similarity of diction in *Lk.* x. 26, 27.

He now came forward with an inquiry of his own. Although all the commandments of the Law were believed to have Divine authority behind them, and although the Rabbis, whilst distinguishing between "light" and "heavy" commandments, declared the former to be as binding as the latter, nevertheless thoughtful minds could not but feel that they were not all really on the same level. Self-distrust, however, caused the Scribe to seek some authoritative guidance; so he asked Jesus which commandment took precedence of the rest as most fundamental. Jesus in reply affirmed it to be that contained in *Dt.* vi. 4, declaring Jehovah, the God of Israel, to be One—Indivisible and Alone; and enjoining for Him fervent devotion of both the intellect and the affections. Our Lord then went beyond what was asked of Him by adding that the commandment next in importance was that given in *Lev.* xix. 18, directing a man to love his neighbour as himself.[1] The Scribe approved of the answer which Jesus had given, saying that love for God and for one's neighbour was superior to all material offerings. Jesus, seeing the intelligence that marked the man's comment, told him that he was not far from the Kingdom of God, since he understood and appreciated the principles of spiritual religion which conditioned entrance into it. It may be perhaps assumed that the dialogue between Jesus and the Scribe was heard by many listeners, who could not but recognize the penetration marking the replies of the former to the problems submitted to Him; at any rate, none of those who from malicious motives were wishful to shake His authority attempted to interrogate Him further.

After thus reducing His adversaries to silence, Jesus continued to teach in the Temple courts; and in the course of His instruction He asked those who listened to Him for an explanation of an assertion made by the Scribes and generally accepted, that the Messiah was to be a descendant of David. Their assertion was, no doubt, countenanced by passages like *Is.* xi. 1, or *Jer.* xxiii. 5; but it called for explanation in view of the utterance of David himself in *Ps.* cx. 1 (allowed to be a Messianic psalm), where he used the words "Jehovah said unto my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand until I place thine enemies beneath thy feet.'" If David called the Messiah "Lord," how could the latter be his son, one among a number of other members of his dynasty, a sovereign of the same type as himself? To solve the problem no explanation is related to have been offered by the Scribes or supplied by Jesus; and the latter's purpose in putting the question is not quite certain. It is not likely that He wished to deny that by physical birth He, the Messiah, was sprung from David, a conclusion to which several considerations point (p. 358). Indeed, there must have been many living at the time who could trace their lineage to that King.[2] On the assumption that Jesus believed Himself to belong to David's line, probably His aim was to suggest to His hearers that His descent from David was the least important part of His real dignity.

[1] In *Mt.* our Lord concludes by saying that on these two commandments the whole Law and the Prophets depend.

[2] The Rabbi Hillel, who in early life was a poor man, is said to have been of Davidic descent (Kennett, *Interpreter*, Oct. 1911, pp. 45, 46).

His right to deference from the people, when He taught and acted authoritatively, was independent of it, and based upon His occupying a more intimate relation to God than the Messianic King of popular expectation. He accordingly drew attention to a Davidic psalm wherein the writer, by applying to the Messiah the title "my Lord," showed that he looked for a Messiah who was not to repeat (as a dynastic successor might do) his own earthly glories, but was to discharge an office of transcendent dignity.

Ps. cx. is described in the title prefixed to it as a psalm of David, and our Lord's argument assumes that David was its writer. Though it is possible that in doing so He only took up the standpoint of the Scribes themselves, reasoning with them on their own ground, yet it seems most likely that He really shared their belief, His Divine Sonship being manifested under the intellectual limitations of human nature, which caused Him to participate in the literary and historical ideas of His age.[1] The real origin and date of the psalm is obscure. Its very inclusion in the Fourth book of the Psalter is in itself unfavourable to its composition by David; and a view which has some plausibility is that it was composed in the second century B.C., and relates to Simon Maccabæus. He was of priestly descent (p. 32) but not of high-priestly lineage, and the bestowal upon him of secular rule and of the High Priesthood (1 *Macc.* xiv. 41, see p. 35) recalled the combination of functions discharged by Melchizedek (*Ps.* cx. 4, *Gen.* xiv. 18). It has been pointed out that of *vv.* 2, 3, 4 (apart from the opening words of the psalm) each begins with one of the four letters that compose Simon's name. If the psalm is not of Davidic authorship, our Lord's argument here falls to the ground; but He could easily have expressed in another way the conclusion which He wished to suggest.

The Scribe who had recently questioned Jesus about the relative importance of the various parts of the Law showed that the body to which he belonged included men of honest and truth-loving disposition. But there were others of a different character; and these were more representative of their class as a whole. A feature about them which specially excited the indignation of our Lord was the disparity between their profession and their practice. By profession they were exponents of the Divine Law, and therefore might be expected to observe in their conduct the moral principles therein enforced—especially consideration for the poor; but in practice they were grasping and pitiless. The reputation for piety which they acquired by the length of their devotions won them influence, through which they were able to gratify their avarice, eating the unprotected out of house and home (in violation of the Law in *Ex.* xxii. 21). Hence Jesus, in His teaching, denounced them. Their vices (He affirmed) were aggravated by their hypocrisy, and would consequently bring upon them a proportionately stern judgment.

In *Mt.* xxiii. 1–8 our Lord's denunciation, which in *Mk.* is limited to the Scribes, is made to include the Pharisees also. According to the First Evangelist's account He declared that since the Scribes were the successors of Moses and expounded the Law, the precepts which they enjoined were to be observed, but their example was to be avoided,[2] their dominant motive being ostentation. *Mt.* also (xxiii. 13–36)

[1] Cf. *Lux Mundi*, pp. 359, 360: "Christ's true Godhead is shown in His moral and spiritual claims . . . not in any miraculous exemptions of Himself from the conditions of natural knowledge in its own proper province."

[2] The phylacteries mentioned in *Mt.* xxiii. 5 were leather cases containing strips of parchment inscribed with certain passages of Scripture, which were bound on the forehead and arm. For *borders* or *tassels*, see p. 400.

appends to the section derived from *Mk.* a series of seven Woes [1] directed against the Scribes and Pharisees. These are expanded from a shorter series of denunciations which the writer took from *Q* and which occur also in *Lk.* xi. 42–52 (see p. 411). In the passages peculiar to *Mt.* (xxiii. 15–22) the Scribes are denounced for their casuistry in respect of oaths, and the unreal character of their ostentatious religiousness.

St. Luke also (xiv. 7 f.) records that Jesus when sitting at meat at a Pharisee's house (where the dropsical man was healed, p. 388) noted how the guests chose the most prominent seats, and thereupon delivered a warning against self-assertion; and likewise exhorted his host to invite to his table not his friends who could repay his hospitality, but the poor and the afflicted who could not, and to await a recompense at the resurrection of the just. It is with this occasion that St. Luke connects the parable of the Great Supper (p. 439).

The scene of Jesus' teaching in the Temple was usually the court of the Gentiles (p. 90). It was in all probability here that (according to *Lk.* xiii. 1–5), our Lord was informed of a massacre of certain Galilæan pilgrims at Jerusalem by Pilate, who had butchered them in the Temple courts, where their blood mingled with that of the animals they were slaying for sacrifice. Our Lord's informants seem to have inferred that such a slaughter pointed to exceptional sinfulness in the victims of it, but Jesus declared that a fate as tragic as that which they had mentioned, or as that of eighteen men killed by the fall of a tower near the pool of Siloam, would overtake themselves unless they repented.

On another occasion He passed with His disciples from the court of the Gentiles into the court of the Women, from which all non-Jews were debarred (p. 90). Here, opposite to the Treasury (p. 91), our Lord took His seat,[2] whence He observed the people depositing, in the receptacles placed there, their various gifts of money. The rich and the poor were doubtless easily distinguishable by their dress and appearance, and whilst the wealthy contributed much, a poor widow put in two *lepta*, the whole sum scarcely exceeding the value of half a farthing of our coinage (p. 683), and being the minimum allowed to be given. Jesus must have penetrated into the widow's secret thoughts; and comparing the proportion of her gift with the smallness of her means, He called His disciples to Him and declared that the widow had contributed more than any of the offerers, for whilst the others had bestowed what they could spare, she had given what amounted to all her possessions.

When Jesus left the Temple courts for the last time, one of His disciples drew His attention to the magnitude of the building and its materials. The Apostles were almost all Galilæans, unfamiliar with the capital, so that the size and costliness of its splendid fane had made the deeper impression. The great bulk of the stones of which it was built may be judged by the figures furnished by Josephus, who describes some of them as being $25 \times 12 \times 8$ cubits (*Ant.* xv. 11, 3). But Jesus could find nothing to admire in the external splendour of a religious system or of its environment when the true spirit of devotion was absent; and He anticipated that the insincerity marking so much of the Temple worship

[1] *Mt.* xxiii. 14 making the number eight, is absent from the earliest MSS. and Vers. and comes from *Mk.* xii. 40.

[2] This narrative is omitted by *Mt.*, but is reproduced in *Lk.*

would speedily bring down a nemesis from a God for Whom the material apart from the spiritual could have no value. So in answer to His disciples' expressions of wonder and admiration, He returned the reply that of the structure at which they were gazing not one stone would be left resting on another. Though this conversation took place privately between Jesus and His disciples, yet possibly some part of it in a garbled form got abroad, and a distorted version of what our Lord really said may have constituted the basis of the accusation afterwards brought against Him (but see p. 436). The substantial fulfilment of His words is recorded by Josephus (*B.J.* vii. 1, 1), who relates that after the siege of Jerusalem in 70, when the population had been massacred, Titus ordered the eastern city and the Temple to be demolished, though some of the towers and the western wall were left.

Jesus' startling response must at once have turned the thoughts of the disciples towards the end of the existing age, for only in conjunction with such a catastrophe was the destruction of the Temple imaginable; and when the party had crossed the Kidron and reached the Mount of Olives, which confronted the Temple from the other side of the ravine, four of the Apostles, Peter, James, John, and Andrew, asked Him privately when the event of which He had spoken would happen, and by what indications they could judge of its near approach. The particular information which they wanted He could not give. He answered solemnly and impressively that heaven and earth would pass away sooner than His prediction fail of fulfilment (cf. 2 *Is.* li. 6); and that it would be accomplished within a generation (cf. *Mt.* xxiii. 36); but of the precise time [1] none but the Father—not even the Angels or the Son—had any knowledge. They must therefore be on their guard lest the crisis should overtake them unawares, like the sudden return from abroad of a householder who on his departure had appointed to his servants their duties without intimating when he might be expected back. Their only security against being surprised by the impending overthrow was unceasing watchfulness (cf. *Mt.* xxv. 1–13).

To the disciples' question our Lord's reply as represented in *Mk.* xiii. is long and detailed, a number of premonitory signs being given, divided into three stages: (1) the appearance of impostors claiming to be the Christ, the occurrence of international strife and physical calamities, the prosecution of Christ's followers before both Jewish and Gentile courts, and the proclamation of the Gospel to all nations; (2) the desecration of Jerusalem and the Temple, followed by a time of great tribulation for the Jewish people: (3) a convulsion of nature, and the descent from heaven of the Son of man. Both in manner and matter this section presents various singular features. (*a*) Its length in the Second Gospel is altogether exceptional; and it is marked by a fourfold use of τότε, found only twice elsewhere in *Mk.* (ii. 20, iii. 27), though frequent in *Mt.*, and by the phrase "the elect," occurring nowhere else in *Mk.*[2] but common in the Book of Enoch. (*b*) The parable (*vv.* 28, 29) of the fig-tree (the unfolding foliage of which heralds the summer as the signs described are precursors of the end) is introduced otherwise than is usual in our Lord's parables.[3] (*c*) There is an inconsistency between the enumeration in *vv.* 5–29 of a

[1] In *Mk.* xiii. 32 ignorance of the day and hour is a rhetorical expression for complete ignorance of the occasion. [2] It is found in *Lk.* xviii. 7.

[3] *Lk.* modifies the phrase in *Mk.* (cf. *Lk.* xxi. 29 with xviii. 1).

series of signs of the catastrophe, presaging by their succession its nearer and nearer approach, and the stress laid in *v.* 35 upon the need of watchfulness, because of the uncertainty whether it will happen sooner or later. The latter alone is in harmony with Jesus' assertions elsewhere; for that He anticipated that the Judgment would take the world by surprise, without any preliminary warning, is clear from *Mt.* xxiv. 37–39, 43–51 (=*Lk.* xvii. 26, 27, xii. 39–46) all from *Q* (cf. also *Lk.* xvii. 20). (*d*) A specific prediction by our Lord that the Gospel was to be proclaimed universally (cf. *Mk.* xiv. 9) is difficult to reconcile with the astonishment caused when the first Gentiles were admitted into the Church (*Acts* x. 34, 45). These peculiarities render it probable that the passage xiii. 5–37 is composite, that our Lord's actual reply to the inquiry in *v.* 4 is confined to *vv.* 30–37, and that it has been expanded by the inclusion of a small Apocalypse of Christian origin, or, if of Jewish origin (as many think), yet adjusted to Christian belief. On the other hand, between *vv.* 30 and 32, the superficial inconsistency is not substantial enough to prevent both of these verses from being assigned to our Lord, for He certainly expected the Judgment and the establishment of the Kingdom to take place soon (*Mk.* i. 15, ix. 1), and *v.* 32 is most unlikely to be an invention. The Apocalyptic passage intervening between the disciples' question (*v.* 4) and Jesus' answer in *vv.* 30–37 appears to reflect occurrences or conditions of the Apostolic age, and to date from shortly before 65 A.D., when there had appeared impostors like Theudas and Simon Magus, pretending to be prophets, or incarnations of divine power (*Acts* v. 36 and p. 238, viii. 10), when there had occurred notable famines and earthquakes (pp. 521, 286), when the Jewish revolt was on the point of breaking out, when the diffusion of the Gospel among the Gentiles had been some time in progress, when Christian evangelists had been brought before not only Jewish but Roman authorities (like Felix, Festus, and the Emperor), and when Caligula's attempted profanation of the Temple (p. 56) had created an expectation that a like or greater enormity would be perpetrated before the end of the age (cf. 2 *Th.* ii. 4). That this Apocalypse was a written document warning Christians to seek safety in time by calling attention to indications of the impending overthrow of the Jewish polity is suggested by the parenthetic "let him that readeth [1] understand" (*v.* 14); and that it was produced before the actual Fall of Jerusalem seems put beyond doubt by the fact that the Christians did not escape to the mountains (usual places of refuge, 1 *Macc.* ii. 28) but to the town of Pella in the valley east of the Jordan (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 5, 3). The language of *v.* 25 reflects thoughts that occur in various Old Testament passages (*Is.* xiii. 10, xxiv. 23, xxxiv. 4, *Ezek.* xxxii. 7); whilst in *v.* 26 the writer has drawn upon *Dan.* vii. 13, 14 (reproduced also in our Lord's words before the Sanhedrin, *Mk.* xiv. 62). The expression in *v.* 8 "the beginning of travail" also recalls the figure of the pains of childbirth used in the Old Testament to describe great tribulation (*Is.* xiii. 8, *Hos.* xiii. 13); and in Rabbinical teaching there was developed the belief that the appearance of the Messiah would be preceded by war, famine, and other afflictions, which were called "the birth-pangs of the Messiah" (*ḥablē shel Mâshîaḥ*). In xiii. 13 the writer appears to have been influenced by our Lord's words in *Mk.* viii. 35.

Among the most noteworthy changes effected by the other two Synoptists in borrowing from *Mk.* are the following:—

Mt. represents the disciples as asking what was to be the sign of their Lord's return (παρουσία),[2] though Jesus in what preceded had said nothing about this; qualifies the obscurity of the phrase "standing where he ought not" (*Mk.* xiii. 14) by "standing in the holy place" (xxiv. 15, cf. *Acts* xxi. 28); replaces *Mk.'s* "the Son of man" (xiii. 26) by "the sign of the Son of man" [3]; substitutes for the illustration drawn from the return of a householder a similar but longer passage derived (in common with *Lk.* xii. 39–46) from *Q* (which includes a warning drawn from the Flood, *Lk.* xvii. 26, 27); and appends two parables—the Ten Virgins awaiting a bridal procession, and the Talents entrusted by a master to his servants to trade with (the

[1] Cf. *Rev.* i. 3, μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων.

[2] This word is found within the Gospels only in *Mt.*, but is common in St. Paul (1 *Th.* ii. 19, iii. 13; 1 *Cor.* xv. 23, etc.); cf. also *Jas.* v. 7; 1 *Joh.* ii. 28; 2 *Pet.* i. 16, iii. 4.

[3] The genitive is probably explanatory; cf. *Mt.* xii. 39, and perhaps *Lk.* xxii. 69.

parables illustrating respectively the rewards of forethought and fidelity and the penalties attending heedlessness and untrustworthiness), and a graphic description of persons (compared to sheep and goats) in the Judgment whose fate is determined by their treatment of the afflicted and distressed, with whom the Son of man identifies Himself.

Lk.'s modifications reflect the experience of the Siege and Fall of Jerusalem, for "the abomination that maketh desolate" is replaced by "Jerusalem compassed with armies" (xxi. 20), and it is declared that the citizens are to be enslaved or slain and the city itself crushed by the Gentiles until the opportunities of the latter's conversion to God are complete (xxi. 24, cf. *Rom.* xi. 25). The statement (*Mk.* xiii. 32) of the Son's ignorance of the day and hour of the End is omitted. *Lk.* elsewhere (xvii. 20, 21) records that in answer to the Pharisees, who asked when the Kingdom of God should come, Jesus replied that there would be no external token marking its approach; the Kingdom (*i.e.* God's reign) was within men's hearts (where signs of its progress were not easily discerned by observers). Yet though the Kingdom in one sense, as here represented, was inward and spiritual, still our Lord certainly expected it to have eventually an outward and unmistakable manifestation, for His advent to inaugurate it was to be as conspicuous as the lightning (see *Lk.* xvii. 24=*Mt.* xxiv. 27).

A parable similar to that of the Talents in *Mt.* xxv. 14–30 is found in *Lk.* xix. 11–27, but represented as narrated by our Lord before Jerusalem was reached. In it *Mt.'s* three servants are replaced by ten, the talents (five, two and one) by *minæ* (one to each), and the general commendation bestowed on the faithful servants by a recompense proportionate to their success in trading. In *Lk.* the master of the servants is a man of high birth (εὐγενής) whose absence from home is due to his seeking a kingdom and whose application for it is opposed by his fellow-citizens. This feature is drawn from the history of the Herods (pp. 49, 51); but is designed to suggest the opposition to Jesus manifested by the Jews.

At the time when this dialogue between Jesus and His disciples occurred, the Passover festival (the only one mentioned in the Second Gospel) was drawing near; and two days before it (Nisan 12, Wednesday) the chief priests and Scribes concerted together to arrest Jesus by a stratagem and put Him to death. They desired, however, to avoid taking Him on the day of the festival, since the occasion of the Passover was likely to fill Jerusalem with pilgrims, including many from Galilee, who, it was feared, might interpose in His defence. In any case secrecy was still essential if they were to effect His seizure safely. What made them wishful to bring Him to trial as soon as was feasible was the fact that they had obtained at last a handle against Him which would enable them to secure His condemnation. This was a garbled version of some words of His about the destruction of the Temple (p. 445); and in the hope that with the help of adequate evidence to sustain a charge that He had used menaces against the national sanctuary, they lost no time in scheming to remove Him.

During His visit to the capital Jesus made Bethany His place of sojourn, returning to it each evening (xi. 11, 19). It was probably on the last of these evening journeys that from the Mount of Olives, which was crossed on the road to Bethany, He uttered the Lament over Jerusalem which is preserved in *Q* (*Mt.* xxiii. 37–39 = *Lk.* xiii. 34–35). Apostrophizing the city as the murderess of those sent to warn her of her sins and of the doom that in consequence threatened her, and reflecting how often (in Galilee) He had desired to save from the coming judgment her people (of all of whom, Galilæans as well as others, she could be regarded

as the mother, 2 *Esd.* x. 7) as a hen gathers her brood under her wings to protect them against peril, but how they had refused to be preserved, He declared that her dwelling was forsaken by God (cf. *Jer.* xii. 7), and that He Himself would never again be seen by her citizens until He should come as the heavenly Messiah and be greeted by the saved with blessings as God's representative. The occasion of the Lament is given differently in the First and the Third Gospels, *Mt.* placing the utterance before, and *Lk.* after, the Entry into Jerusalem; but the latter occasion alone seems appropriate (see p. 222).

At Bethany, Jesus had friends and acquaintances (p. 432), and on Nisan 12, Wednesday, He was entertained by a man named Simon who had formerly been a leper (possibly the same as he whom Jesus had healed in Galilee (*Mk.* i. 40, p. 380)). Whilst He was seated at the meal, a woman came with a flask (*ἀλάβαστρος*)[1] of genuine (*πιστικῆς*),[2] and consequently costly, nard, and emptied it over His head to do Him honour (cf. *Ps.* xxiii. 5). She was doubtless one who accepted Him as the Messiah, and thus manifested her veneration and devotion. To some who were present the unsparing use of the ointment seemed wasteful, for, if it had been sold, it would have fetched a price (300 *denarii*) that might have afforded relief to many indigent persons. But Jesus would not allow the woman's conduct to be thus made the subject of censure. Her motive rendered her act a very graceful one. There would never be any lack of poor to receive the alms of the charitable; but *He* would not always be with them, and the opportunity for those who believed in Him to show their faith and love might not recur; and convinced as He was that His death was imminent, and that the body of one executed as a criminal was not likely to receive the anointing usually bestowed on the dead by their friends (cf. 2 *Ch.* xvi. 14). He declared that what had been done would supply what might be lacking at His burial, and would be recorded to the honour of the doer wherever the Gospel should be proclaimed.[3] The circumstance that the earliest Evangelist, notwithstanding this declaration, does not state who she was suggests that by the time he wrote, her name had passed into oblivion.

In *Mt.* xxvi. 8 the complaint about the waste of such valuable ointment proceeds from the disciples; and in *v.* 13 Jesus speaks of "*this* Gospel" (*i.e.* the record of His life and death, a later meaning of the word).

In *Lk.* the occurrence here related is missing; but in vii. 36–50 there is found a narrative of an incident similar in character (in both Jesus' host is called Simon[4] and the woman brings an *ἀλάβαστρος μύρου*), but differing in so many particulars that the two cannot easily be taken to be variant versions of the same occurrence. The chief divergences appear in connexion with (1) the place and time (during the

[1] Cf. Pliny, *H.N.* xiii. 3, *unguenta optima servantur in alabastris.*

[2] Swete quotes Theophylact, *τὴν ἄδολον νάρδον καὶ μετὰ πίστεως κατασκευασθεῖσαν*: contrasted with this kind was a pseudo-nard. The Vulg. has here *nardi spicati* and some suspect *πιστικῆς* to be a corruption of *σπικάτης* or *σπικάτου*.

[3] The language of *Mk.* xiv. 9 seems to reflect the conditions of the Evangelist's own day.

[4] The name was very common; seven persons (besides the individual here mentioned) are called by it in the New Testament.

Galilæan ministry); (2) the host (described as a Pharisee, with no mention of his having been a leper); (3) the woman (described as a sinner and probably a prostitute); (4) the details of her act (she wets Christ's *feet* with her tears, wipes them with her hair, and then anoints them); (5) the comment (made by the *host* on *Jesus'* conduct for allowing such a woman to touch Him) and the reply (explaining the intensity of the woman's gratitude by the magnitude of the sins which had been forgiven her, and illustrating it by the parable of the Two Debtors, whose debts, unequal in amount, are remitted by their creditor).[1]

In *Joh.* xii. 1–8 there is an account of an incident more nearly resembling that of *Mk.*, but it is placed *six* days before the Passover and just before the Entry into Jerusalem; the name of the host is omitted; Lazarus (not named in *Mk.*) is said to have been one of the guests; the woman is identified with Lazarus' sister Mary; the stricture upon her is passed by Judas Iscariot, whose interest in the poor is described as insincere and whose real motive was covetousness (since if the ointment had been sold, and the price put into the common purse, he could have dishonestly purloined from it); and Jesus' words (in *Mk.* xiv. 8) are reported differently. There is also some confusion as regards details between this incident and the incident in the Third Gospel related above (cf. p. 217). It seems improbable that the Johannine account in which Lazarus and Mary figure can be historically accurate. It presupposes the miracle of Lazarus' restoration to life, an occurrence about which grave doubts are unavoidable; whilst on the assumption that it happened, it is almost incredible that amongst the company acquainted with such a wonder any, even Judas, could have taken exception to Mary's token of devotion. And against the supposition that Mary under any circumstances was really the woman in question is the fact that *Lk.*, who is an earlier authority than *Joh.* and who mentions Mary and the attention with which she listened to Jesus' words (x. 38–42), does not connect such an incident with her.

The wish entertained by Jesus' enemies not to risk such disturbance as was likely to attend an attempt to seize Him during the Passover might have led them to defer His arrest until after the festival had closed, had not treachery on the part of one of the Apostles given them an opportunity of accomplishing their purpose earlier. The traitor was Judas, the motive of whose baseness is left to be conjectured. Possibly his Master's declaration that He was destined to be put to death and that He expected His disciples to be capable of self-sacrifice like His own, had shattered the hopes which he had cherished about the expected kingdom; and the disappointment caused him to seek revenge on one whom he held to have deceived him, and at the same time to ingratiate himself with such as might do more for him. Acquainted as he must have been with the hostility felt by the priests and Scribes towards Jesus, and either inferring that they would be glad to compass His death, or actually getting to know their secret intention to do so, he now went to them and expressed his willingness and power to further their aims, for through his knowledge of Jesus' movements he could enable His enemies to arrest Him before, instead of after, the feast. It was with much satisfaction that the priests and Scribes received the traitor's offer, and they readily promised to reward him for his services.[2] He arranged to guide under

[1] In *Lk.* vii. 47 the first half of the verse seems to mean that the forgiveness of the woman's many sins (which she herself knows has been granted) can be inferred by others from the great love she has manifested (for ὅτι referring to a thought unexpressed cf. Hom. *Od.* iv. 206). Her *faith* was the cause of her pardon, her love was its consequence. But *vv.* 48, 49 do not cohere with the context, and seem to reproduce v. 20, 21 (=*Mk.* ii. 5–7).

[2] *Mt.* represents that the price of his treachery was thirty silver pieces (ἀργύρια)

cover of night an armed band to the spot where Jesus was most likely to be found and where He could be made a prisoner with small danger of a disturbance being occasioned or a rescue effected. The sign by which He could be identified in the darkness was a kiss, to be given Him by Judas.

§ 12. *The Last Supper*

The conference between Judas and the chief priests may have occurred early on the morning of Thursday, Nisan 13th. In the course of the same day (immediately preceding the Passover day, Nisan 14th) Jesus was asked by His disciples where He wished preparations to be made for the observance of the Feast. During one of His daily visits to Jerusalem from Bethany our Lord had apparently made acquaintance with a resident in the capital, who was probably a sympathizer and who had undertaken to place at His disposal a room where the Passover meal could be eaten. It is not unlikely that the house was the home of the Evangelist St. Mark, and that the owner was his father (p. 458).[1] Jesus had not disclosed His plans to any of the disciples; but as He knew that water for the household would be fetched at a certain hour of the day, it was easy to direct some of the Apostles to the house by telling them to go into the city at a particular time when they would meet a man (presumably a servant), bearing a pitcher, whom they were to follow to the dwelling into which he entered, and the owner of which would, in answer to their inquiries, show them the room which had been reserved for their Master's use. Two of the disciples (*Lk.* names Peter and John), carrying out these instructions, found the house; and there they made such preparations as the occasion required and the circumstances admitted. The lamb that was needed could not, of course, at once be provided by the two disciples. This had to be killed on the 14th of Nisan (which began at sunset on the Thursday and ended at the same hour on the Friday), the time of the slaughter being the afternoon of Friday, the person who should slay it being the head of the household or company that was to share it, and the place being the court of the Priests within the Temple area. The Passover meal would be eaten on the evening of the same day before sunset, after which the 15th day of Nisan would begin, constituting the first day of Unleavened Bread. The preparations made by the two disciples would therefore include the provision of unleavened cakes, of bitter herbs, and of the other minor accompaniments of the Passover, but not the killing or the roasting of the lamb, which was its central feature: these acts would be deferred until the morrow.

Under ordinary circumstances Jesus would presumably have stayed at Bethany until the afternoon of Friday, Nisan the 14th, and then have proceeded to the Temple in order to offer the Passover sacrifice. But as it was, He felt sure that He would be delivered into the hands of His enemies before the Feast began. His power of penetrating the minds of

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paid at once. If these were tetradrachms or shekels, they would amount to about £4 15*s.*

[1] By the time the incident related in *Acts* xii. 12 occurred, he was probably dead.

those with whom He was brought into contact must have enabled Him to read the heart of Judas, even if the latter's mien had not revealed his change of attitude. He therefore suddenly returned to Jerusalem with the Twelve on the evening of Thursday (Nisan 13th); and they all supped together. The seats round the table were probably arranged in horse-shoe fashion, every one present reclining with his left elbow resting on a cushion, and his right arm free.[1] Jesus knew it to be the last meal that He would share with His followers; and in the course of it He disclosed the foreboding which possessed His mind. As they were eating He unexpectedly declared that one of them would betray Him. Such an utterance could not but fill most of them with astonishment and dismay, for the very fact that they were partaking of a common meal should, of itself, have been an assurance against such treachery as He spoke of. Jesus, in answer to their inquiries, did not expose the traitor, but reiterated His statement that it was one who was actually present at the table and sharing the meal (cf. *Ps.* xli. 9). And He then added that His departure from earth in the way He had just indicated had been foretold in the Scriptures (the reference being presumably to 2 *Is.* liii.) and was therefore predetermined by God; but the fact that the traitor's design was not independent of the Divine will did not relieve him of responsibility for his sin: it would have been better for him had he never been born.

Mt. represents that Jesus intimated to Judas himself in answer to the latter's question, that he was the traitor (the Evangelist perhaps supposing that the communication was made in a whisper, so that none of the others heard). In *Lk.* the prediction of the betrayal is not uttered until after the institution of the Eucharist. In *Joh.* it is stated still more improbably than in *Mt.* that Jesus in reply to the disciple "whom He loved" (p. 207) declared that the traitor was he to whom He should give the morsel of bread which He should dip in the dish, and that He then handed it to Judas, bidding him do quickly what he had in hand (none at the table understanding the significance of the words).

In the narrative above it has been assumed that the Last Supper was held on Nisan 13th; but the day of the month is really uncertain. St. Mark in xiv. 12 relates that the disciples prepared for it on the first day of Unleavened Bread when the Passover was sacrificed (cf. *Mk.* xiv. 1, *Lk.* xxii. 1), such language identifying two days which in strictness were distinct, the Passover being the 14th (natural reckoning) and the first day of Unleavened Bread being the 15th. But since Josephus (*B.J.* v. 3, 1) represents the day of Unleavened Bread as occurring on the 14th day of Xanthicus (*i.e.* Nisan), *Mk.* may be presumed to have adopted a popular usage, and to have meant by his composite phrase the same date. If so, he represents the preparations for the supper to have been made early on the 14th, and the supper itself to have occurred on the evening of the same day (as we divide time), but on Nisan 15th (as the Jews reckon), and so to have been an actual Passover meal (cf. *Lk.* xxii. 15). The Crucifixion, therefore, which, according to this account, was subsequent to the Passover, must have taken place during Nisan 15th. But by the Fourth Evangelist the Last Supper is placed *before* the Passover (xiii. 1, 2, 29); and the Jews

[1] Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., ii. p. 494; cf. *Joh.* xiii. 23.

at the trial of Jesus are expressly declared to have avoided entering the residence of the Roman Governor lest they should, through contracting defilement, be prevented from eating the Passover (xviii. 28). Consequently the Johannine writer seems to have thought that the Last Supper happened on the 13th of Nisan, and the Trial and Crucifixion on the 14th. Of the two authorities the Second Gospel is in most respects much superior to the Fourth; but in connexion with the days of the Crucifixion and of the preceding meal the latter probably deserves the preference; and even in *Mk.* there are features difficult to reconcile with the representation that the Last Supper was held on the 14th and was a Passover, and that our Lord's death occurred on the 15th (see p. 344). On the whole, it seems most likely that the disciples' preparations were really made on the 13th (*for* the 14th), but that Jesus, expecting to die before the festival,[1] partook of the supper (though *not* as an anticipatory Passover, as has been suggested by some) on the evening of the 13th, and suffered on the 14th.

In the course of the meal, Jesus made of the bread and the wine which formed part of it emblems of His impending death, and a means of uniting in spirit His followers with Himself. Having taken an unleavened loaf (or cake) and having blessed God for the material good (cf. *Mk.* vi. 41, viii. 6), He broke it up and gave the portions to His disciples, saying (though the precise words cannot with confidence be ascertained), "This is[2] my body, which is being broken for you: do this in commemoration of me." Similarly at the close of the Supper He took a cup of wine, and when He had again given thanks, He handed it round, and when they had drunk of it, He said,[3] "This is[2] my blood of the new[4] covenant (*τῆς καίνης διαθήκης*), which is being spilled for (*ὑπέρ*) many: do this, as oft as ye drink it, in commemoration of me." And He then went on to declare that He would not again[5] drink of wine until He should drink it new[4] in the Kingdom of God: the Supper was a farewell meal.

Our Lord's procedure on the occasion, interpreted by His words, constituted an enacted symbol. The loaf of bread represented[6] His Body, and the breaking of the loaf typified the violence shortly to be inflicted upon Him, causing the destruction of His physical life; whilst His distribution of the fragments amongst the disciples for their consumption intimated His desire that they should assimilate the Spirit which animated Him, and by imitating His self-surrender might thereby gain their true life (cf. *Mk.* viii. 34, 35). The pouring of the wine and the passing of the

[1] In *Lk.* xxii. 15 the words "this Passover" possibly refer to the Passover of that year falling on the morrow, participation in which Jesus had desired, but (as He now realized) in vain. See *J.T.S.* July, 1908, pp. 569–72.

[2] In Aramaic the copula would be absent.

[3] *Mt.* allows it to be inferred that the words that follow were uttered not after, but before, the wine was drunk.

[4] The adjective *καινός* as contrasted with *νέος* means something fresh or new in kind: cf. *Mk.* ii. 22, *Rev.* xxi. 5, and the significance of *ἀνακαίνωσις* in *Rom.* xii. 2, *Tit.* iii. 5.

[5] This implies that Jesus partook of the cup which He handed to the others.

[6] For this sense of *ἐστί* cf. *Gal.* iv. 24.

cup for His disciples to drink its contents had the like import. But the resemblance of red wine to blood (leading it to be called the blood of the grape, *Gen.* xlix. 11) caused Jesus to attach to it a significance which the bread could not equally well convey. In antiquity the tie of common blood was the closest of bonds; and where it did not exist by nature, it could be created artificially. Probably the primitive method of contracting a blood covenant was for the parties concerned to open their veins and suck one another's blood (as is still done by certain Arab tribes), or to draw blood from each other and allow it to flow together into a bowl, the mixture being drunk (see Hdt. iv. 70); but a less repulsive method was to smear the blood from the two upon a stone, where it could commingle.[1] A modification of the latter method admitted of being adapted to the institution of a covenant between worshippers and their god, the blood of a victim being applied to the persons of the former and to the altar of the latter. This was done on the occasion of the covenant which was contracted between Israel and Jehovah at Mount Sinai; for Moses, after reading the book of the covenant to the people, then took the blood of sacrificial victims and sprinkled part of it upon Jehovah's altar and part on the people, saying, "Behold the blood of the covenant which Jehovah hath made with you on all these conditions" (*Ex.* xxiv. 1–8). Since, however, Israel's continual infraction of Jehovah's commands brought constant retribution upon them, the prophet Jeremiah, at a later date, was inspired to declare that Jehovah would make a new covenant (*διαθήκην καινὴν*) with His people, putting His law in their hearts and forgiving their iniquity (*Jer.* xxxi. 31–34). It was of this new covenant that Jesus, when He gave to His disciples the cup of wine to drink, affirmed Himself to be the mediator (cf. *Heb.* ix. 19–22). Through His Blood God and man, estranged by the sins of the latter, were to be re-united; and the spirit which impelled Him to sacrifice Himself for human redemption would, if absorbed and reproduced by them, preclude the recurrence in them (at least to the same extent as before) of the offences which had come between them and their God. His blood-shedding was the evidence and demonstration of the love which filled Him, and which, as evoking from others love in return, was calculated to exert over them redemptive power. But it seems possible that Jesus also thought of His death as having an atoning value in the sense of being expiatory of human transgressions; and if so, He departed from the ideas conveyed both by the Sinaitic covenant and by the new covenant of which Jeremiah spoke. The victim, whose blood at Sinai was the medium of the covenant effected between Israel and Jehovah, was not a sin-offering; and Jeremiah, when he asserted that God would forgive His people's sins and remember their iniquities no more, made no allusion to the necessity of any sacrifice upon which the Divine pardon was dependent. But the idea that the suffering and death of the innocent could avail with God for the forgiveness of the sinful was implied in 2 *Is.* liii. (p. 24); and the words of Jesus, *τὸ αἷμά μου . . . τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν*, viewed in the light of His earlier declaration (*Mk.* x. 45), *ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . ἦλθεν . . . δοῦναι τὴν*

[1] Cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 315.

ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, appear to show that He regarded Himself as realizing the prophet's description of the vocation and function of Jehovah's Servant, and as offering, through His own life-blood, an atoning, as well as a covenant, sacrifice.

At the Supper, however, Jesus had in contemplation not only His impending sacrifice of His life, but likewise His eventual entrance into His glory. In addition to intimating that the broken bread and the poured-out wine were symbols of His approaching death, He also encouraged His disciples by His concluding words (*Mk.* xiv. 25) to believe that the Kingdom which they were to share with Him was not far away. To eat and drink in God's Kingdom or in His Presence was a familiar figure of speech for participation in supreme felicity (cf. *Lk.* xiii. 29, xiv. 15, *Mt.* xxii. 1 f., *Rev.* xix. 9, and see *Is.* xxv. 6), and the Supper of which Jesus and His loyal followers were then partaking could thus be regarded as an anticipative symbol of a happier and more blessed Feast in the near future (cf. *Lk.* xxii. 29, 30).

Of the institution of the Eucharist there are four accounts, one in each of the Synoptists, and a fourth in St. Paul. These accounts fall into two divisions, *Mt.* agreeing closely with *Mk.*, and *Lk.* with St. Paul. The differences affect chiefly the words of our Lord, and will be most easily discerned if the reports of them are placed in parallel columns for comparison. Words in brackets have inferior textual authority.

Mk. xiv. 22–25

And as they were eating, he took a loaf and, having blessed, brake it and gave it to them and said, Take ye, this is my body. And having taken a cup and given thanks, he gave it to them; and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the (new) covenant which is spilled for many. Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

1 *Cor.* xi. 23–25

. . . The Lord Jesus, in the night in which he was betrayed, took a loaf, and having given thanks [1] he brake it and said, This is my body which is (broken) for you; this do in commemoration of me. In like manner also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in commemoration of me.

Mt. xxvi. 26–29

And as they were eating Jesus took a loaf and, having blessed, brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take ye, eat, this is my body. And having taken a (*or* the) cup and given thanks he gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the (new) covenant which is spilled for many unto remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.

Lk. xxii. 17–20

And having received a cup and having given thanks, he said, Take ye this, and divide it among yourselves; for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforward of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God shall come. And having taken a loaf and having given thanks, he brake and gave to them, saying, This is my body * [2] which is given for you; this do ye in commemoration of Me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is spilled for you.*

[1] *εὐλογέω* (*Mk.* xiv. 22) and *εὐχαριστέω* are virtually synonymous: see 1 *Cor.* xiv. 16.

[2] All the words between the two asterisks are omitted by D and some MSS. of Lat. vet.

Of these four authorities St. Mark and St. Paul [1] are the earliest and best, and the account given above (p. 452) is based on them. Between *Mk.* and *Mt.* the only noteworthy difference is the addition by *Mt.*, to what was said in connexion with the cup, of the words εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (cf. *Mk.* i. 4). Between these two and St. Paul the most serious variation is the absence from the former, and the presence in 1 *Cor.*, of the direction of Jesus to the disciples to perpetuate His symbolic action. It has been argued that the command originated with St. Paul, who, in saying that he received from the Lord that which he delivered (*v.* 23), meant that it came to him through a special revelation ; and that St. Mark's account of the Eucharist, in which the words in question are not included, is nearest to Jesus' *ipsissima verba* at the supper. But the fact that the Eucharistic rite was observed in the primitive Church from the earliest times, so far as our authorities go (*Acts* ii. 42), affords strong support to the conclusion that the observance really had its origin in an actual injunction of our Lord's ; for without such, it is difficult to understand why such enacted symbolism should have been at once regularly repeated by His followers. *Lk.* has expanded the words used of the cup in St. Paul by τὸ [ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν] ἐκχυννόμενον, derived from *Mk.* ; but, added as they stand (in the nom.), they agree with τὸ ποτήριον instead of τῷ αἵματι. In *Mk.* the addition of καινῆς has the support of A alone among the great uncials, though it appears in the Old Latin, the Sinaitic and other Syriac versions, but in *Mt.* it is supported by C D likewise.

It will be seen that *Lk.* speaks of *two* cups, one before mention of the bread and one after ; and places after the first and before the second Jesus' declaration that He would not again drink of the fruit of the vine save in the kingdom of God—a declaration which in *Mk.* forms the conclusion of our Lord's words at the supper. The variation in the Third Gospel can be explained by the supposition that *Lk.*, whilst wishing to preserve Jesus' statement that He would not *again* drink of the fruit of the vine till the kingdom should come, sought to preclude the impression that He partook of the wine that symbolized His own blood ; and so distinguished between two cups, one of which Jesus shared, and the other He did not. A difficult textual problem, however, is raised by the omission in *Lk.* xxii. of *v.* 19 (from τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν to ἀνάμνησιν) and *v.* 20 by D and certain codices of the Old Latin version (*a*, *e*), and the omission of *v.* 20 (alone) by the Old Syriac. If this represents the original text, the Third Gospel then mentions only one cup, but places the administration of it before that of the bread (cf. 1 *Cor.* x. 16), and says nothing of its symbolizing Christ's blood. This is, no doubt, the harder reading, and has weighty support, but not enough to counterbalance the MSS. and versions that contain the disputed words ; and the omission by the δ text of *v.* 20 may at least be sufficiently accounted for by the desire of copyists to get rid of the mention of more than one cup.

Joh. does not narrate the institution of the Eucharist, but relates that Jesus, in the course of the Supper, rose from the table, took water and a towel, and washed the feet of His disciples (in spite of a protest against His doing so from St. Peter) ; and after He had sat down again, He declared that He had given them an example which they should follow.

When the Supper was ended, a hymn was sung [2] ; and on the conclusion of this the company left the house. Judas withdrew from the others to execute his part of the compact with the priests ; whilst Jesus and the rest of the Apostles departed from the city, as had been their previous custom at nightfall (*Mk.* xi. 11, 19). The direction taken was towards the Mount of Olives. On the road Jesus intimated to His disciples that He anticipated immediate violence from His foes and desertion on the part of His followers, quoting the words of *Zech.* xiii. 7 (with some modification), "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad ;" [3] but

[1] The Apostle's account probably came "from the Lord" through the Twelve.

[2] If the Last Supper was really a Passover meal, this would be part of the *Hallel* (*Ps.* cxiii.–cxviii.).

[3] In LXX A the passage runs Πάταξον τὸν ποιμένα καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης, the imperative being addressed by Jehovah to His sword.

He added that after He was raised from the dead He would precede them into Galilee. He clearly expected that as soon as He fell into the power of His enemies, His Galilæan disciples would, in panic, return to their homes; and that in the country where He had first gathered them round Him He would manifest to them His triumph over death. Jesus' declaration that He looked to be abandoned by His most familiar friends caused St. Peter to protest that he, at least, would be staunch, whoever else might quail; but his self-confidence only elicited a prediction of still baser conduct; before cock-crow,[1] *i.e.* the third watch (*Mk.* xiii. 35) of that very night, the boaster would thrice deny his Master. St. Peter reaffirmed in still stronger terms that he was incapable of acting so; and similar assurances came from them all.

The conversation between Jesus and the eleven Apostles is placed in the supper-room by St. Luke, who gives a much altered account of it. After representing that the dispute among the disciples about pre-eminence took place on this occasion (p. 430) he relates that Jesus went on to say that to them, His constant companions, He appointed a kingdom (cf. *Mt.* xix. 28); that Satan would sift them like wheat; but that He had prayed for Peter that his faith might not fail utterly; and He commanded him, when his own faith was restored, to strengthen the rest. Peter's confident assurance of loyalty and our Lord's prediction of his denial follow; and these are succeeded by an admonition that whereas the disciples had formerly been sent forth without money (*Mk.* vi. 8; *Lk.* x. 4), they would thenceforward need not only money, but arms, so hostile would be their surroundings, for He, their Master, was about to suffer as a felon, as had been predicted (2 *Is.* liii. 12). He was informed that they had among them two swords, and He replied that it was enough.

The little company on leaving the city crossed the Kidron, and reached an enclosed plot of ground[2] called Gethsemane, which, as its name implied, had once contained an oil press, and to which Jesus and His disciples must have resorted on previous occasions (cf. *Lk.* xxii. 39, *Joh.* xviii. 1) since it was known to Judas. Eight of the Apostles were bidden by their Master to stay by the entrance; whilst He Himself, accompanied by St. Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, advanced farther into the enclosure to pray. There, telling the three that He was in great anguish of spirit, He directed them to stop and keep watch near Him, that He might be sustained by a sense of their companionship and sympathy. He went forward a little way, though remaining within earshot of the three so long as they were capable of listening; and kneeling, petitioned His Father that, if it were possible, He might be spared the fate that confronted Him, but declared that to the Divine will He submitted His own. The ordinary shrinking of human nature from a violent death was immeasurably intensified by the appalling contrast between the Messianic dignity which He believed to be His, and the doom now before Him. He had, indeed, previously foreseen that such an end to His earthly life was to intervene before He entered upon His exalted office; but now that it was actually facing Him, the

[1] *Mk.* xiv. 30 has "before the cock crow *twice*." Possibly St. Peter, whose recollections *Mk.* preserves, remembered the twofold cock-crowing (xiv. 68, 72); and Jesus' prediction, which referred to a recognized division of the night, has been made more exact by the introduction of δίς. But δίς is absent from ℵ C and other weighty authorities.

[2] For χωρίον in this sense cf. *Joh.* iv. 5, *Acts* v. 3. *Joh.* here has κῆπος.

thought that God's Messiah should be killed by God's own people produced the acutest agony of mind; and extorted the prayer that the Divine purpose might be accomplished in some other way (cf. *Heb.* v. 7). The prayer ended, Jesus returned to the three disciples and found them fallen asleep; and when He awakened them He bade them be on their guard lest in the emergency before them human weakness should sap their resolution. He again withdrew to pray a second time; and on returning discovered them asleep once more, and unable, when awakened again, to say anything in reply to His remonstrances. He retired a third time to renew His prayers, and on His return, they were once more slumbering. With gentle irony He bade them sleep on; but detecting indications of an approaching body of men, He resumed His seriousness of manner, and told them that the need for the effort which He had called upon them to make was over. The predicted betrayal was near, and they must go to meet the crisis.

In the account of the Agony *Mt.* follows *Mk.* closely; *Lk.* summarizes the latter, and does not mention either the privilege granted to the three or the threefold prayer, but relates that an angel came from heaven to strengthen Jesus, His distress being so intense that blood-drops exuded from His pores. The two *vv.* (xxii. 43, 44) are found in ℵ D F G K L, etc., Lat. vet. and most Syr. versions, but are absent from A B Syr. sin. and most codices of Eg.

§ 13. *Arrest, Trial, and Execution*

As He spoke Judas appeared, accompanied by a mob of people, some of them with weapons, these being probably Temple guards (p. 93), addressed Him as Rabbi, and (that the guards might make no mistake) kissed Him, as one friend might salute another after absence. But the seizure of Him was not effected without a blow being struck to prevent it, for one of the disciples drew the sword which he was carrying and smote the High Priest's slave, who was among the crowd, cutting off one of his ears. Jesus, however, did nothing to countenance any attempt on the part of His followers to rescue Him, but only remonstrated against the indignity of the manner of His arrest, an armed force being employed for His capture, as though He were a brigand. He was (He said) a religious teacher, who had for the last few days regularly given instruction in the Temple courts without being molested, though it would have been easy to seize Him there; but through the treatment of Him as a malefactor the Scriptures (2 *Is.* liii. 12 being doubtless in His mind) were obtaining fulfilment. His meek submission to His captors, in spite of His claim to be the Messiah, so disheartened His disciples that they thought of resistance no further, but yielding to despair, left Him to His fate and fled (cf. *Joh.* xvi. 32). That they might have been arrested with Him, had they not done so, is suggested by an occurrence recorded by *Mk.* only. As Jesus was led away, He was followed at first by a young man, who, with merely a linen wrap cast about him, had seemingly just recently arisen from sleep. He attracted, however, the notice of the guard, who thought him an adherent of their prisoner, and they tried to take him; but he slipped from them, and leaving the wrap behind him escaped. Since the incident is otherwise

unimportant, it has been conjectured that it was recounted only because it had interest for the writer and his friends; and the young man has accordingly been identified with St. Mark, who, if Judas, before leading the guard to Gethsemane, had guided them first to the house where the Last Supper was held (p. 450), had probably been disturbed by the visit and had followed them to ascertain the sequel.

The other Synoptists and the Fourth Evangelist add to, and in other ways alter, St. Mark's account. *Mt.* states that when Judas kissed Jesus, the latter bade him carry out the purpose for which he had come,[1] and told the disciple who struck the high priest's slave, to put up his weapon since violence provoked violence, and but for the need of fulfilling the Scriptures, He could ask from His Father the help of twelve legions (p. 72) of angels. *Lk.* gives as Jesus' address to Judas the question "Betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss?" and adds that Jesus healed the ear of the man who was smitten. He omits the flight of the disciples and also represents that among the multitude that came to effect the arrest were the chief priests, the captains of the Temple and the elders themselves (contrast *Mk.* xiv. 43, "a multitude . . . *from* the chief priests," etc.). The Fourth Evangelist asserts that those by whom Judas was attended consisted of the cohort (σπεῖρα) of troops garrisoning the castle of Antonia (p. 54) under the command of a military tribune (this being a force not only in character and size altogether disproportionate to the occasion, but also not likely to be procurable, as Jesus had not yet been denounced to the Roman authorities); that when they drew near (Judas merely standing amongst them) Jesus asked whom they wanted; and on their explaining, answered that He was the Man (whereupon they stepped back and prostrated themselves before Him), and begged them, if they took Him, to let His companions go; and the writer further adds that the Apostle who used his sword was Peter, and the slave whom he wounded was named Malchus.

The details of the proceedings after the arrest are difficult to ascertain, for there is much divergence between what seem to be the most authoritative sources. One of these is, of course, St. Mark; but the account contained in his Gospel is obscure, since it conveys the impression that the trial of Jesus took place during the hours of the night in which He was made prisoner, which is exceedingly improbable, inasmuch as during the second century A.D. at least, criminal cases heard before the Sanhedrin had to be begun and finished in the day time, and the rule perhaps dates from an earlier period.[2] Moreover, St. Mark's information here cannot depend upon reports from St. Peter, who was not present in the room. His account therefore is likely to be inexact, and requires, if possible, to be supplemented; and another informant with better opportunities for learning some of the facts seems to be forthcoming in the "other disciple" mentioned in *Joh.* xviii. 15, if, as has been suggested (p. 224), he is the author of the Fourth Gospel. This man was known to the High Priest and therefore in a position to be acquainted with the external circumstances of the trial, and with some of the incidents that transpired in the course of it. Accordingly a narrative based upon the combined evidence of the Second and the Fourth Gospel (which here should be a good authority) comes perhaps as near history as is now attainable. A comparison of these two

[1] In *Mt.* xxvi. 50 the words to be supplied with ἐφ' ὃ πάρει are really uncertain.
[2] See McNeile, *St. Matt.* p. 398.

authorities renders it probable that Jesus was led first to Annas,[1] who had been High Priest from A.D. 7 to 14, and, though no longer in office, still exercised much influence owing to his great wealth, and who perhaps still had rooms in the official residence of the actual High Priest Caiaphas (A.D. 18–36).

Although an examination of the prisoner was conducted at night by Annas, it was probably no part of the formal trial, but designed merely to satisfy the curiosity of the ex-High Priest.[2] Annas questioned our Lord concerning His teaching, and Jesus replied that, as it had always been given publicly, information about it could be procured from those who heard it. For so answering He was struck on the face by one of the attendants, to whom He addressed a remonstrance as gentle as it was reasonable. Meanwhile, Peter, recovering from the panic into which he and his fellow-Apostles had been thrown by Jesus' surrender to the officers of the Sanhedrin, came to the High Priest's residence, and through the intervention of the " other " disciple alluded to above, was allowed to pass the outer gate. The building where the investigation was conducted appears to have been arranged round a courtyard which was reached through a forecourt (*προαύλιον*). The portions of the main structure occupied by Annas and Caiaphas respectively were possibly on opposite sides, and the trial was held in a room on an upper floor (*Mk.* xiv. 66). Peter was admitted into the courtyard, where a fire of charcoal had been kindled (the air being cold); and the portress,[3] observing in the fire-light that Peter, who was warming himself, was a stranger, declared that he too (as well as the High Priest's acquaintance) was one of Jesus' disciples. Peter denied being so, protesting that he did not understand what she meant by her words. Perhaps to avoid further notice he went out into the forecourt, and heard a cock crowing. The maid who had questioned him seems to have followed him, and expressed to some, who were near, her belief that he was one who had been with Jesus; and Peter, who overheard her, again denied the fact. A little later a man who, along with others, was standing close to him, and who was related to Malchus whom Peter had wounded, asked him if he had not seen him in the garden, and drew attention to his Galilean manner of speaking. Peter renewed with great vehemence his former denials, and then hearing a second time the cock's crowing, he recalled, conscience-stricken and remorseful, the prediction of his Master.

Jesus, after being interrogated by Annas,[4] was taken presumably in the early morning (cf. *Lk.* xxii. 66) to Caiaphas, with whom were assembled representatives of all the classes that constituted the Sanhedrin (twenty-

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[1] He is probably meant in *Mk.* xiv. 53[a], but the rest of the *v.* anticipates the later meeting of the Sanhedrin in the house of Caiaphas. It was to the latter that Jesus was at once taken, according to *Mt.* xxvi. 57.

[2] Two investigations, one at night and one in the morning, are implied in *Mt.* xxvi. 57, xxvii. 1.

[3] For a woman as porter cf. 2 *Sam.* iv. 6, LXX.

[4] If the account of *Lk.* is to be harmonized with that of *Joh.* the mocking and beating of Jesus related in xxii. 63–65 may have taken place after this interrogation.

three members sufficing for a criminal case). The formal trial was begun ; but though the investigation that was now conducted before Caiaphas may be thus designated, it appears to have violated a number of legal principles. These required, for instance, that a trial should be held at the regular meeting-place of the Sanhedrin, not in the High Priest's palace ; and that judgment should not be passed until the morrow of the day of trial. The body of judges, however, before whom Jesus was arraigned were bent not upon trying but upon destroying Him, before the ensuing Feast, and were not disposed to respect restrictions that would hamper their purpose. Nevertheless in seeking evidence against Him they were desirous of observing the Mosaic regulation that every charge should be proved by the testimony of at least two witnesses (*Dt.* xix. 15) ; but though many came forward to bring charges against the Prisoner, their evidence was too inconsistent to make their statements credible. The accusation that promised best to achieve the wished-for result was to the effect that Jesus had declared that He would destroy the Temple which had been constructed by human hands, and would in three days build another made without hands.[1] It is difficult to conjecture with any confidence what words of Jesus afforded a colour for this accusation, though utterances which might be thus distorted have been considered on pp. 436, 445. But even those who perverted our Lord's words (whatever they were) were unable to support the charge coherently ; and the only prospect of obtaining the conviction of the Accused was to induce Him to inculpate Himself in the direction they desired. Accordingly, when Jesus made no reply to the witnesses (cf. 2 *Is.* liii. 7), the High Priest, abandoning the accusation just preferred, himself advanced indirectly one suggested by the cries of the multitude on the occasion of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem ; and in order to extract an incriminating confession, asked Him, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed ?"[2] To this question Jesus did not shrink from replying, and now uttered publicly the same avowal as He had made not long before privately to His disciples, saying in answer to the High Priest, "I am" ; and He then added, "And ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power (cf. *Ps.* cx. 1) and coming with the clouds of heaven" (cf. *Dan.* vii. 13). On this admission (which was also a warning) Caiaphas in horror rent his robes (cf. 2 *Kg.* xviii. 37, *Ez.* ix. 3), and asked the rest of the council whether there was any further need of witnesses, after such a blasphemous claim had been made in their hearing. Then he demanded their judgment ; and all who were present decided that His offence rendered Him liable to death (*Lev.* xxiv. 16). This condemnation of the Prisoner at once exposed Him to foul insults and outrage from some of those in the court[3] ; and His assertion that He was the Messiah was mocked by His being blindfolded and struck, and then challenged to detect (by the supernatural powers to which He implicitly laid claim)

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[1] *Mt.* xxvi. 61 has, "I am able to destroy the Temple of God and to build it in three days."

[2] Cf. 2 *Esd.* vii. 29.

[3] *Lk.* describes these as "the men that held Jesus."

who it was who smote Him.[1] He was then handed over to the servants in attendance who received Him with blows.

The examination before Annas is narrated only in *Joh.*, where mention is made of Jesus' subsequent removal to the court presided over by Caiaphas; but nothing is said about His trial in the latter. *Mk.* (followed by *Lk.*) does not give the name of the High Priest, but *Mt.* xxvi. 57 renders it clear that the High priest before whom the formal trial occurred was Caiaphas. *Lk.* omits all mention of the witnesses and their evidence, though he implies that some had appeared; and expands and modifies our Lord's answer to the High Priest. The particulars of Peter's denial are given variously by the Evangelists. The persons who successively address the Apostle are, in *Mk.* a maid, the same maid, and the bystanders; in *Mt.* a maid, another maid, and the bystanders; in *Lk.* a maid, a man, another man; in *Joh.* a maid, the bystanders, and a kinsman of Malchus. The accounts of *Mk.* and *Joh.* are the most authoritative and serve to supplement each other. *Mk.* (followed by *Mt.*) alone describes Peter's withdrawal to the forecourt (*προαύλιον*), which *Mt.* calls the porch (*πυλών*). In *Mk.* xiv. 72 *ἐπιβαλών* in the sense of "having thought upon" (it) seems adequately supported by the use of *προσέχειν* "to give attention" (with *τὸν νοῦν* or *τὴν διάνοιαν* understood). St. Luke's representation that Jesus turned and looked upon Peter (*Lk.* xxii. 61) is only intelligible if it is supposed that the final denial took place while Jesus was being led across the courtyard from Annas to Caiaphas, and that Peter had returned to it.

The decision that Jesus in declaring Himself to be the Messiah was guilty of blasphemy assumed that His claim needed no further investigation, but was plainly false. But as Divine titles were ascribed to human beings in the Scriptures as God's representatives (p. 109), whilst "to sit at the right hand of God" did not necessarily connote more than an extraordinary degree of Divine favour (cf. *Ps.* lxxx. 17, "the man of thy right hand"), Justice was glaringly violated through the absence of any inquiry into the grounds of the claim to Messiahship.

The Sanhedrin, as soon as they had convicted Jesus as deserving of death, consulted how they could accomplish His execution; and in view of the nearness of the Passover, lost no time in coming to a decision or in carrying it out. Accordingly, whilst it was still morning, they bound their Prisoner and led Him to Pilate, the Roman procurator, to induce him to pronounce a capital sentence. The reason for their bringing Him before the secular power is not quite clear. In *Joh.* xviii. 31 they are represented as giving as their motive the fact that they had not the right of inflicting capital punishment themselves, this right having been taken from them in A.D. 30. But if the proceedings here related occurred in 29 (p. 342) it seems necessary to seek for another explanation, and it appears to be not improbable that they desired to avoid, if possible, the execution by their own authority of One against whom the only offence that could be proved was the claim to be the Messiah of their race. But they could accomplish their wish to destroy Him by maintaining before Pilate that His words involved pretensions to political sovereignty, and so were treasonable (cf. *Lk.* xxiii. 2). The official residence of the representatives of the Roman Emperors in Palestine was at Cæsarea (p. 54); but if the procurator had occasion to visit Jerusalem, two places were there available for his accommodation, the palace of Herod, on the western hill (p. 11), and the castle of

[1] *Mt.* renders the command unintelligible by omitting to mention the previous blindfolding; *Mk.*, who relates the blindfolding, makes the smiters merely bid Him prophesy; but Luke's account is clear. Some, however, suppose that *Mk.'s* "Prophesy" means "Predict retribution upon the smiter."

Antonia (p. 90); and he would most likely occupy the latter at such seasons as the Passover, when Jerusalem was crowded with pilgrims, and disturbances were liable to occur in the neighbourhood of the Temple, demanding military intervention. If so, the distance from the residence of the High Priest to that of the governor was short. Of the arraignment of Jesus before Pilate the report in *Mk.* is so condensed that there is no statement even of the charge preferred against Him, and it is a matter of inference only that He was brought before the procurator as one who pretended to be king of the Jews and consequently was a dangerous rebel. Pilate asked the Prisoner whether He really claimed to be such, and Jesus returned the seemingly non-committal answer, "Thou sayest so." The charge was then amplified by the chief priests and their supporters, but Jesus made no further reply, to the great astonishment of the Roman official. The latter however, was convinced that the Accused was no aspirant to political power, but only a deluded religious enthusiast (cf. *Joh.* xviii. 36) whose influence had awakened the jealousy of the official religious leaders. At the same time, to acquit the Prisoner as not guilty of the charge brought against Him might expose himself to Jewish misrepresentations calculated to create in the Emperor suspicions of his loyalty. An opportunity, however, of avoiding this risk without doing too great violence to his Roman sense of justice was offered by a custom, probably instituted by himself (since no mention of such occurs elsewhere), of granting at the Passover [1] an amnesty to a single prisoner, a choice from among those in custody being left to the populace. So when the mob came up to the castle in order to request the usual concession, Pilate, hoping to escape from his dilemma, asked them whether they wished for the release of "the king of the Jews." But his hopes were disappointed. There happened to be in prison at the time a certain Barabbas,[2] who had been arrested in company with a body of insurrectionaries that had committed murder. He may have been a Galilean and taken part in the disorder which, according to *Lk.* xiii. 1, Pilate had put down brutally (p. 444), but this is only a conjecture. In any case he seems to have been a conspicuous and popular character; and when the governor suggested the release of Jesus, the people, whose previous enthusiasm for Jesus had not survived His condemnation by the Sanhedrin, were incited by the priests to demand the release of Barabbas instead, it being doubtless easy to kindle sympathy for one who had shown hatred for the Roman authorities, though the insincerity of the political charge against Jesus thereby became manifest. So when Pilate proceeded to ask what he should do with their "King," they cried out, "Crucify Him." The shout surprised Pilate, who demanded to know what harm the Prisoner had done; and the repetition of the shout in more vehement tones daunted him. He would probably have been glad to flout the priests by disappointing their wish to have Jesus executed; but he was afraid to risk an outbreak among the populace. His sense of

[1] In *Mk.* xv. 6 κατὰ ἑορτήν may mean "feast by feast" (*i.e.* on the occasion of every festival).

[2] In *Mt.* xxvii. 16 some cursive MSS. (including 1), the Sinaitic Syr., and the Arm. version, have *Jesus Barabbas*.

justice was not strong enough to resist his fears, and so he infamously gave way to the clamour of the mob (nothing being said by *Mk.* about a formal sentence of death). Those who were condemned to the punishment of crucifixion (a method of execution eminently, though not exclusively,[1] Roman) were usually scourged prior to being fastened to the cross (see Livy xxxiii. 36, Jos. *B.J.* ii. 14, 9). This preliminary torture Pilate inflicted upon Jesus; and then delivered Him to the soldiers, who were to carry out the capital sentence.

Mt. relates that when Judas inferred, from seeing Jesus taken before Pilate, that He had been condemned by the Sanhedrin, he in remorse returned the price of his perfidy and afterwards hanged himself (see p. 491).

The account of Jesus' trial before Pilate is much expanded by the two other Synoptists. *Mt.* adds that while Pilate was on his tribunal, he received a message from his wife (called by tradition Procula, and represented as a Jewish proselyte) urging him, in consequence of a dream, to have nothing to do with such a righteous man; and that before he delivered up Jesus to be crucified, he washed his hands before the multitude, affirming that he was free from the responsibility of his death (the symbolic action being not Roman but Jewish, cf. *Dt.* xxi. 6, 7, *Ps.* xxvi. 6, lxxiii. 13),[2] and that the people, in reply, claimed the responsibility for themselves. The latter addition was perhaps suggested by the nemesis which afterwards overtook the Jews in A.D. 70.

Lk. relates that the accusers of Jesus declared that by His teaching He had played the part of an agitator throughout the country from Galilee to Jerusalem, had denounced the payment of tribute to the Emperor, and had claimed to be Messiah, a king; that when Pilate learnt that He was a Galilean, he sent Him (with the accusers) to Herod Antipas (who was then at Jerusalem, presumably residing in the Maccabean Palace close to the Temple, p. 11), since Galilee formed part of Herod's dominions; that Herod, who hoped to see a miracle wrought by Him (cf. *Lk.* ix. 9), questioned Him, but drew no answer from Him; that the tetrarch, resenting His silence, mocked Him, and in derision of His claims to be God's "anointed" garbed Him in bright-coloured raiment, but did not pass any sentence upon Him, and remitted Him to Pilate, with whom (in consequence of the respect shown to him by the procurator's action) he became reconciled after a previous quarrel.[3] The incident is in keeping with Pilate's desire to evade the guilt of sacrificing to Jewish malice one whom he believed to be innocent of wrong; and a possible source of the account, if well-founded, is the wife of Herod's steward Chuza, since she was one of the women who ministered to Jesus and His disciples (*Lk.* viii. 3), though for Pilate to allow Herod to act as a judge in Jerusalem was utterly irregular. The Third Evangelist also represents that Pilate, in a further attempt to escape the responsibility of sentencing Jesus, proposed to flog Him in order to teach Him caution[4] and then to release Him, vainly hoping in this way to satisfy Jesus' enemies. *Lk.*, who represents Jesus as mocked by Herod and his troops, omits the mockery by the Roman soldiers mentioned by *Mk.*; and perhaps a desire to relieve the latter of odium, as far as possible, has caused him to transfer this piece of brutality from the one to the other.

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[1] It was practised by the Carthaginians (Livy xxii. 13), and on one occasion by the Greek Alexander.

[2] Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 45, 46. *Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis Fluminea tolli posse putatis aqua.*

[3] It has been argued that Pilate sent the Prisoner and His accusers to Herod merely to ascertain whether the tetrarch concurred in the charges brought by the latter, that in *Lk.* xxiii. 11 the verb ἐξουθενήσας means not "set Him at nought," but "thought Him of no importance," and that "the bright raiment" was a royal gift bestowed to indicate publicly disagreement with the accusers (see *J.T.S.*, April, 1909). It is difficult to think that this was the significance that *Lk.* meant his narrative to convey, especially in view of the fact that ἐξουθενήσας is followed by ἐμπαίξας. The στρατεύματα of Herod must be his guards.

[4] The verb used is παιδεύω.

In the Fourth Gospel the Jews are described as not entering the governor's headquarters in order to escape defilement [1] and as having an interview with Pilate outside the building. Pilate bids them try Jesus by their own law (probably meaning that they had power of inflicting punishment sufficient for the case, though not extending to the imposition of a capital sentence [2]); whereupon they reply that they have no power to punish with death (which they imply that Jesus deserves). On Pilate's re-entrance into his quarters, and on his asking Jesus whether He is the King of the Jews, Jesus declares that His Kingdom is not of this world; that His mission is to bear witness to the truth; and that every one who is of the truth hears Him—a reply which draws from the Roman the cynical question, "What is truth?" Pilate then reminds the people of the custom of amnestying one prisoner, and asks them whether he shall release Jesus; but they demand Barabbas. The conversation here represented as taking place between Jesus and Pilate is in conflict with the account of the former's silence in *Mk.* xv. 5. The phrase "to be of the truth" (*v.* 37) is characteristically Johannine (see 1 *Joh.* ii. 21, iii. 19).

The scourging to which Pilate had sentenced Jesus was inflicted outside the castle; and at the conclusion of it, the soldiers took their Prisoner within the courtyard of the building (called by *Mk.* πραιτώριον); and then, summoning such other members of the cohort (constituting the garrison, p. 54) as were within call and at leisure, they made sport of Him. They stripped Him of His outer garment and substituted for it a discarded officer's cloak (a scarlet [3] *paludamentum*), and placed on His head a garland of thorns designed as a travesty of the laurel wreath worn by victorious generals (cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 17); and then they mocked Him with the pretence of homage, bowing before Him and saluting Him with "Hail, King of the Jews," in imitation of the *Ave Cæsar* used in addressing the Roman Emperors. The mockery was accentuated by being accompanied by blows and spitting. When they had had enough of their brutal sport, they replaced the scarlet cloak with His own garment; and a quaternion of soldiers (p. 73), under the command of a centurion, led Him out of the city (cf. *Heb.* xiii. 12) for execution, conducting Him probably by a road passing from the castle to the "Damascus" gate, in the northern wall of the fortifications. Persons condemned to crucifixion were usually forced to carry their crosses to the place where they were to be erected,[4] but Jesus, faint from the scourging, broke down under the weight, and so the soldiers impressed a passer-by, one Simon, a Cyrenian, who was returning from the country, and compelled him to bear the cross. Nothing more is related about Simon, who was doubtless a Jew of the Dispersion, for there was a large Jewish colony at Cyrene (p. 78); but his sons, Alexander and Rufus, appear to have become well known to the Christian Church at large, since Simon's relationship to them is expressly

[1] This would not have disqualified them from eating the Paschal Lamb if the day was Nisan 14, but it would have prevented participation in the Hagigah, a festive offering brought on the first Paschal day, if the day was Nisan 15th; it has accordingly been argued that *Joh.*, like the Synoptists, represents the Crucifixion as occurring on Nisan 15th (Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc. ii. pp. 567–8).

[2] Cf. Stanton, *Gospels as Historic Documents*, iii. p. 261.

[3] *Mk.* and *Joh.* have *purple*, but *Mt.* has *scarlet*, and since purple was the colour reserved for the Emperor, the latter is probably correct.

[4] Swete quotes Plutarch, *De ser. Dei vind.*, τῶν κολαζομένων ἕκαστος τῶν κακούργων ἐκφέρει τὸν αὐτοῦ σταυρόν: cf. also *Mk.* viii. 34. In many instances it was probably only the cross-bar that was carried.

mentioned by St. Mark (xv. 21, cf. *Rom.* xvi. 13). The place to which the cross was borne was a mound known as Golgotha,[1] the name ("Skull") perhaps describing its shape. The site has not been identified with certainty; but the locality, though outside the city, was near it (cf. *Joh.* xix. 20), and is described by Eusebius as being on the north of Mount Zion. There is a knoll close to the Damascus road which may be the spot; but it is possible that the name was not derived from the shape of the place, but from some other cause. Two malefactors were also led forth to be crucified with Him.

Mt. adds to the mocking, the placing in the Prisoner's hands of a cane or reed (as a sceptre), with which He was afterwards beaten about the head. *Lk.*, who passes over the mocking by the Roman soldiers (p. 463), relates that in the procession to Golgotha were a number of women who bewailed Him, and that Jesus, turning to them, bade them weep rather for themselves and their children, for a time of such distress was approaching that the curse of barrenness would be counted a blessing (cf. *Mk.* xiii. 17).

Joh. gives a different description of the scourging and mocking. Pilate, after the mob's demand for Barabbas, directs Jesus to be scourged (apparently as a lighter punishment in lieu of the extreme penalty clamoured for by the Jews, cf. *Lk.* xxiii. 22); and the soldiery, in addition, mock Him in the way recorded by the Synoptists. Then Pilate presents Jesus, wearing the scarlet (or purple) robe and the wreath of thorns, to the Jews, who raise the cry "Crucify him"; whereupon the governor bids them take the responsibility of His execution upon themselves, for he regards Him as innocent. The Jews declare that by their Law He deserves death for representing Himself as the Son of God. This alarms Pilate, who, returning into the castle, asks Jesus of His origin. Receiving no answer, he reminds Him of the power he possesses over Him, and Jesus replies that such power is only delegated to him (by God). Pilate makes another effort to save Jesus' life; but fear of a charge of treason which the mob begin to suggest at last causes him to surrender Him to His enemies. The Fourth Evangelist states that Jesus bore the cross for Himself (in contrast to *Mk.* xv. 21).

§ 14. *The Crucifixion and Burial*

Before being fastened to the cross, Jesus was offered a draught of wine drugged with myrrh, intended to dull the senses to the impending torture; but wishing seemingly to keep His mind unclouded as long as possible, He refused it. The method of crucifixion is not indicated in the Synoptists, but the victim's hands were usually made fast to the cross-bar by nails (cf. *Joh.* xx. 25), and the feet were probably secured in the same way (cf. *Lk.* xxiv. 40). The upright post projected above the cross-bar, so that over the sufferer's head a notice could be placed, bearing his name and describing his offence. Jesus was stripped of His garments before He was fastened to the cross, and these fell as a perquisite to the quaternion of soldiers who conducted the execution, and who divided the different pieces among them, casting lots, if not for all, at least for the tunic (*χιτών*).[2] Above Jesus' head was placed a board bearing in the three languages current in Palestine—Latin, Greek and Aramaic[3]—

[1] More correctly *Golgoltâ*.

[2] *Joh.* xix. 23, 24, where the soldiers' action is regarded as a fulfilment of *Ps.* xxii. 18.

[3] These are mentioned only in *Joh.* xix. 20.

an inscription, of which the most probable Greek version, out of the four given by the Evangelists, is that which occurs in *Joh.*, *Ἰήσους ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, though *Mk.* has no more than the last four words. The title must, as the Fourth Evangelist represents, have given great offence to the Jews, and there is nothing impossible in the statement that the Roman governor, when they wished him to replace it by the words, "I am the King of the Jews," found satisfaction for the mortification they had occasioned him by curtly refusing to alter what he had written. On either side of our Lord were crucified the two malefactors, robbers, who were brought to be put to death with Him. By those of the passers-by who were acquainted with the charge laid against Him, that He had claimed to be able to destroy the Temple and restore it in three days, these words were flung at Him, as He hung dying; and He was bidden, if possessed of the power to which He made pretensions, to descend from the cross. Similar taunts were offered by such of the priests and Scribes as watched His agonies: they exclaimed that His ability to save men did not extend to Himself, and professed that if He, the Messiah, Israel's King, would now perform before them the miracle of releasing Himself from the cross, they would believe in Him. Even His fellow-sufferers joined in deriding Him, and reproached Him for not using for His own deliverance and theirs the superhuman resources which as Messiah He had at His disposal. But the scoffing priesthood and its supporters were not the only witnesses of the Lord's death, for a small group of broken-hearted women also stood by the cross. They were those who had ministered to Him in Galilee, and had come with Him from thence to Jerusalem. Three are named in particular by *Mk.*, Mary of Magdala (who, according to *Lk.* viii. 2, had once been a victim of demoniacal possession and had been healed by Jesus), Mary, mother of James the Little and Joses (see p. 365), and Salome, who may have been sister of Mary, the mother of Jesus. These, whom devotion and sympathy chained to the spot, remained until the end came.

Mt., instead of the wine drugged with myrrh, substitutes wine mingled with gall (presumably to recall *Ps.* lxix. 21 [1]), and gives for the title on the cross *οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*. *Lk.* omits to mention the offer of the drugged wine to Jesus; but states that the soldiers, mocking Him, offered Him vinegar (cf. *Mk.* xv. 36); relates that whilst our Saviour was being crucified, He prayed, "Father, forgive them (*i.e.* the Jews, who were responsible for His death), for they know not what they do" (cf. *Acts* iii. 17) [2]; and represents the inscription above the cross as *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*. The scoffing attributed by *Mk.* (who is followed by *Mt.*) to *both* the malefactors is here ascribed to one only: the other, rebuking his companion, begged Jesus to remember Him when He should come in His Kingdom, and received from Jesus the reply that that day he should be with Him in Paradise (the place of repose for the righteous after death (cf. 2 *Cor.* xii. 4, *Rev.* ii. 7)).

Joh. does not allude to the mockery of the priests and passers-by; and in enumerating the women who stood by the Cross probably names four—the mother of Jesus, her sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. Of these the last three may with some plausibility be identified with those named by *Mk.*, the sister of our Lord's

[1] *Mt.* xxvii. 34 is adjusted to the psalm by the substitution in A and some other textual authorities of *ὄξος* for *οἶνον*.

[2] *Lk.* xxiii. 34[a] is absent from B D W Lat. vet. (some codd.), Syr. sin. and Eg. sah.

mother being assumed to be Salome, and Mary the wife of Clopas to be Mary the mother of James and Joses. The Evangelist relates that when Jesus saw His mother, He commended her to the charge of the disciple "whom He loved," and she was taken by him to his own home. The committal by Jesus of His mother to the care of St. John (if he is meant by the beloved disciple, p. 208) is intelligible enough in view of the fact that Mary's other children did not believe in His claims (p. 393), and of the probability that St. John was Mary's nephew; but the absence of all mention by St. Mark of Mary's presence at the Cross is strange if she were really there.

The crucifixion took place three hours before noon [1]; and it is related that, from midday until the time when Jesus breathed His last, darkness covered the whole country (cf. *Am.* viii. 9). Any interval of gloom, from whatever cause, coinciding with the last hours of the Saviour's dying agony would inevitably become invested by Christian believers with significance, since portents in the sky were thought in antiquity to mark the death of great personalities.[2]

Of the last moments and dying words of our Lord the records preserved are separately very brief in compass and divergent from one another in detail. If the substance of *Mk.'s* account be followed (it most likely rests in the last resort upon the reports of witnesses like the women and Simon the Cyrenian), Jesus at the ninth hour from daybreak (*i.e.* about three in the afternoon at this season of the year), cried (in the words of *Ps.* xxii. 1), "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The cry caused some who were standing near to think that He called for help to Elijah.[3] One of the crowd, probably a Roman guard, compassionating the inevitable thirst of the Sufferer, dipped a sponge in the mixture of acid wine and water which, under the name of *posca*, was used by the soldiers as a beverage, and fastening it upon a reed or cane, pressed it to His lips, whilst deprecating interference from his companions on the plea that they should wait to see whether the appeal to Elijah was answered. After receiving the wine Jesus uttered a loud cry and then yielded up His Spirit. The Evangelist records that at the moment when He expired the veil of the Temple separating between the Holy Place and the Most Holy was rent throughout. The statement is often taken literally; and the occurrence attributed to the effect of an earthquake shock,[4] such as is recorded in *Mt.* But it is not ascribed to this cause by the only writer who mentions an earthquake; and it is probably to be understood in a figurative sense, symbolizing the removal, through Christ, of every obstacle impeding the approach of Christians to the very presence of God (cf. *Heb.* x. 19, 20). Upon one of the spectators the circumstances of the Lord's death produced a deep impression. This was the centurion, who

[1] According to *Joh.* xix. 14 it was noon before Pilate delivered Jesus to be crucified.

[2] Cf. Verg. *G.* i. 466–8. *Ille* (the sun) *etiam exstincto miseratus Cæsare Romam. Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit, Impiaque æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem.*

[3] In *Mk.* xv. 34 most MSS. give as the opening words of our Lord's cry, Ἐλωΐ, Ἐλωΐ; but D E have Ἡλεί, Ἡλεί, which transliterates the Hebrew of the psalm and explains better the mistake of the bystanders. In *Mt.* xxvii. 46 there is still stronger authority for this reading.

[4] According to Jewish tradition there were two veils before the Most Holy Place, so thick and heavy that a rent in them could scarcely have been caused by an earthquake (Edersheim, *L. & T.* ii. p. 611).

was in command of the soldiers, and who may have heard the reason why the Jewish priests had brought about His execution. From this man the meekness and patience of Jesus (so unlike his previous experience of similar scenes) and perhaps the gloom that shrouded the landscape, extorted the confession that He whose sufferings he had watched was a Son of God (the words perhaps meaning that He must have been a superhuman Being,[1] though interpreted by the Evangelist in a Christian sense (cf. *Mk.* i. 1)).

The words which by *Mk.* (xv. 36) are put into the mouth of the soldier who offered Jesus vinegar are attributed by *Mt.* to the rest of the spectators, and this is rather more natural, since only Jews would be likely to mistake our Lord's cry for an appeal to Elijah. The First Evangelist mentions an earthquake as following Jesus' death and opening tombs from which rose the bodies of Christian believers,[2] and entering Jerusalem after Jesus' Resurrection appeared to numerous persons there. The passage clearly preserves traditions of visions of the dead, seen, or supposed to be seen, at a much later date than the Crucifixion, with which they are inappropriately brought into connexion, through the fancy that the graves were opened by the earthquake. *Mt.* unites others with the centurion in the acknowledgment that Jesus was divine.

Lk. represents the darkness prevailing from noon till our Lord's death as due to the sun failing.[3] If this is meant to suggest an eclipse (though it does not necessarily do so), such an occurrence is impossible when the moon is full, as is the case on the 14th of a lunar month. The Evangelist omits Jesus' anguished appeal to God ; and represents that the cry which He uttered just before He expired was, " Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit " (cf. *Ps.* xxxi. 5). For the centurion's *οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος Υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν* he substitutes *ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν* (cf. *Wisd.* ii. 18) ; and relates that the multitudes who witnessed what happened returned home smiting their breasts.

Joh. records that Jesus, after commending His mother to " the beloved disciple " (p. 208) cried, " I thirst," thereby fulfilling the words of *Ps.* lxix. 21 ; that some one raised to His lips a sponge full of vinegar by means of a hyssop-stem,[4] and that Jesus, when He received it, cried, " It is finished," and expired. If *Joh.*'s account is derived from an eye-witness, the cry, " I thirst," though not mentioned by *Mk.*, explains what is related in *Mk.* xv. 36.

It was now late in the day (Friday, called the Preparation, cf. Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6, 2), and within a few hours there would begin the Sabbath, which coincided with the Passover festival. The Mosaic Law forbade that the corpse of a person hung or impaled should be left in that condition during the night (*Dt.* xxi. 22, 23, cf. Jos. *B.J.* iv. 5, 2), so that no Jew who respected his religion would have suffered those who had just been executed to remain where they were. But the body of Jesus was not allowed to be disposed of with the indignity with which the corpses of the two criminals crucified with Him were probably treated, though it was not the Apostles (perhaps by this time on their way to their Galilean homes) who saved it from being dishonoured. A member of the Sanhedrin and

[1] Cf. Swete, *St. Mk.* p. 366.

[2] For *ἅγιοι* (*Mt.* xxvii. 52) cf. *Acts* ix. 13, 41.

[3] In *Lk.* xxiii. 45 *τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος* is read by ℵ B C L and the Eg. versions, though A D, etc. and the Lat. and Syriac versions have *καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος*.

[4] Hyssop, a species of marjoram, though having a straight slender stalk, is not a very suitable means for the purpose described (contrast *Ex.* xii. 22, 1 *Kg.* iv. 33), and it has been conjectured that *ὑσσώπῳ* is a textual error for *ὑσσῳ*, " a spear-shaft."

a man of position, called Joseph, a resident of Arimathea (p. 6), who, looking for the Messianic Kingdom (with *Mk.* xv. 43 cf. *Lk.* ii. 25, 38), had probably come to identify Jesus with the Messiah (cf. *Mt.* xxvii. 57, *Joh.* xix. 38), and had taken no part in condemning Him (cf. *Lk.* xxiii. 51), found courage to apply to the Roman governor for permission to pay the last offices to Him. Pilate was surprised at the information that He was already dead, and it was only after verifying the fact through the centurion that he granted the request. Joseph, having bought a linen cloth, and probably obtaining help from a friend or friends, took the Body down from the Cross, wrapped It in the linen, and carried It to a neighbouring tomb hewn in the face of a rock, the entrance of which he closed with a stone. The place of burial is represented as observed by Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses.

Mt., who describes Joseph as a rich man, and the tomb in which he laid Jesus as newly made and intended for himself (cf. 2 *Is.* liii. 9), proceeds to relate that on the morrow (*i.e.* on the Sabbath) the priests and Pharisees petitioned Pilate to make the sepulchre secure until the third day, lest the disciples of Jesus should secretly remove the Body, and then pretend that His prediction that He would rise from the dead after three days had been fulfilled.[1] Pilate gave them leave to take a guard of Roman soldiers and secure the sepulchre, which they did by sealing the stone (cf. *Dan.* vi. 17) in the presence of the soldiers. In view of the fact that the Apostles themselves did not understand what our Lord meant when He spoke of His rising from the dead (*Mk.* ix. 32), it is unlikely that the Jews attached any importance to His words, even if they were acquainted with them; and such an application, as here described, to a Gentile on the Sabbath, and the performance, on that day, of such work as was involved in the sealing, seems even more improbable. In *Mk.*, who is followed by *Lk.*, there is no hint that the tomb was sealed and guarded.

Joh. relates that the Jews asked Pilate, in case those who had been crucified were not yet dead, that their legs might be broken to put an end to the remnant of life in them, and so enable the bodies to be removed. The two robbers were still alive; but Jesus had already expired. One of the soldiers, however, stabbed His side, causing to issue forth a gush of blood and water. The occurrence is vouched for by a witness who is possibly the writer of the Gospel (p. 224); and who affirms emphatically the certainty of his knowledge.[2] If the narrative really rests upon such good authority, the details it supplies supplement very considerably the brief account in *Mk.* The explanation of the outflow of blood and water is obscure; but it has been suggested that there occurred a rupture of the heart, followed by an effusion of blood into the lungs and the filling of the pericardium with serous fluid. This blood (it is supposed) had rapidly separated into its more solid and more liquid constituents; and these, when they issued forth after the pericardium had been penetrated by the soldier's lance, were distinguishable to the sight.[3] In the circumstance that Christ's limbs were not broken, but that His body was pierced, the Evangelist saw a fulfilment of certain Scriptural passages—*Ex.* xii. 46, *Num.* ix. 12 (referring to the Paschal Lamb), *Ps.* xxxiv. 20, 2 *Zech.* xii. 10 (where, though the majority of Heb. MSS. have *me*, some read *him*).

The Fourth Evangelist, in his account of the Burial, states that Joseph was aided

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[1] As the prediction is represented as "remembered" by the Pharisees the reference seems to be to *Mt.* xii. 40.

[2] In *Joh.* xix. 35 the witness appeals to some one who is acquainted with the truth of his statement, "He (ἐκεῖνος) knoweth that he (the witness) saith true"; but it is uncertain who is meant by ἐκεῖνος. The pronoun has been taken to refer (*a*) to the writer himself (cf. ix. 37); (*b*) to the disciple "whom Jesus loved" (mentioned in xix. 26); (*c*) to the Living Christ (see 1 *Joh.* iii. 3, 5, 16, and cf. the asseveration in 2 *Cor.* xi. 31). The last seems the best explanation.

[3] Stroud, *Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*, quoted by Westcott.

in the removal of the Body from the Cross by Nicodemus (previously mentioned in iii. 1 f., vii. 50), and that the two brought a mixture [1] of spices, weighing about a hundred pounds, which they used in preparing it for burial. It is not asserted that what is here recorded rests (like the statement in xix. 34) upon the first-hand testimony of an eye-witness; and the quantity of spices seems excessive; but if there was anything done to embalm the Body, the appropriate occasion would be before (as here represented), and not after, It was laid in the tomb.

§ 15. *Life from the Dead*

It has been seen that Jesus, after His avowal to His disciples at Cæsarea Philippi that He was the Christ, explained that suffering and death awaited Him, though He was not destined to remain in the world of the dead, but to rise again from it. But their expectations prevented them from understanding Him; to them the death of the Messiah was an idea unfamiliar and unintelligible. Consequently, when He was arrested, they forsook Him and fled; and when He ended His earthly life on the Cross, the hopes which they had fixed on Him ended also. From this condition of despair they emerged within a very brief period (not exceeding, at the most, a few weeks), with their faith in Him not only renewed but heightened; and they proceeded to attempt to convert their countrymen to the same belief which they themselves had regained, namely, that the Jesus Who had been crucified was really the Messiah predicted by the prophets. This transition from the profoundest despondency to buoyant confidence, inducing multitudes of persons to credit their statements and resulting in the rapid growth of the Christian Church, has to be accounted for; and the existence of that Church is the best evidence that some real experiences lie behind the records in the Gospels and elsewhere in the New Testament, representing that Jesus after His death and burial showed Himself to be alive. The nature of those experiences it is now necessary to examine by consideration of the earliest testimony available.

Unfortunately the earliest Gospel on which principal reliance has been placed for the history of our Lord's earthly life is, as regards an account of His Resurrection, incomplete. Of the concluding chapter of *Mk.* only the first eight verses are genuine. The remaining twelve verses are absent from the oldest MSS. and various other textual authorities, and seem to be of decidedly later origin (p. 180). Of the rest of the Gospels only one, viz. *Mt.*, contains a narrative which in part, at least, may with some plausibility be regarded as based upon the missing portion of *Mk.* In the instance of *Lk.* the divergences from what is suggested by *Mk.* and related by *Mt.* are too considerable to be derived from *Mk.'s* lost conclusion. In the first chapter of *Acts* there is a description of Christ's final departure to heaven, which conveys a different idea from that produced by the account in the last chapter of the Third Gospel, though both proceed from the same author. The Fourth Gospel has a narrative virtually peculiar to itself, though not without points of contact with the other Gospels.

In consequence of the mutilation of *Mk.*, evidence from the Gospels

[1] Most MSS. have μίγμα, but ℵ B have ἕλιγμα ("a roll").

respecting the circumstances and manner in which Jesus gave proof, after He had been put to death, that He was alive, comes from relatively late sources. Happily this deficiency of early evidence from the Gospels is in some measure made good by information forthcoming from another quarter. This is the testimony of St. Paul, afforded partly by himself in 1 *Cor.* xv. (which is prior in date to any of the Gospels), and partly, through St. Luke, in various narratives comprised in *Acts*. The most trustworthy account, then, of the Resurrection must be looked for from the witness of St. Paul (direct or indirect), in combination with the narrative of *Mk.* xvi. 1–8, supplemented by that contained in *Mt.* xxviii. 10, 16, 17 (as presumably resting upon what was once included in *Mk.*). The accounts of *Lk.* and *Joh.* require, of course, to be noticed; but in consequence of their later date, and the difficulty of tracing their origin, they will be treated as of secondary value.

It will conduce to clearness to consider separately:—

I. The earliest evidence relating to the time when Jesus rose from the dead, and to the occasions when He showed Himself alive.

II. The earliest evidence bearing upon the nature of the appearances of the Risen Lord.

III. Various conclusions deducible from such evidence.

I. *The Earliest Evidence for the Time of the Resurrection and of the Appearances of the Risen Jesus*

The documentary testimony earliest in date is that of St. Paul, who in 1 *Cor.* xv. 3 f., tells the Corinthians that what he had related to them concerning the appearances of the Risen Lord he had himself received from members of the Church. He recounts how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried; that He had been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures; that He had appeared to Cephas (Peter); then to the "Twelve"; then to above 500 brethren together; then to James; then to all the Apostles; and, last of all, to himself. It is desirable to comment briefly upon various matters contained in this statement.

(i) The six appearances enumerated are not necessarily exhaustive of all that had come to St. Paul's knowledge, though there is nothing that suggests a selection out of a large number. Only two can be plausibly identified with any recorded in the Gospels. The first (to Peter alone) is perhaps alluded to in *Mk.* xvi. 7, by the separate mention of that Apostle; the second (to the Twelve) is probably the same as that related in *Mt.* xxviii. 16, the "twelve" being strictly eleven.

(ii) In regard to the scenes of these appearances no particular localities are specified by St. Paul. But from the evidence of St. Mark and of the First Evangelist it seems probable that the earliest, at least, occurred in Galilee. (*a*) According to *Mk.* xiv. 28 Jesus, when predicting His resurrection, declared that He would go before His Apostles into Galilee. (*b*) *Mt.*, whose account in xxviii. 1–8 agrees substantially with *Mk.* xvi. 1–8, and who may be presumed in xxviii. 16 f. to have made some use also of the missing part of the Second Gospel, expressly states that it was in Galilee

that the eleven disciples saw their Lord (xxviii. 16, 17). The third appearance—that to 500 together—probably occurred in Galilee; for at Jerusalem even by Pentecost the number of believers appears to have been not more than 120 in all (*Acts* i. 15). Presumably the 500 included Joseph Barsabbas and Matthias.[1]

(iii) St. Paul represents that Christ was raised "on the third day according to the Scriptures"; and the form of the statement leaves it uncertain whether the Apostle's assertion had behind it the testimony of witnesses independently of the Scriptures, or whether it was a prediction in the Scriptures (*Ps.* xvi. 10 and *Hos.* vi. 2) which afforded ground for it. None of the New Testament writings affirms that any human eye beheld Jesus rise from the dead; but St. Mark has a narrative which implies that proof was forthcoming early on the third day after the Crucifixion that He had already risen from the grave. Three women, Mary Magdalene, Mary, mother of James the Little, and Salome (the same that had watched the Crucifixion, *Mk.* xv. 40), went to the tomb of Jesus very early after sunrise on Sunday morning to anoint His body; discovered to their surprise that the stone closing the sepulchre had been removed; saw a young man (clearly an angel[2]) seated within, who declared that Jesus was risen and was not there (they might see where He had been laid); and were directed by him to inform His disciples and Peter (assumed to be still in Jerusalem) that they should see Him in Galilee as He had previously told them (see *Mk.* xiv. 28). The narrative goes on to relate that the women fled from the tomb in a panic, and said nothing to anyone because they were afraid. The Gospel now ends abruptly with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, but it is unlikely that it originally concluded thus; and in view of what is recorded in *Mt.* xxviii. 16, 17 (if this may be assumed to be dependent on *Mk.*), it seems probable that the women's fear did not prevent them from conveying the angel's message eventually to the disciples, perhaps in Jerusalem, possibly in Galilee, and that in Galilee the latter saw their Lord. To this visit of the women to the grave St. Paul makes no allusion, though, as he confines himself to mentioning successive *appearances of Jesus* to the Apostles and others, and there is no record in *Mk.* of any appearance of the Lord to the women, his silence about it, if he knew of it, is explicable.

The earliest evidence, then, concerning the time of the Resurrection, and the scenes and occasions of the Appearances, yields the following conclusions:—

According to *Mk.* it was believed that Jesus rose from the dead (not, was seen alive) on the third day after His death, because on that day an angel announced the fact to some women at the grave, which was found

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[1] Since St. Luke wrote *Acts*, it is natural to suppose that, when in it St. Paul is represented as saying at Pisidian Antioch that Jesus was seen at Jerusalem by those who had attended Him on His journey thither from Galilee (*Acts* xiii. 30), the writer has in mind the occasion described in his own Gospel (xxiv. 36 f.). It is curious that there is no mention in *Acts* of the appearance to the 500 recorded by St. Paul (1 *Cor.* xv. 6).

[2] Cf. the descriptions in *Mk.* xvi. 5, *Lk.* xxiv. 4, *Acts* i. 10.

empty ; but the testimony of St. Paul (an earlier witness), who, though he mentions the burial of Jesus, does not allude to any discovery that the grave was empty, makes it possible that the belief that the Resurrection occurred on the Third day originated in consequence of an Old Testament prophecy. Jesus showed Himself alive in Galilee, probably first of all to St. Peter, and then to the rest of the Eleven, but, if so, not until an interval had elapsed after the Crucifixion long enough to allow them to journey thither from Jerusalem.[1] In connexion with subsequent appearances to 500 believers collectively, to James individually, and to all the Apostles (*i.e.* including others besides the Eleven) no localities are anywhere mentioned. An appearance many years later was seen by St. Paul near Damascus.

The accounts contained in the other three Gospels are as follows :—

In *Mt.* the narrative describing how the Jews, after our Lord's burial, sealed the stone closing the sepulchre, and set a watch (p. 469), naturally affects the writer's story of the Resurrection. He recounts that late on the Sabbath day, as it was drawing close to the first day of the week (*i.e.* late on *Saturday* evening),[2] Mary Magdalene and "the other Mary" (*i.e.* the mother of James and Joses) went to see the grave (contrast *Mk.* xvi. 1) ; that there occurred a great earthquake, and that an angel descended to remove the stone, causing the guards to be paralysed with fear. After the latter had reported to the Jewish authorities what had happened, they were bribed to say that they had slept at their posts, and that during their slumber the body of Jesus was taken from the tomb by His disciples. The story must have arisen at a time when the belief that the sepulchre was found empty was undisputed, or could not be refuted, but when controversy prevailed between Christians and their Jewish adversaries as to how the circumstance was to be explained. Certain improbabilities attaching to the account in *Mt.* xxvii. 62–66, of which the narrative in xxviii. 11–15 is the sequel, have already been noticed (p. 469). Besides making this addition to *Mk.* the First Evangelist expands and modifies the latter's narrative concerning the women. By the angel, who was seated on the stone and so was outside the grave (contrast *Mk.* xvi. 5), the two women were told that Jesus had risen, and were bidden to inform His Apostles that they were to see Him in Galilee. Filled with fear and great joy they ran with all speed to convey the tidings (contrast *Mk.* xvi. 8) ; and on the way were met by Jesus Himself, Whose feet they clasped, and by Whom the angel's message was repeated. The Apostles went to Galilee to a certain mountain appointed by Jesus ; saw their Lord there ; and worshipped Him, though some others doubted. Nothing is said of their subsequent movements. The narrative finally represents that the Lord instructed them to make disciples of all nations (cf. xxiv. 14 = *Mk.* xiii. 10, and see p. 613) and to baptize them "into" the name (p. 628) of the Trinity, and assured them of His continual presence with them.

The account of Jesus' appearance to the Apostles in Galilee probably reproduces the lost conclusion of *Mk.* (p. 471) ; but it is unlikely that the meeting of the women with Jesus was related by *Mk.*,[3] for it is difficult to reconcile it with the inference that may reasonably be drawn from St. Paul and the surviving portion of *Mk.*'s last chapter combined together. These convey the impression that the appearance of the Lord to Peter and the other Apostles in Galilee, which could not have occurred on the third day after the Crucifixion (see above), was the *earliest* of all. The comparatively late origin of the contents of *Mt.* xxviii. is suggested by the tenor of the final instructions represented as given to the Apostles by Jesus, for these seem to reproduce conceptions of the scope of the Christian Church which were only realized

[1] The distance between them could be covered in three days (Jos. *Vit.* 52).

[2] For the use of τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων (Saturday passing into Sunday) cf. *Lk.* xxiii. 54 καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν (Friday passing into Saturday).

[3] "This incident [related in *Mt.* xxviii. 9, 10] is probably a late addition," McNeile, *St. Mt.* p. 432.

gradually, and to embody a formula of baptism which is not that which was used in early Apostolic times (p. 628).

Lk., in the early part of his account, follows *Mk.* xvi. 1–8, but with conspicuous differences. It is related that a group of women, including, but not confined to, Mary Magdalene, Joanna wife of Chuza, and Mary the mother of James, after resting on the Sabbath, came at early dawn on the first day of the week to render the last tribute of care to their Lord's body, and discovered the stone which had closed the tomb (not previously mentioned in *Lk.*, but in *Mk.* xv. 46) rolled away. When they entered the tomb they did not find the Body ; and whilst they were perplexed, *two* [1] angels (contrast *Mk.* xvi. 5) stood by them, who declared that Jesus was not there but risen. Instead, however, of charging them with a message for the Apostles, bidding them go to Galilee (as in *Mk.* xvi. 7), where they would see the Lord, they merely reminded them of an utterance of Jesus whilst He was yet in Galilee (see *Lk.* ix. 22 [2] and contrast *Mk.* viii. 31), the departure from *Mk.*'s account being necessitated by the Third Evangelist's subsequent representation that the Lord appeared to the Apostles only in Jerusalem. The women informed the Apostles and others of their experiences at the sepulchre, but were disbelieved. Of any appearance to them of Jesus Himself (as in *Mt.* xxviii. 9, 10) no mention is made here.

From this point *Lk.*'s narrative is independent of *Mk.* Three incidents are recorded. (*a*) Peter, to test the story of the women, went to the tomb, found the Body absent, but saw the linen cloths that had wrapped It, and departed wondering to his home (seemingly in Jerusalem).[3] (*b*) The same day two disciples (one being named Cleopas), whilst journeying to a village called Emmaus (p. 6), were overtaken by a Stranger, to Whom they related how Jesus of Nazareth, Who, they had hoped, would prove the predicted Redeemer of Israel (cf. ii. 25, 38, *Acts* i. 6), had been crucified, how certain women, visiting His sepulchre, had discovered it empty, and had been told by angels that He was alive, and how the emptiness of the tomb had been confirmed by some of their own number (this incident not being otherwise recorded in *Lk.*). The Stranger chided them for not crediting the prophecies which foretold the Christ's sufferings prior to His entrance upon His glory, and which He now interpreted ; and when they invited Him to sup with them, He Himself broke the bread, as though presiding at the meal (cf. *Mk.* vi. 41, viii. 6, xiv. 22), and immediately vanished from their sight. Returning to Jerusalem, they informed the Apostles, and were told by them [4] that the Lord was risen and had appeared unto Simon (this appearance being apparently identical with that to Peter recorded in 1 *Cor.* xv. 5, but represented as occurring in Jerusalem, not, as suggested by *Mk.* xvi. 7, in Galilee). (*c*) As the two related their experiences, Jesus stood in the midst of the company, greeted them,[5] reassured them (for they were terrified) by showing them His hands and feet, bearing the marks of the nails,[6] bade them handle Him, and ate food before them (cf. *Acts* x. 41). He then declared that by what had happened certain words of His, spoken before His death, were fulfilled ; helped them to understand the Scriptures, which had foretold His Passion, Resurrection, and the universal preaching, in His name, of repentance and forgiveness (cf. *Mt.* xxviii. 19 and p. 473) ; and enjoined them to wait at Jerusalem until they were endowed with the Spirit (cf. *Lk.* iii. 16, *Acts* i. 8). After this (appar-

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[1] The tendency for numbers to increase with the lapse of time is illustrated by *Mt.* viii. 28, and xx. 30 as compared with *Mk.* v. 2 and x. 46. Two angels figure in the narrative of the Ascension (*Acts* i. 10).

[2] The declaration here recorded was addressed to the Twelve.

[3] *Lk.* xxiv. 12, recounting the episode, is absent from D, and from several MSS. of the Old Latin and Old Syriac ; it has been suggested that it originated with *Joh.* xx. 2–10. It is possible that *πρὸς αὑτόν* should go with *θαυμάζων* ("wondering to himself") and not with *ἀπῆλθεν*.

[4] In *Lk.* xxiv. 34 most MSS. have *λέγοντας*, but D has *λέγοντες*, implying that Cleopas and his companion told the Apostles that Jesus had appeared unto Simon, which involves the improbable conclusion that one of the Apostles (either Peter or Simon the Zealot) was Cleopas' companion. The two travellers when they returned found "the eleven" (*i.e.* all the Apostles except Judas) gathered together (*v.* 33).

[5] In *Lk.* xxiv. 36 the greeting is absent from D and Lat. vet. ; cf. *Joh.* xx. 19.

[6] *Lk.* xxiv. 40 is absent from the same authorities.

ently on the evening of the same day, though the narrative may be compressed and the contents of *v.* 50 may not be meant to be continuous with those of *vv.* 44–49). He led them out to the neighbourhood of Bethany, and there, after blessing them, He was separated from them and carried up into heaven.[1]

This account of the Ascension is modified by St. Luke in *Acts*. There (i. 1–11) it is related that Christ appeared unto the Apostles at intervals during forty days (a conventional figure (*Mk.* i. 13, *Ex.* xxiv. 18, *Ezek.* iv. 6, *Jonah* iii. 4)); that at the end of this period He was taken up visibly into the clouds; and that as the disciples gazed after Him two angels stood by them, and declared that Jesus Who had just been received into heaven was destined to return thence in like manner.

Lk.'s account in xxiv. 36 f. cannot be reconciled with the narrative of Jesus' appearance to the Eleven contained in *Mt.* xxviii. 16, the scene of which is a mountain in Galilee. There is, of course, no difficulty in supposing that our Lord appeared at one time to the Apostles in Galilee, and was seen at another time by them in Jerusalem; but certainly *Lk.* and almost certainly *Mt.* regard the Appearance which each separately records as being *the first* manifestation of the Risen Lord to the Eleven. *Lk.* omits both Jesus' prediction that His disciples would be scattered, and the record of its fulfilment (*Mk.* xiv. 27, 50); and by representing the Apostles as directed to stay in Jerusalem until they received power from on high (xxiv. 49) expressly excludes any appearances in Galilee prior to the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost. It becomes necessary, therefore, to choose between the two accounts; and it seems tolerably certain that *Mt.* (p. 471) contains the earlier and that *Lk.* has transferred the Appearance in Galilee to Jerusalem intentionally. This transfer has occasioned the Third Evangelist to modify seriously the passage in *Mk.* xvi. 7 (see *Lk.* xxiv. 6, 7). If the appearance to *Simon* referred to in xxiv. 34 is the same as that to St. Peter mentioned in 1 *Cor.* xv. 5, and the scene of the latter was originally Galilee (as *Mk.* xvi. 7 suggests), this, too, has been transferred by *Lk.* to Jerusalem. No other evangelist describes Jesus' Ascension into heaven (though see *Mk.* xvi. 19), and the two versions of it, in the Gospel and *Acts*, are not, as they stand, easily harmonized. Presumably in *Acts* the Evangelist sought to preserve a tradition which he had learnt since the composition of his first work.

Though the period of forty days (*Acts* i. 3) is conventional, yet inasmuch as no appearances of the Risen Lord are recorded after Pentecost (fifty days after Easter) except that seen by St. Paul, it seems probable that all, with this exception, occurred approximately within six weeks.

Joh. describes how Mary Magdalene, seemingly unaccompanied by other women[2] (contrast *Mk.* xvi. 1, *Mt.* xxviii. 1, *Lk.* xxiii. 55 (cf. viii. 2)), came early to the tomb, on the first day of the week (Sunday) whilst it was yet dark (contrast *Mk.* xvi. 2), her purpose not being mentioned.[3] On reaching it, she found the stone removed; and on discovering that the tomb was open, she inferred that the body of the Lord had been taken away, and returning hastily, she reported to Peter and John her conclusion. The two Apostles, on hearing her tale, ran to the sepulchre and looking into it, found it empty save for the cloths in which the Body had been wrapped and which retained the relative positions that they occupied when they swathed the Body.[4] They drew the same inference as Mary, and returned to their home (assumed to be Jerusalem). Mary, who had seemingly followed them back to the graveside, remained by it weeping; and, like the Apostles previously, she looked into it and saw two angels within (cf. *Lk.* xxiv. 4). In answer to their inquiries why she wept, she explained that the Body of her Lord, which she was seeking, had been removed. Then turning round, she suddenly beheld the Lord Himself, though she did not recognize Him. He put to her the same inquiry as the angels; and she, taking Him to be the gardener, asked Him, in case He had taken away the Body, to tell her where it

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[1] In *Lk.* xxiv. 51 the words *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* are absent from ℵ D, Lat. vet. (most codd.), Syr. vet.

[2] Note however the *we* in xx. 2.

[3] It could not have been to anoint the Body, since, according to the writer, this had previously been done by Joseph and Nicodemus (xix. 39, 40).

[4] Attention is drawn to the fact in order to show that the Body had not been removed in haste by human hands.

had been laid. Jesus then addressed her by her name, whereupon she knew Him and tried to embrace His feet, but was forbidden to touch Him, since He had not yet ascended to His Father; and she was then directed to tell His disciples that His ascension to God was near, and this command she fulfilled. Occurrences that are peculiar to this narrative are the information carried by Mary Magdalene to Peter and John, the visit of these to the tomb together, and the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene alone. It will be observed that the message here conveyed by Mary Magdalene to the Apostles differs alike from the message committed to the women by the angel in *Mk.* xvi. 7, and that carried by the women in *Lk.* xxiv. 9. It would seem that the visit of St. Peter and St. John to the sepulchre here recorded can hardly have found place in *Mk.*, though the latter Gospel is based on the reminiscences of St. Peter. But the most notable feature in the Johannine account is the reason for our Lord's refusal to allow Mary to touch Him. In view of the fact that a week afterwards (as related below) He expressly bade St. Thomas feel His hands and His side, it looks as if the writer supposed that the Ascension occurred between the appearance to Mary and the appearance to the eleven Apostles.

It was in the evening that Jesus is described as first presenting Himself to the disciples as they were gathered together within closed doors for fear of the Jews (St. Thomas being absent). He displayed to them His hands and side to convince them of His identity; and then by breathing on them He imparted to them the Holy Spirit, and empowered them to forgive or to retain the sins of men. This incident seems to be another version of that narrated in *Lk.* xxiv. 36, the scene of both being placed in Jerusalem, though in the Third Gospel the gift of the Spirit is promised for a future time, a promise represented in *Acts* ii. as fulfilled at Pentecost.

A second appearance to the Apostles on the same day in the following week is narrated in the Fourth Gospel only. St. Thomas, on his return to the rest of the company, had doubted whether He Whom the other Apostles declared they had seen was really the Jesus Who had been crucified. When the Eleven (Thomas now being included) were gathered together under the same conditions as before, Jesus once more appeared, and, after the customary greeting, bade St. Thomas satisfy himself that his Master really stood before him. St. Thomas, without applying the test he had desired, confessed himself convinced, saying, "My Lord and my God"; whereupon Jesus pronounced blessed those who, without seeing, yet believed. It is not improbable that the narrative is introduced for the sake of this Beatitude. The author of the Gospel had in mind the numerous Christian believers who had never seen Christ, and in whom faith had been created (independently of any proof appealing to the senses) by the evidence of the Scriptures and by an affinity of spirit between them and their Lord; and so, desiring to assure them that Christ counted them more deserving of blessedness than those whose eyes had beheld Him, he embodied his conviction in the narrative just considered.

In addition to the accounts of our Lord's appearances contained in the original portion of the Fourth Gospel, there is another in the Appendix (ch. xxi.), which is of an exceptional character. It relates that when seven of the disciples—Peter, the two sons of Zebedee, Thomas, Nathanael and two others that are unnamed—were in Galilee (whither they cannot have gone until at least a week after the Resurrection, if the contents of this ch. are supposed to be subsequent to those of ch. xx.), and were fishing by night in the lake unsuccessfully, they saw in the morning on the beach one whom they did not recognize, but who hailed them and inquired whether they had aught to eat. On their replying in the negative, they were told to cast the net on the right side of the boat; and at once they enclosed so large a catch that they were unable without assistance to drag the net to land. The marvel of the occurrence led St. John to exclaim to St. Peter that it was the Lord, whereupon St. Peter leaped into the sea to go to Him. When the boat came to shore, the occupants found a fire kindled there, with bread and fish; and Jesus bade them bring of the fishes which they had taken (in all they numbered 153) [1] and break their fast; and Himself distributed the food. The passage is followed by a narrative of a conversation between our Lord and St. Peter, in which Christ elicited from the Apostle a three-fold confession

[1] Possibly all the various kinds of fish were considered to amount to this number, and to represent symbolically all mankind or all the Gentiles.

of affection, enjoined upon him the care of His flock, and indicated that he would suffer martyrdom ; whilst an inquiry by St. Peter about the fate in store for St. John was answered in a way that left his curiosity unsatisfied. What makes the first part of this account remarkable is the close resemblance which it bears to a narrative, including a miraculous catch of fishes, which is contained in *Lk.* v. 3–11, and which St. Luke substitutes for the account of the call of Simon, Andrew, and the two sons of Zebedee given in *Mk.* i. 16–20 (p. 374). The features of likeness are (*a*) the fruitless night's fishing, (*b*) the direction by Jesus that the fishermen should let down the net again, (*c*) the immediate success that attended their obedience, (*d*) the need of help to bring the laden net to land. If, then in view of these similarities a common tradition lies behind both of these narratives, one of them has been distorted from its original significance. *Prima facie* the large catch of fish common to both is rather more congruous with a call of the disciples to become fishers of men (as in *Lk.*) than with an appearance of the Risen Christ (as in *Joh.*). On the other hand, St. Peter's confession of sinfulness in *Lk.* v. 8 (though absent from *Joh.*) is not adequately motived by anything previously recorded of him in the Third Gospel ; and accords better with the supposition that it was once connected with some incident subsequent to his denial of his Master. If the original source of the narrative was a tradition referring to a post-Resurrection appearance of Jesus to His disciples (as recorded in *Joh.*), the particular miracle occurring in it may have caused St. Luke to regard it as really relating to the call of the disciples to become fishers of men ; and he would be the more inclined to view it in this light since he wished to confine the Resurrection appearances of our Lord to Jerusalem. As the account stands in *Joh.*, it is the *third* appearance of the Lord to members of the Apostolic band (cf. *Joh.* xxi. 14), though the first in Galilee ; and is clearly distinct from that in *Mt.* xxviii. 16. The representation that the disciples were engaged in fishing in the Lake of Galilee when they saw their Lord seems to reflect a tradition that after the Crucifixion they not only returned to Galilee but resumed their ordinary avocations there.

Finally, allusion may here be made to the narratives in the unauthentic endings of *Mk.* (p. 180f.). Neither adds anything of importance or of independent value to what is related elsewhere. It is noteworthy that the Longer Ending seems to represent the Ascension as taking place from the chamber where Jesus manifested Himself to the Eleven as they sat at meat ; but the discrepancy with *Lk.* xxiv. 50 is probably due to compression.

II. *The Earliest Evidence for the Nature of the Appearances*

No light is thrown upon the nature of the first appearance of the Lord in Galilee by the two Gospels which allude to, or narrate, it, for *Mk.'s* account of it is lost, and *Mt.'s* account is too brief to be illuminating. *Mk.*, however, with whom all the other Gospels agree, represents that the Sepulchre was found on the third day empty (p. 472), and this, if a fact, implies a physical resuscitation of the Lord's body. This idea is accentuated and amplified in the narratives of *Mt.*, *Lk.* and *Joh.*, which respectively describe how the women whom Jesus met as they were leaving the grave took hold of His feet (*Mt.* xxviii. 9) ; how, when He appeared to the Apostles at Jerusalem, He bade them handle Him and see that He was not a spirit, but was possessed of flesh and bones, showed them His hands and feet that had been pierced with the nails, and ate before them (*Lk.* xxiv. 36–43) ; and how He told Thomas to satisfy his doubts by putting his hand into the wound in His side (*Joh.* xx. 27). It is also re-asserted by St. Luke in *Acts*, where he reports that both St. Peter and St. Paul declared that Christ's flesh saw no corruption (*Acts* ii. 31, xiii. 37), and that St. Peter affirmed that certain chosen witnesses (the Apostles) ate and drank with Him after He rose from the dead (*Acts* x. 41). But since both *Lk.* and *Joh.* ascribe to the Risen Lord the power of appearing

and vanishing at will, and the latter emphasizes the circumstance that He could enter and depart through closed doors (*Lk.* xxiv. 31, *Joh.* xx. 19, 26), it follows that these Evangelists must have thought that the stone was supernaturally removed from the entrance of the grave not in order to allow the Lord to issue forth, but to allow those who visited the sepulchre to see that it was no longer tenanted. It is possible that the same belief lies behind the narrative of St. Mark (see especially xvi. 6); but the absence of any account of the meeting between Jesus and the Apostles prevents a confident conclusion.

The Gospels, however, are not the only evidence relating to the nature of the Resurrection Body. Among those who saw the Risen Christ was St. Paul, and though he gives no detailed account of the vision which he beheld near Damascus, he explains in 1 *Cor.* xv. his convictions about the Resurrection of dead men, which must have been based to some extent upon his personal experiences. Of the vision near Damascus three narratives are contained in *Acts* (ch. ix., xxii., and xxvi.); and it is expedient to notice these as well as the conclusions expressed by the Apostle in 1 *Cor.*

(*a*) The author of *Acts* was a companion of St. Paul at several periods of his career (p. 235 f.), so that he was in a position to know what explanation the Apostle gave of the great crisis in his life; whilst he probably heard the speech delivered to the Jews which is reported in xxii.[1] The three narratives are compared with one another in some detail elsewhere: here it will suffice to treat them together. They all agree in affirming that an intense light was seen, and a Voice heard; but they leave it doubtful whether the Voice was audible to any but St. Paul, and say nothing of a visible or tangible Form. But as the Apostle in certain passages of his Epistles declares that he had *seen* the Lord, it must be inferred that he was conscious of a Presence near him, and believed that he had direct intercourse with the Living Messiah.

(*b*) St. Paul's own statements about the Resurrection relate primarily to the resurrection of Christians; but it seems legitimate to gather from these his convictions about that of Christ. Since he anticipated that not all Christians would die before Christ's Return, he takes account of two classes—those who would then be alive and those who would have previously passed away. Though it is only in connexion with those dying before the Second Coming that the Apostle's expectations throw any light upon his thoughts respecting Christ's resurrection, yet it will be expedient to notice what he says of each class. (1) Those who would be alive at the Return he anticipated would be changed in an instant, their mortal and corruptible bodies being replaced by spiritual bodies, immortal and incorruptible (1 *Cor.* xv. 51–53). Such a transformation he regarded as inevitable, since flesh and blood could not inherit the kingdom of God. The body with which the human soul was invested during this life of humiliation would be refashioned and conformed to Christ's Body, which

[1] This was delivered in Aramaic, but St. Luke (especially if he were an Antiochene, p. 195), may have been acquainted with the tongue.

was a glorious Body (*Phil.* iii. 21). The new tabernacle for the soul, described as reserved for it in heaven (2 *Cor.* v. 1), would be, as it were, drawn over the existing fleshly habitation (which would then be dissolved in some unexplained way), so that what had been previously a material body would become a spiritual body, and what was mortal would be swallowed up by life (2 *Cor.* v. 4). (2) In the case of the dead, the Apostle thought that the soul, abiding in the nether world, would also be suddenly invested with a spiritual and glorious body and would rise with it. He seems to have conceived of the souls of the dead, during the interval between death and the Return of Christ, as disembodied, "naked and unclothed" (2 *Cor.* v. 3, 4), a state from which he himself shrank, and which he desired to escape by surviving till the Coming of Christ, and so to be put in possession of his spiritual, incorruptible tabernacle, without experiencing the bodiless condition of those Christians who died before the Lord returned. It is difficult to feel much certainty about the Apostle's final conclusions, for his thoughts seem to have fluctuated somewhat and his language leaves it doubtful whether he believed or not in an actual transformation of the body previously buried (contrast 2 *Cor.* v. 2 with *Rom.* viii. 23). Perhaps the more likely view is that he did not. He seems to have held that at the Coming of the Lord the disembodied soul of the believer would receive from God a *new* body, spiritual, incorruptible, and immortal. This bestowal of a body different in substance from that deposited in the grave he illustrates by the parallel of the new corn, which through God's creative power replaces the grain which, put in the ground, has decayed there (1 *Cor.* xv. 36–38). The body of the new corn cannot be a reconstruction of the particles of the seed previously sown (from which it differs widely) but is supplied by God; and similarly the spiritual body with which the human personality will be invested after death will not be a reconstitution of the material elements of the body that has been buried, but will be provided, through Divine power, to meet the requirements of a heavenly environment, essential identity of the person being preserved.

It is possible that, in the parallel drawn between what happens in the case of mankind and what happens in the case of seeds, it is not the burial of the dead but the entrance of the soul (or vital principle) into the material world *at birth* which is described as a process of *being sown* (1 *Cor.* xv. 42–44). The child, when born, may be said to be "sown in corruption" since St. Paul regarded human existence here as being in the bondage of corruption (*Rom.* viii. 21, cf. *Phil.* iii. 21). This explanation of 1 *Cor.* xv. 42–44 has the advantage of avoiding the designation of a corpse as a σῶμα ψυχικόν (*v.* 44); and it is also urged against the common interpretation (adopted above) that the use of σπείρειν in connexion with burial is unattested.[1] This latter argument, however, is not very weighty, since it is only in a writer who believed in a Resurrection that it is likely to occur.

The evidence relating to the character of the Appearances leads to different conclusions, according to the value attached to the account in the earliest Gospel that the Sepulchre was found open on the Third Day and the Body of the Lord seen to be absent. It may be urged in favour

[1] See Charles, *Eschatology*, pp. 392, 393, Robertson and Plummer, 1 *Cor.* pp. 380, 381, *Expositor's N.T.* ii. p. 936 (Findlay).

of the credibility of this account (*a*) that the adoption of the first day of the week (in place of the seventh) by Christians for the weekly meetings for common worship obtains an explanation if the Resurrection occurred on that day; (*b*) that St. Paul expressly affirms that Jesus rose on the third day, and implies by mention of His burial that the grave was on that day found empty, as St. Mark represents; (*c*) that if the sepulchre was not discovered empty, the contention of the Apostles that their Lord was risen could have been disproved by the Jews through an investigation of the tomb and the production of the Body; (*d*) that Jesus' body is affirmed by both St. Peter and St. Paul not to have experienced corruption (*Acts* ii. 31, xiii. 34–37). These arguments are open to certain counter-considerations. (*a*) The observance of the first day of the week may commemorate what happened on Pentecost, which fell on that day, for the descent of the Spirit on that occasion was ascribed to the action of the Lord (*Acts* ii. 33). (*b*) St. Paul's assertion that Jesus was raised on the third day may be an inference from Scripture (p. 472), and the mention of His burial may be only meant to complete the account of His death. (*c*) If the earliest appearances of the Risen Lord occurred in Galilee, a considerable interval must have elapsed before those who witnessed them gave their testimony in Jerusalem; and by the time they did so, identification of the Body would have been difficult, if not impossible.[1] (*d*) The speeches of St. Peter and St. Paul were not heard by St. Luke, who reports them, and there is no first-hand evidence available to show in what terms the Apostles, on the occasions in question, really proclaimed the resurrection of their Lord. It may be added that some features in *Mk.'s* account of the visit of the women to the sepulchre create suspicions of its accuracy. (*a*) The anointing of Jesus' body, for which purpose the women are represented as going to the tomb, is less natural *after* the burial than before it (as described in *Joh.*). (*β*) The direction, communicated by an angel to the women, that the Apostles should proceed from Jerusalem to Galilee in order to meet their Master seems to be arbitrary and to lack motive, for proof of Jesus' conquest over death could have been given as easily in the former locality as in the latter. (*γ*) The supposition that our Lord's physical body was actually raised from the grave without dissolution renders His resurrection less illustrative of our own, since our bodies do not escape corruption or eventual absorption by other forms of organic life.

The representation of St. Luke that the Risen Christ declared that He had flesh and bones, and showed by act that He could take food, is opposed to the view of St. Paul, who denied that flesh and blood could enter the kingdom of God, and who would probably have agreed with the observation that "eating is a function which belongs to the reality of this life and not to that of immortality."[2] The same Evangelist's account of the visible ascension into heaven (*Acts* i. 9–11) involves the assumption that heaven is a locality overhead, which the conception of the earth as a globe, instead of a flat disc, now renders difficult to retain.

[1] Cf. Maimonides (quoted by Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. p. 299) *Si triduo elapso mortuum conspicimus, dignoscere eum licet, post hæc, immutatur eius facies.*

[2] Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*, p. 146.

With the account in *Mk.* xvi. 1–8 the statements of St. Paul in 1 *Cor.* are not, indeed, absolutely incompatible. The fact that he mentions the Lord's burial leaves room for the supposition that he believed that He rose *from the grave*; and if so, that His post-resurrection body, though glorified, was identical with the body previously buried. Nevertheless the Apostle's thoughts were little occupied with the grave or with what may have happened in connexion with its contents; they were almost exclusively concentrated upon the evidence for Jesus' continued life and activity *in the spirit*; and this evidence was for him furnished partly by the appearance to himself of the Lord in glory (*Phil.* iii. 21, cf. *Acts* xxii. 11), and partly by the spiritual experiences of which he was inwardly conscious. And if, in consequence of the difficulties attending the Marcan narrative (see above), the Apostle's language is considered independently of this, it suggests, taken by itself, an explanation of the Appearances that does not involve the empty tomb, for resurrection in a spiritual body need not imply the reanimation, or even the transmutation, of the physical body. Of a "spiritual body," however, it is difficult to form any conception, since spirit and body convey to our minds notions that are essentially opposite, though the realities exist in us at present in closest union; and it is equally difficult to decide whether a "spiritual body" should or should not be thought of as making itself visible and audible *directly* to the organs of sight and hearing. But how a Personality existing under conditions *purely spiritual* (if such are those of the life after death) can have revealed His Presence to His followers still on earth otherwise than immediately through their organs of sense it is perhaps possible to explain. The brain, the seat of perception, can not only be affected by sense-impressions, produced through some cause *outside* the organism, and carried to it by the nerves, but can also react to an *inward* stimulus, and under certain circumstances can produce upon the optic, aural, or other nerves, the effect of sense-impressions. It may be suggested that it is in this way that the Resurrection Appearances in general (for St. Paul draws no distinction between those that were seen by himself and those seen by others) are to be accounted for. Our Lord, having passed into the spiritual sphere, acted upon the senses of His disciples from within, the brain-cells being stimulated in such a way as to create the same impressions as would have been caused if a Figure had been presented to the sensory organs from without. Such impressions, it may be assumed, would reproduce images previously stored in the mind; and these would probably vary with individuals. In the case of St. Paul, by whom Jesus is described as being seen in the midst of radiant light, the idea of Jesus in glory must often have been present to his imagination, since among the themes upon which the Christians whom he persecuted dwelt was the exaltation of their Master to heaven, where He was invested with Divine splendour. And if the details of the Appearances (dress, speech, wounds, etc.) were mediated through the memory, the fact that in *Acts* xxvi. 14 Jesus is represented as speaking in Aramaic is accounted for. It may be added that, though St. Paul was convinced that his conversion was due to the initiative of Christ, by whom he had been "apprehended" (*Phil.* iii. 12), yet he seems

to have been conscious that the Lord had manifested Himself to him otherwise than in an external way since he declared that it had been the good pleasure of God to reveal His Son *in him* (*Gal.* i. 15, 16).

If there is any plausibility in the conclusions here suggested, and if the narratives representing that our Lord rose from the dead with the same body which had been laid in the grave, and that the grave was found on the third day to be empty, must be regarded as deficient in historical value, their origin requires to be explained. It may be conjectured that the process of their development was something like this :—

(1) The materialistic conception of the life after death generally current among the Jews (2 *Macc.* vii. 10 11, xiv. 46, cf. *Mk.* xii. 18–27) would speedily lead to the replacement of such a conception of the Resurrection as occurs in St. Paul by the idea of the reanimation of the physical body which had been buried ; and in the case of our Lord the tendency in this direction would be furthered in the Church by the need of counteracting Docetism (cf. p. 671). The fact that the Risen Christ is represented as having flesh and bones and as eating food, and yet as being able to pass through closed doors (*Lk.* xxiv. 36 f., *Joh.* xx. 19 f.), implies that He was thought to retain in His Resurrection Body, fleshly though it was, the same miraculous powers which during His previous life on earth enabled Him (it was believed) to walk upon the sea without sinking into it.[1]

(2) When it was credited that Jesus rose *from the grave*, His Resurrection would necessarily be regarded as occurring not later than the third day after burial (for the soul was supposed to linger near the body for three days, and then finally depart, leaving the body to decay) ; and the conclusion that it happened *on* the third day would be promoted by passages in the Scriptures like *Hos.* vi. 2 (interpreted literally).

(3) The desire, characteristic of the Biblical writers in general, to prove that events take place in accordance with God's predetermined counsels (p. 106) was calculated to create a representation that the locality where the first Appearance of the Risen Lord to His Apostles occurred was pre-announced by an angel; and it would also seem meet that the women, whose fidelity to their Lord contrasted with the Apostles' desertion of Him, should be the first to hear that He had risen, and even the first to see Him (*Mt.* xxviii. 9, 10, *Joh.* xx. 14–18.)

It is desirable to notice briefly an explanation of the Resurrection Appearances which, denying that they were actual impressions on the sensory nerves produced either from without or from within, represents them as conscious and deliberate externalizations of the convictions which shortly after Jesus' death the Apostles, and at a later date St. Paul, came to entertain about Him, namely that He had been delivered from the world of the dead and exalted to glory. It is not alien to Semitic habits of thought to give vividness to mental ideas by means of sensible imagery (see, for example, 1 *Kg.* xxii. 19–22, 2 *Kg.* vi. 16, 17 ; cf. also *Mk.* i. 10, 11) ; but it may be doubted whether this way of accounting for the New Testament narratives in question will stand examination. Neither in the instance of the Eleven Apostles, nor subsequently in the case of St. Paul, does there seem to be sufficient grounds for attributing the change in their belief about Jesus merely to their own reflections. It is difficult to suppose that the Apostles' return to Galilee, the district where memories of Jesus would be recalled to their minds with fresh force,[2] would of itself have overcome the despondency into which they had been plunged by His

[1] Cf. Lake, *Hist. Evidence for the Resurrection*, p. 221.
[2] Cf. Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age*, i. pp. 2–3.

ignominious death. They had not understood their Master's predictions of His resurrection when originally uttered (*Mk.* ix. 10, 32); and it is not apparent how a return to the sights and sounds of Galilee would render these either more intelligible or more credible after the Crucifixion. Rather weightier considerations can be urged in the instance of St. Paul. He had failed to attain peace of mind through a rigorous observance of the regulations of the Law (*Rom.* vii. 7 f.); doubts about the justice of his persecution of the Christians may have forced themselves upon him through deeper study of the Scriptures; and he may have been impressed by the constancy of Stephen and his dying utterances (*Acts* vii. 56–60).[1] But though the way to a revulsion of feeling and reversal of belief may have been thus prepared, yet the Apostle gives no hint in his letters that his persuasion that Jesus was an impostor had been in any way shaken until (as he felt assured) Jesus appeared to him on the road to Damascus. Thus the available evidence, in the case alike of the Eleven Apostles and of St. Paul, points to the conclusion that the accounts of their visions of the Risen Christ are not mere dramatic expressions of intellectual convictions attained solely by reasoning and reflection, but that certain visions were creative causes of those convictions.

[1] Compunctions of conscience seem to be expressed by the proverbial saying used in *Acts* xxvi. 14.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

JESUS' MINISTRY ACCORDING TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL

THE record of the Ministry in the Fourth Gospel touches that of the Synoptists at only three points—(*a*) the Preaching of the Baptist, and Jesus' departure into Galilee; (*b*) the two miracles of the Feeding of the 5,000 and the Walking upon the Sea; (*c*) the Entry into Jerusalem, with its sequel, the Arrest, the Trial, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. Even in the accounts of some of these occurrences there are decided variations, which have been noticed in connexion with the Synoptic parallels. In respect, however, of the intervening events there is virtually no agreement at all. Whereas the Synoptic report relates that Jesus began His ministry in Galilee and in the course of it went to Jerusalem only once (on the occasion which ended in His death) and so covers a space of no more than a year, the Johannine report represents that Jesus made His first disciples not in Galilee but in Bethany beyond Jordan; went thence to Galilee; and from there journeyed twice to Judæa (on the occasion of two Passover seasons) before He went thither for the Passover at which He was crucified; so that the period comprised is between two and three years at least. In view of this fundamental divergence concerning the duration of Jesus' activity, it has been impossible, in drawing up a narrative of the Ministry based upon *data* supplied by the Synoptists, to take notice of the greater part of the Fourth Gospel, only such few details admitting of being brought under discussion as refer beyond doubt to the same incidents. The events which constitute the remainder of the Johannine Gospel it is desirable to summarize briefly here in the interest of a rather more comprehensive comparison than that which has been made on pp. 215–6; and the chronology implied will be the better understood if such events are arranged according to years, each year, for the sake of convenience, being assumed to end with the Passover Festival.[1]

First Year. Jesus, after the adhesion to Him (in the neighbourhood of Bethany beyond Jordan) of Andrew, Peter, Philip and Nathanael (p. 375), departed for Galilee. Here He appeared in company with His mother (there being no trace in this Gospel of any such division between them as is suggested by *Mk.* iii. 31–35); and at Cana (p. 4) on the occasion of a wedding feast, where He and she and His disciples were among the guests, Mary drew His attention to a deficiency of wine, and believing that He was able to supply the need, told the servants to carry out any directions He might give. The water which by His direction they drew from six capacious jars [2] intended for purposes of purification and filled by His orders, was found when tasted by the president of the feast to be converted into wine of the best quality. This is noted by the Evangelist as the first sign which Jesus gave of His glory; but unlike some of the seven miracles chosen by the writer for inclusion in his work, it is not made the subject of spiritual instruction, though it is possible that the reader has been left to infer for himself that the wine represented the spiritual sustenance afforded by Christ's Flesh and Blood (cf. vi. 53–56) in contrast to the purification by water from defilement, which was all that Judaism afforded.

[1] The Passover fell in Nisan, in strictness the first month of the Jewish ecclesiastical year.

[2] For the equivalent of the measure μετρητής (*Joh.* ii. 6), see p. 683.

From Cana Jesus, with His mother and His other companions, departed to Capernaum. Thence after no long stay He and His disciples went up to Jerusalem for the Passover (spring of A.D. 27), where He ejected from the Temple the sellers of cattle and birds, and the changers of money who desecrated it, and bade them refrain from making His Father's house a market (contrast *Mk.* xi. 17), His action recalling to the disciples *Ps.* lxix. 9. The Jews did no more than demand authority for His proceedings; and in answer He said, "Destroy this Sanctuary, and in three days I will raise it up." His words were, seemingly, an ironical command to complete, by a continuance of their practices, the destruction of spiritual religion, which He within a brief period would restore. The cryptic terms in which this answer was couched were taken literally by the Jews, but by the Evangelist are interpreted to refer to the sanctuary of His Body; and after He was risen from the dead were regarded by His followers as prophetic of His death and resurrection. The cleansing of the Temple, which is thus placed by the Fourth Evangelist two years prior to Jesus' death, is related by the Synoptists to have preceded His death by a very brief interval and to have been the immediate cause of it (*Mk.* xi. 18); and the moderation of the Jews' protest in *Joh.* is in striking contrast with the violence of their resentment in the Synoptists. This transposition of the Cleansing of the Temple to the beginning of Jesus' ministry is explicable as the logical consequence of the Johannine representation that Jesus from the outset of His ministry acknowledged Himself to be the Messiah (i. 41, 49, 50)—an avowal which it is impossible to reconcile with the tentative steps which, according to the Synoptists, marked His disclosure of His Personality and Office.

At Jerusalem Jesus is represented as winning many to faith in Himself; and amongst those who were attracted to Him was a member of the Sanhedrin called Nicodemus,[1] who, coming by night (through fear) to learn more about the Kingdom of God, was told by Jesus that a complete change of disposition was needed before a man could hope to enter it; an aspirant to it must figuratively "be born from above [2] of water and the Spirit" (see further p. 678). From Jerusalem Jesus went into the country parts of Judæa, and there baptized through the agency of His disciples. John, at this time (according to the Evangelist's view), was not yet imprisoned (contrast *Mk.* i. 14), and to some of his own followers, who were jealous of the numbers who flocked to Jesus, he again affirmed that Jesus was his Superior.

Second Year. From Judæa (where He is assumed to have stayed until the end of the year, iv. 35) Jesus, suspecting that His increasing influence would excite the hostility of the Pharisees, started on His return to Galilee and passed through Samaria. There through weariness He stopped at a place called Sychar (p. 5), where there was a well; and whilst the disciples departed to buy food, He asked drink of a Samaritan woman (in spite of the antagonism between Jews and Samaritans), and in the course of converse told her that He could quench the thirst of the spirit. Displaying acquaintance with the woman's past and present life, He impressed her as being a prophet, and she sought from Him a decision of the controversy respecting Jerusalem and Gerizim (p. 5) as the true sanctuary of God; whereupon He declared that spiritual and intelligent worship, such as God desired, was not limited by locality but turned upon a true knowledge of the Divine nature. When the woman said that she knew that the Messiah (called by the Samaritans the *Tahebh*, "Restorer." p. 16) would explain all things, Jesus affirmed Himself to be the Messiah. To His disciples, who had returned with food and pressed Him to eat, He declared that His food was to do the will of God; and He bade them note the promise of a spiritual harvest in the Samaritans whom the woman had fetched from the city to hear Him. Many of these were convinced by His words, and acknowledged Him to be the Saviour of the world.

When He reached Galilee, He was welcomed by the Galilæans who had been at Jerusalem with Him. When He was again at Cana He was asked by an officer of the King (Antipas) to heal his son, who was sick at Capernaum; and in response He declared that the sufferer was already restored to health, his recovery being reported to the father before the latter reached his house. This miracle bears some resemblance

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[1] The Aramaic was probably *Nakdimôn*.

[2] For the sense of ἄνωθεν in *Joh.* see iii. 31, xix. 11; and cf. i. 13, 1 *Joh.* iii. 9, iv. 7.

to the case of the centurion's servant related in *Q* (*Mt.* viii. 5 f. = *Lk.* vii. 2 f.). In both cases (*a*) the miracle is placed early in Jesus' Ministry, (*b*) the appeal to Jesus is made by a person of authority, (*c*) the locality is Capernaum, (*d*) mention is made of the man's faith. On the other hand in *Q* the appeal proceeds on behalf of a servant from a Roman centurion who deprecates Jesus' coming to his house, while in *Joh.* it is made for a son by one who is seemingly a Jew, and who is urgent that Jesus should hasten to his house. If the two are variant versions of the same occurrence, a contributory cause of the variation was probably the ambiguity of the word παῖς (*Mt.*) which, intended in the sense of δοῦλος (*Lk.*), was taken to mean υἱός (*Joh.*). In *Mt.* the sufferer is described as being tortured with paralysis ; in *Lk.* he is simply designated as sick and near to death ; in *Joh.* he is also near death, but suffering from fever. Like the sign at Cana this miracle is not made by the Evangelist an occasion for explicit spiritual teaching.

To explain our Lord's next movements it seems necessary to assume some disarrangement of the text, and to find the sequel of ch. iv. in ch. vi. (see p. 232). After what has just been related, Jesus crossed the sea of Galilee and there fed the 5,000 who gathered round Him (p. 470). The Evangelist represents that this "sign" persuaded those who witnessed it that Jesus was the expected Prophet of *Dt.* xviii. 15 (cf. *Acts* iii. 22), and they were ready to make Him their King ; so that to avoid them He withdrew into the neighbouring hills. In the evening the disciples took a boat and started for Capernaum ; and when three or four miles out they saw Jesus walking on the sea to them. In spite of the alarm they felt, they took Him on board and found themselves straightway at their destination (p. 409). The multitude which witnessed the miracle of the Feeding came thither later in boats from Tiberias, and once more flocked about Him. Addressing them in the synagogue (vi. 59) He bade them seek not material but spiritual food, which they would receive through belief in Himself, Who had been sent by God. To test His words a sign was demanded of Him (such as the descent of manna from heaven, an accompaniment of the Messianic Age in *Apoc. Baruch* xxix. 8), but He declared that He was the true bread from heaven (cf. *Ps.* lxxviii. 24), and that belief in Him ensured eternal life. When some objected that His lowly birth did not justify such language about Himself, He explained that only those could accept His teaching who were drawn to Him by God. In reiterating His assertion, He used even more mysterious language, affirming that unless they ate His flesh and drank His blood they lacked true life (see p. 679). In consequence of this perplexing teaching, numbers withdrew from Him ; but when the Twelve were asked by Him whether they too would forsake Him, Peter, answering for the rest, declared that they believed and knew Him to be the Holy One of God.

The transposition of ch. vi. to form the continuation of ch iv. makes chs. v. and vii. the immediate sequel of vi. The occurrence of an unnamed feast, which can plausibly be identified with the Passover [1] (see vi. 4), caused Jesus to go a second time to Jerusalem, where at the pool of Bethesda (p. 11) He cured a man infirm for thirty-eight years [2] who had been unable to profit by the intermittent healing properties which the water was credited with possessing. As this deed of mercy was done on the Sabbath, the fact of the man's carrying his pallet attracted the notice of the Jews, who charged Jesus with breaking the Sabbath ; and His defence that He only worked as did His Father merely made them more eager to destroy Him for blasphemy. Jesus proceeded to declare that the Father, from whom the Son derived all His power, would enable Him to perform a still greater marvel by giving life to the spiritually dead, and that honour done to the Son, by response to His teaching, was honour rendered to the Father also. And then to authenticate His right to speak as He did, He cited the testimony of the Baptist, of His own miracles, and of the Scriptures ; but added that, if men would not believe Moses who wrote of Him, He could not expect them to credit His own words. The violence which menaced Jesus now caused Him to withdraw from Judæa to Galilee (vii. 1) ; but there His brethren were sceptical of His claims (cf. *Mk.* iii. 21, 31) because He had sought

[1] In *Joh.* v. 1 there is considerable authority for the reading ἡ ἑορτή found in ℵ C L, 33 and the Eg. versions ; and the addition τῶν ἀζύμων occurs in Λ.

[2] Jesus' words to the infirm man are similar to those addressed to the paralytic in *Mk.* ii. 11 ; cf. also the Jews' accusation in *Joh.* v. 18 and *Mk.* ii. 7.

retirement instead of remaining at the capital, and they bade Him show Himself in public.

Third Year. When the feast of Tabernacles (Sept.–Oct.) came round, Jesus, after first refusing to go again to Jerusalem (where death threatened Him, v. 18) without a clear perception that the time had come for Him to face it), went thither in secret; and His teaching made a great impression upon some of the people, who were ignorant of their leaders' desire to kill Him. They could not, however, reconcile His known origin from Galilee with the mystery which was expected to surround the Messiah. On the eighth and last day of the feast (p. 209) Jesus reiterated the statement which He had made once before (iv. 10) that belief in Him was the means of allaying spiritual thirst.[1] He again produced upon some of His hearers (though not all) the conviction that He was the expected Prophet (*Dt.* xviii. 15, 18); and even the officers whom the priests and Pharisees sent to arrest Him had to abandon the attempt. The authorities only felt scorn for the populace, and flouted the appeal of Nicodemus that they should give Him a fair trial; but they felt it desirable to undermine His influence before renewing the effort to destroy Him.

Opportunity for further controversy came when Jesus in the Treasury of the Temple (p. 91) declared that He was the Light of the world (p. 91), and that whoso followed Him would enjoy the light of life; for the Pharisees continued to deny His claims to have God as His Father and to speak for Him, whilst He affirmed that their father was not God but the Devil, for otherwise they would not seek to kill Him. When He went on to say that if a man should keep His saying He would never die, they charged Him with having a demon, since He implied that He was greater than Abraham who had succumbed to death. A climax was reached when He asserted that He existed before Abraham (cf. *Joh.* i. 1, 14), this causing His adversaries to endeavour, though unsuccessfully, to stone Him.

The sight (on a following Sabbath) of a man blind from birth having led the disciples to ask whether his misfortune was the penalty of his own or his parents' sin (cf. *Ex.* xx. 5), Jesus replied that it was designed to furnish an occasion for displaying God's goodness; and then in order to heal him, He anointed his eyes with clay (cf. *Mk.* vii. 33, viii. 23) made by spitting on the ground,[2] and bade him wash in the pool of Siloam (p. 11).[3] The circumstance that the cure was wrought on the Sabbath prompted the Pharisees first to seek to disprove that a cure could have been accomplished by a Sabbath-breaker, and then to contend that it was performed through Satanic agency (cf. the accusation in *Mk.* iii. 22). Jesus, avowing to the man that He was the Son of God, won his adhesion; and then illustrated by His recent restoration of physical sight His primary mission to impart spiritual enlightenment and to convict of blindness those who claimed to be enlightened already.

In a subsequent discourse, delivered at the feast of Dedication (p. 94), Jesus styled Himself the Good Shepherd of the sheep, contrasting Himself with other leaders whose motives of conduct were different from His own, for He was prepared to lay down [4] His life for His sheep, which were not confined to those of the Judæan fold.[5] A demand from the Jews that He should say plainly whether He was the Christ caused Him to complain of their disbelief in His earlier statement, and to declare that He and the Father were One. This renewed the attempt to stone Him for blasphemy,

[1] In *Joh.* vii. 37–38, Jesus' words should be punctuated, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink he that believeth on me." The words quoted as from Scripture are perhaps *Ex.* xvii. 6; cf. 1 *Cor.* x. 4.

[2] "The use of saliva was a well-known Jewish remedy for affections of the eyes." Edersheim, *Life and Times*, ii. p. 48.

[3] The interpretation "Sent" attached to Siloam (ix. 7) has reference to the Hebrew *Shiloah* (from the root *shālah*, "to send"), represented by Σιλωάμ (LXX).

[4] It has been suggested that in *Joh.* x. 11 *τίθησιν τὴν ψυχήν* means "to stake, or risk, life." The usual expression for this is *παρατίθεσθαι τὴν ψυχήν*.

[5] The figure of the "Door" in x. 7, 9 disturbs awkwardly the figure of the "Good Shepherd." In x. 8 the words *πρὸ ἐμοῦ* are absent from ℵ and the Lat., Syr. (sin.) and Eg. versions; and the omission makes it easier to understand *ὅσοι ἦλθον* to mean those who entered the fold otherwise than by the door, as the Shepherd did. the reference being to the Jewish hierarchy.

a charge which He met by citing the scriptural application of the title " gods " to such as acted as God's intermediaries (*Ps.* lxxxii. 6, cf. p. 109). An attempt to arrest Him led Him to withdraw across the Jordan to Peræa after some three or four months had been spent in Judæa.

From Peræa He was recalled, by the illness of a friend called Lazarus, to the west of the river, in spite of the danger from Jewish hostility to which He thereby exposed Himself and of which the disciples reminded Him. The house of Lazarus (described as the brother of Mary and Martha, who are mentioned in *Lk.* x. 38, 39) was at Bethany (two miles from Jerusalem), which Jesus, apparently in consequence of waiting for Divine guidance (cf. ii. 4, vii. 6), did not reach until after Lazarus' death. He sought to console Martha by telling her that belief in Him (such as Lazarus, it is implied, had gained) ensured the continuance of true life in spite of physical death ; and then with her and her sister Mary He went to the tomb in which the dead man had lain for four days (by which time decay was thought to set in). There Jesus ordered the stone to be removed, and after a thanksgiving to His Father for hearing an unuttered prayer, bade Lazarus come forth ; and the command was obeyed. The miracle won for Jesus a number of adherents ; but the priests and Pharisees, fearing that popular excitement and resultant disorder might embroil them with the Roman authorities, and being advised by Caiaphas, the high priest, that it was better to sacrifice a single life than to expose to destruction the whole nation, determined to bring about His death without further delay. Jesus, becoming apprised of His peril, retired from the vicinity of the capital to a locality called Ephraim in the wilderness.[1] The Passover, however, was approaching, and six days before its occurrence (Nisan 9, Sunday) He returned to Bethany and supped with Lazarus. In the course of the meal, Mary, one of the sisters of Lazarus, anointed with precious ointment the feet of Jesus. The recent miracle wrought by Jesus in raising the dead continued to induce so many to believe in Him that the Jews began to plot the death of Lazarus also.

On the day following the supper Jesus entered Jerusalem, and from this point onward the Synoptists and the Fourth Evangelist narrate the incidents of the Betrayal, the Arrest, the Trial, the Passion, and the Resurrection in common, though *Joh.* departs from the accounts of his predecessors in numerous particulars. He adds that after the entry into Jerusalem certain Greeks sought to see Jesus through the help of Philip and Andrew ; and Jesus in a discourse declared that only through death could a spiritually fruitful life be attained, though human nature shrank from the trial. Notable among the *omissions* of the writer is that of the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper, which he does not regard as a celebration of the Passover (contrast *Mk.* xiv. 12 f.), and at which he describes Jesus as washing the disciples' feet and bidding them, after His example, wash one another's feet. Between the accounts of the Supper and the Arrest there are interposed a series of discourses in which Jesus describes Himself as the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and as the true Vine ; predicts the coming of the Comforter (Παράκλητος) in order to guide the disciples into all the truth ; and in a long petition addressed to His Father prays both for them and for all who through them should believe on Him. In the present arrangement of these discourses there appears to be some disorder, the proper sequence being probably xv., xvi., xiv., xvii. (the scene of the last being perhaps the road from the Upper Room to the Garden where He was betrayed).

This short summary of the contents of the Fourth Gospel will sufficiently confirm what has already been said (p. 218 f.) about the different idea which it produces of our Lord's ministry from that which is created by the other three, in spite of certain points of contact with them. It diverges from them in respect of the locality (largely Judæa, not Galilee),[2] the duration (substantially three years instead of one), the development of events (the final resolution of the Jews to kill Jesus [3] formed after the Raising of Lazarus, not after the Cleansing of the Temple), the principal subjects of the discourses

[1] Usually thought to be the wilderness of Judæa (p. 353), but taken by some to be on the east of the Jordan.

[2] There are three visits to Galilee (i. 43, iv. 3, 43, vi. 1), each followed by a return to Judæa (ii. 13, v. 1, vii. 10), the last including a stay in Peræa (x. 40).

[3] Six resolves, or attempts, to seize or destroy Jesus are mentioned—v. 18, vii. 30 44, viii. 59, x. 39, xi. 57 (which led up to His arrest).

(Jesus' own Personality, and His relation to the Father, not the Kingdom of heaven and the Scribes' interpretation of the Law), the style of speech (the absence of parables, so conspicuous in the Synoptists), and the movement of Jesus' utterances (which from the first circle around His Messiahship, instead of progressing towards a public disclosure concerning it). It is true that the actual Ministry must have comprised numerous acts, occurrences, and utterances which find no place in the Synoptists, and which a later author might aim at supplying; yet the impression left by the Gospel is not that another's memory has filled up gaps in preceding memoirs, but that there has been a subordination of the facts of history to an ideal reconstruction of Jesus' life, for the promotion of certain desired ends. What those probably were is explained elsewhere (p. 670 f.).

IX

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE

§ 1. *The Events of Pentecost*

THE balance of evidence (as has been shown) points to Galilee as the locality where the Apostles first became convinced that their Lord had triumphed over death. The conviction that He was alive re-established their faith that He was the Messiah, and altogether changed their outlook upon the future. They could now anticipate with confidence that He would speedily return from the heaven to which God had raised Him, and would usher in the Divine Kingdom. But it was not Galilee but Jerusalem that would seem to them the most appropriate scene of that event. The capital was associated with all the glories of past Jewish history; it was the site of God's Temple; thither Jesus had gone to make His final appeal to His countrymen, and there He had died; and it was impossible not to think that the city which had witnessed His ignominious and agonizing death would see His vindication. Accordingly, they returned to Jerusalem as soon as possible, to make known the experiences which had happened to them, and to await what was in store for them. Around them there gathered in the capital other disciples, including the remaining children of the Lord's mother, who had been converted to belief in Him (see p. 364), and certain women who had attended Him in His journey to the capital, and who perhaps had remained there when the Apostles fled to their distant homes.

In the number of the Twelve a gap had been created by the defection of Judas, who had come to a violent end, and more than one tradition circulated concerning the manner of his death and the reason why a locality near Jerusalem was called, through association with him, "the Field of Blood." As soon as his end was known, the Eleven Apostles assembled together, and after prayer, drew lots to decide which of two who, like themselves, had been witnesses of Jesus' Resurrection, should make up the original figure of twelve. The two were Joseph Barsabbas ("Son of Sabba"), who bore, besides, the Roman name of Justus, and Matthias; and the lot fell in favour of the latter. St. Luke (*Acts* i. 22) represents the Twelve as constituting an official body of witnesses to the Resurrection, and Matthias' election as designed to fill a vacancy in their

number, regarded from this standpoint. But since the testimony of one who had seen the Risen Jesus would be of equal value, whether he was included in the Twelve or not, it is perhaps more likely that the filling of the vacancy in the number of the twelve had in view the twelve positions of dignity and authority which Jesus had declared the Apostles were to occupy in the Kingdom of God (*Mt.* xix. 28 = *Lk.* xxii. 30).

One tradition about Judas' end, found in *Mt.* xxvii. 3–10, related that when on the morning of Jesus' trial he saw that the Master was condemned, he in remorse brought back the thirty pieces of silver to those who had paid him, declaring that he had betrayed to death the innocent, flung the money down in the Temple court,[1] and then took his own life. The priests felt some scruple about putting blood-money into the Temple treasury (here called *the corban*), and so bought with it a plot of ground to serve as a cemetery for foreigners. The purpose for which the money was originally given to Judas caused the spot to be called, or its real name (perhaps *Aceldamach*, "field of rest =κοιμητήριον) to be corrupted into, *Ăceldămā*, "the field of blood." The number of silver pieces for which Judas sold his Master recalled to the First Evangelist the sum mentioned in 2 *Zech.* xi. 12, 13 as the hire given by the people to the prophet, and he quotes the passage with considerable variation (replacing, for instance, "I cast them unto the potter"[2] by "I (*or* they) gave them for the potter's field"); but through a lapse of memory or from some other reason he assigns it to Jeremiah.[3] The section in *Mt.* containing this narrative is not consecutive with the preceding context, in which the chief priests are represented as in the quarters of the Roman procurator, not in the Temple.

A different tradition, probably of later origin, is preserved in *Acts* i. 18–20. This relates that Judas retained the money and that he himself bought with it a field where he met with a bloody death, though how it occurred is left obscure[4]; and the name attaching to the field is supposed to have been suggested by the blood with which it was stained.

Not long after the return of the Apostles to Jerusalem, there took place amongst them an occurrence to which they attached the greatest significance. After the lapse of seven weeks, or, reckoned inclusively, fifty days, the Feast of Unleavened Bread (the morrow of the Passover) was followed by the Feast of Weeks, Pentecost, or Harvest (see *Lev.* xxiii. 15–21). Early in the morning (the day being Sunday) the disciples, probably including others than the Twelve (cf. *Acts* i. 14), were assembled in a house for participation in common devotions, when suddenly and simultaneously a Divinely-inspired impulse to praise God seized the whole company. The minds of all being engrossed with the wonderful experiences which had befallen some of their number since the recent Paschal festival, their feelings of gratitude and enthusiasm became so intense that they

[1] In *Mt.* xxvii. 5 ὁ ναός (the sanctuary) must be used irregularly for τὸ ἱερόν: cf. *Joh.* ii. 20 when ναός seems to comprise all the Temple buildings.

[2] The original reading, found in a few Hebrew MSS. as in the Syriac, was probably *the treasury*.

[3] The error was perhaps helped by Jeremiah's purchase of a field and his visit to the potter's house (xxxii. 6 f., xviii. 2 f.): see McNeile, *St. Mt.* p. 408.

[4] In *Acts* i. 18 it is generally assumed that πρηνὴς γενόμενος means "having fallen headlong, or prostrate"; but it has been suggested that πρηνὴς has the sense of "swollen" (cf. πρήθω), and that what is signified is that Judas swelled to such a bulk that he eventually burst. A fragment of Papias represents Judas as πρησθεὶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα. ὥστε μηδὲ ὁπόθεν ἅμαξα ῥαδίως διέρχεται ἐκεῖνον δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, κτλ. See *J.T.S.* Jan. 1912, p. 278 f. (Chase).

could no longer retain their self-control. They were carried away by a tide of emotion which was too strong and impetuous to find expression in connected or ordered speech, and obtained relief in fervid thanksgivings, partly coherent and partly fragmentary, uttered not only in one or other of the tongues, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin, with which most were acquainted, but also in words and phrases of some of the strange languages heard at Jerusalem on festivals, and perhaps likewise in inarticulate cries and ejaculations. In their excitement they seem to have made a common move towards the courts of the Temple; and they at once attracted attention from the crowds there. In the strange sounds that proceeded from them some of the bystanders who had come from foreign lands here and there caught words that were familiar to them, and filled with astonishment, formed the impression that the Apostles, simple Galilæans by birth, had been miraculously gifted with ability to speak other tongues than their own. But for the most part, those who heard them could not understand them, and attributed their unintelligible utterances to the effect of wine.

The mockery of those who accounted for what they witnessed by the supposition of intoxication reached the ears of St. Peter, who, recovering his self-control, stood up and, addressing the multitude, proceeded in a speech not only to correct the misconception about the condition of himself and his fellow-Apostles, but also to explain the import of the occurrence. The discourse which he delivered was the first Christian sermon; and its burden was the Messiahship of Jesus attested by His Resurrection, and confirmed by the outburst of ecstatic speech among His followers which had just been heard, and of which the Scriptures contained prediction. With what accuracy the speech, as reported, represents the actual tenor of what was said is quite uncertain. St. Luke was not present, and it is not likely that he received written notes of it from any who listened to it. The wording bears marks of his style (p. 204); but the argument from the Scriptures which occupies so much space in it must reproduce with tolerable faithfulness the real character of the Apostles' preaching at this stage of their missionary activity (cf. 1 *Pet.* i. 10–12, 24, 25, ii. 6–10, 22–25).

St. Peter began by asserting that what had attracted so much notice was not the result of drunkenness (which was excluded by the earliness of the hour [1]), but evidence of the fulfilment of a prediction once made by the prophet Joel, who (ii. 28–30) had foretold that in the last days God would diffuse His Spirit throughout His people, who should be endowed more widely than before with the faculty of "prophecy"; and that such an experience would be among the signs that should herald the approach of the Day of the Lord. The Apostle then went on to make known the truth which he and his companions were specially concerned to proclaim. Jesus the Nazarene, a man whose Divine Mission was evidenced by the

[1] The hours in Roman usage were measured from sunrise to sunset, each being one-twelfth of the period of daylight. At this time of the year (end of May) the third hour would be about 8 o'clock.

wonders He wrought among the people (as many who were present knew) had been surrendered to the Gentiles in accordance with God's plan that He should undergo suffering, and had been put to death by them.[1] But though allowed to die, He was not allowed to be retained by death,[2] as, indeed, had been predicted in *Ps.* xvi. 8–11, wherein David declared that God would not abandon his soul in Hades[3] or let him undergo corruption in the grave. David himself had died (his tomb was among them, *Neh.* iii. 16), so that his words could not apply to himself; but being endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and believing that among his posterity there would arise the Messiah, or Christ, he, identifying himself with his greater descendant, expressed his confidence that God would not leave him in the power of death. This Messiah was Jesus, whom God had actually raised, as all the Apostles could testify. And Jesus, having been exalted to heaven, had from thence bestowed upon His followers the Holy Spirit, the Source of the ecstatic utterances to which all present had just listened. This exaltation of Jesus to a dignity which David did not attain had likewise been predicted by David himself, who in *Ps.* cx. 1 represented One whom he styled his Lord as invited by Jehovah to sit at His right hand until He should make His enemies His footstool. And finally Peter concluded his speech by emphatically bidding the whole people recognize that God had made Jesus, Whom they had crucified, both Lord and Christ.

St. Peter, in representing David as the author of the psalms cited, shared a belief, current in his own day, which has been questioned in ours (cf. p. 443); but as regards Psalm xvi., it was not very material to the Apostle's argument whether it proceeded from David, or from another prophet, who might be supposed to speak in the person of the Messiah. St. Peter put upon the passage quoted from this psalm a meaning almost certainly not intended by the psalmist; for the true rendering of *v.* 10 (= *Acts* ii. 27) is "Thou wilt not abandon my soul to Sheol, Thou wilt not suffer Thy godly one to see the pit," the writer believing that God would preserve him from premature death, and grant to him fellowship with Himself during the normal period of human existence (*v.* 11). Nevertheless God's care for, and interest in, the righteous (in which the psalmist expresses his faith) really constitutes a basis on which an expectation of renewed life after death can reasonably be built (cf. p. 441).

The audience was profoundly moved, both by the prophetic ecstasy which they had witnessed and by St. Peter's subsequent discourse. Some among the multitude must have been spectators of the tragedy of Calvary; and those who were now convinced of the appalling guilt of their nation asked remorsefully what they were to do. St. Peter in answer bade them repent, and be baptized "after" the name of Jesus Christ, thereby acknowledging the Crucified as the Messiah and avowing themselves His followers: by so doing they would obtain forgiveness of their sins and receive the gift of the Holy Spirit, in accordance with God's promise imparted through

[1] In *Acts* ii. 23 by "lawless men" are meant the Romans: cf. 1 *Cor.* ix. 21 (where τοῖς ἀνόμοις refers to Gentiles).

[2] In *Acts* ii. 24 St. Peter, drawing upon the LXX of *Ps.* xviii. 5, uses the term "pangs of death" where the Heb. has "cords of death" which the verb "holden" requires.

[3] In early Greek *Hades* was the name of the god who presided over the nether world, not of that world itself.

Joel (ii. 32). The words here reproduced are declared by the historian to be only a summary of a longer exhortation to seek safety whilst they could from the vengeance impending over a guilty age (cf. *Gal.* i. 4).

To this earnest address there came a great response if, as the historian relates, those who were persuaded by the Apostle's words numbered about 3,000 persons. Figures in ancient writers are seldom trustworthy (p. 120); but it is clear from later narratives that the Christian body at Jerusalem soon reached considerable proportions (since seven individuals were shortly required to superintend the distribution of relief to its indigent members). Loyalty and brotherhood were conspicuous features of the community—loyalty to its teachers and brotherhood among its various members. This prevailing harmony was marked and fostered by participation in united prayer and common meals at one another's houses, whereat the breaking of a single loaf between a large number of persons was a continual reminder of the fellowship which all had with one another in virtue of their relation to their common Lord, and a commemoration of the last occasion when, supping with His disciples, He constituted the bread and the wine symbols of His Body and Blood, given and shed for many. For this memorial observance every day's united meal afforded an opportunity, and Jesus seems to have expected that it should be made such, if St. Paul's report of His words preserves a true tradition—"Do this *as oft as ye drink it* (*i.e.* the wine ordinarily consumed at meals) in commemoration of me."

An element of awe entered into the feelings with which the Christians were now regarded, for the multitude was deeply impressed alike by the evidence of prophetic inspiration manifested from time to time among them, and by the many striking cures (for such seem to be meant by the "wonders" and "signs" of *Acts* ii. 43, cf. iii. 2 f.) which were wrought on the sick by the Apostles. Yet not only wonder but admiration must have been evoked by two other features. One was the unselfishness distinguishing believers in Christ; for private possessions were not retained by their owners for their personal use if a fellow-Christian needed help, but were sold voluntarily to supply the assistance required (see *Acts* v. 4). The second was the joyousness of their religious life, which was observable both in their public devotions at the Temple, and their private Eucharistic meals. Such traits made a strong appeal to the populace of Jerusalem, and attracted numbers to the Christian ranks.

St. Luke represents (1) that the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost was accompanied by a sound as of a violent wind, filling the house and heard outside it,[1] and by the settling of a tongue, like fire in appearance, upon each of the assembled disciples; (2) that when the disciples began to speak, they became intelligible to the whole of the audience, though this was composed of persons drawn from all regions of the known globe. The wind-like sound and the flame-like tongues are doubtless meant as symbols of a Spiritual Presence (cf. p. 109); for the words "wind" and "spirit" are indistinguishable in Hebrew (cf. 2 *Is.* xl. 7, 13); tongues are a natural emblem for the diffusion of a Divine Message; and "fire" is a frequent mark of a theophany in the Old Testament (cf. *Ex.* iii. 4, xix. 18). But the rest of his account (*Acts* ii. 4, 11), whether it implies the miraculous endowment of the apostles with a faculty for speak-

[1] In *Acts* ii. 6 for *φωνή* of the noise of wind cf. *Joh.* iii. 8.

ing foreign languages or a miraculous change of what they said in their own tongue into the various tongues familiar to their hearers as it passed from their lips to the other's ears, creates a different impression from that left by other references to the gift of tongues in the New Testament, especially by the first-hand evidence of St. Paul. The Apostle's allusions to it in 1 *Cor.* xiv. 4–6, 13, 14, 16, 17, 23, show that it was generally incomprehensible, though capable of being understood by some persons. In consequence of its being usually unintelligible and therefore unedifying, the Apostle attached little value to it, and discouraged it (*v.* 19). It may sometimes have consisted of altogether unmeaning sounds and cries, in which violent religious emotion found vent. But the facts that it bore the name it did (γλώσσῃ or γλώσσαις λαλεῖν), that it was compared by St. Paul to the use of a foreign language (1 *Cor.* xiv. 11), and that it sometimes admitted of being interpreted, point to the conclusion that it might consist in part, at least, of words and expressions which could be understood by some of the hearers whilst remaining unintelligible to others and even to the speaker himself. With regard to this last statement, there is evidence that words once heard without being comprehended and afterwards forgotten may eventually emerge from the subliminal into the supraliminal consciousness under stress of excitement. It seems probable that it was this kind of mixed speech which marked the Apostles at Pentecost: foreign phrases and idioms, caught from travellers along the trade routes of Galilee, and perhaps sounds wholly inarticulate, were mingled with their native Aramaic as they lost their self-control in the course of their fervent thanksgivings. The surprise with which such foreign words would be recognized by those who were acquainted with them was calculated to occasion magnified reports. Possibly a consideration causing St. Luke to give readier credence to such reports and to put upon what occurred the construction that appears in *Acts* was the idea that the inauguration of a religious movement designed to embrace within its scope all mankind was likely to have been accompanied by some reversal of the barriers interposed between men by the curse of Babel (*Gen.* xi. 7–9).

Illustrations of the way in which persons under certain conditions are able to speak in a language of which in a normal state they are ignorant have been adduced from modern times. One, mentioned by Coleridge, is the case of a young woman who could neither read nor write, but who, when suffering from a nervous fever, continuously talked Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the explanation being that she had previously been a servant in the house of a pastor who was accustomed to walk up and down near the kitchen, reading aloud to himself passages from his favourite books.[1] Such phenomena can be accounted for by the supposition that speech is ordinarily under the control of the supraliminal consciousness, but that when this is disturbed through some exceptional strain, the subliminal consciousness becomes active, and persons can recall languages which they have previously had opportunities of hearing without (it may be) in the least understanding them.[2]

Another explanation of what is related by St. Luke is that the feelings and thoughts of the Apostles on the occasion were communicated to the bystanders by thought-transference, and that the mental impulses thus created in them clothed themselves in appropriate words in their own mother tongues.[3] This is a more plausible hypothesis in cases where the speaking with tongues occurred at exclusively Christian gatherings, like those which St. Paul has in view in 1 *Cor.* xiv. 23, than in connexion with Pentecost; in the one instance there was at the start a bond of sympathy between the speakers and hearers which was lacking in the other, for the "multitude" in *Acts* ii. 6 was non-Christian.

The effect produced upon the populace at Pentecost was enhanced by a remarkable cure wrought on a lame man who was well known to all who visited the Temple. He was accustomed to lie at the eastern entrance of the Court of the Women, which was called the Beautiful Gate (p. 91) and to beg alms of the worshippers as they passed in. When on a certain

[1] Quoted by Wright, *Some New Testament Problems*, p. 292.
[2] See Lake, *Early Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 241–252.
[3] Joyce, *Inspiration of Prophecy*, p. 149.

day, late in the afternoon, St. Peter and St. John went thither to pray, the infirm man begged of them as of others. In reply St. Peter told him that though he could not bestow upon him money, he would give him such relief as was in his power, and then commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to walk, helping him at the same time to rise (cf. *Mk.* i. 31, v. 41). The man responded to the stimulating address, and standing up began to walk. When he found that he had recovered his power of movement, his feelings of gratitude led him to enter with the two Apostles into the Temple in order to render thanks to God for the mercy experienced. To the cure probably two factors contributed. One was the renewed hope and confidence inspired by St. Peter's words in the man himself, who may have recognized the leader of the Nazarenes on whom the Spirit of God had descended; the other was the exercise by the Apostle of "suggestion" to promote the afflicted man's recovery. To the possession of healing powers which may thus be described St. Paul at a subsequent date laid claim, ascribing them to the Spirit as their source (1 *Cor.* xii. 10, 11, *Gal.* iii. 5); and as he counted them among the marks of an Apostle (2 *Cor.* xii. 12), his evidence corroborates St. Luke's account of the exercise of like powers by St. Peter. The only feature in the present narrative which causes serious difficulty is the statement that the man, who was forty years old, had been lame from his birth. Joints and muscles long disused become atrophied; and reports of similar cures wrought on crippled limbs are in general the more credible the shorter the period during which the infirmity is represented to have lasted. In the case of congenital lameness the limbs afflicted are likely not to develop equally with the rest of the body, so that the report, in representing the man as a cripple from infancy, may be inaccurate.

News of what had occurred speedily spread through the city; and as the two Apostles, accompanied closely by the man to whom had been given back the use of his feet, were returning from the Court of the Women into the Court of the Gentiles, they were met at the portico known as Solomon's (p. 90)[1] by a crowd filled with wonder and curiosity. St. Peter, seeing this, availed himself of the opportunity to speak to them of Him Whose emissaries and messengers he and his fellow-disciples were. The speech repeated much that had already formed the substance of the Apostle's address at Pentecost (*Acts* ii. 14–36); but it introduced certain new thoughts called forth by the event they had just witnessed. The tenor of it was as follows:—

(1) The power that had recovered the cripple of his lameness was not their own, but proceeded from Jesus Whom God had glorified by the miracle—Jesus, God's Servant (2 *Is.* xlii. 1, lii. 13), the Holy and Righteous One, the Pioneer of Life, whom they had rejected before Pilate in favour of a murderer, and had killed; but whom God had raised from the dead, as

[1] In *Acts* iii. 11 the fact that the crowd ran to meet Peter and John and the lame man as they left the Court of the Women is made clear in D, and the Old Latin codex *h* which after κρατοῦντος . . . Ἰωάννην add ἐκπορευομένου δὲ τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάνου.

His disciples could bear witness. It was faith inspired by Him [1] that had restored to the cripple the soundness which they observed.

(2) Through repentance for the execution of the Messiah (a sin committed in ignorance by His slayers and fulfilling the Divine plan that the Christ was to suffer (cf. *Lk.* xxiv. 26)) they might hope for relief in the period of distress destined to precede the Messianic age,[2] and eventually for the speedy return of Jesus the Christ from heaven where He was reserved against the time appointed for the re-establishment in the world of the perfect order intended by God (cf. *Mk.* ix. 12, *Acts* i. 6) and foretold in prophecy. Moses, for instance, had predicted the coming of a Prophet greater than himself (*Dt.* xviii. 15), obedience to whom was the only safeguard from destruction.

(3) They whom the Apostle was addressing were the disciples of the prophets and heirs of the covenant made by God with their fathers (*Gen.* xxii. 18); and to them, in the first place, God, having raised up Jesus as Moses' greater successor, had sent Him to bless them by turning each of them from his iniquities.

St. Peter's speech was followed seemingly by one from St. John, and the summary purporting to reproduce what was said by the former may represent the substance of addresses from both the Apostles. But they were not permitted to disseminate their teaching without serious opposition. The High Priesthood was in the hands of the Sadducees (p. 101); and to them such discourses as the Apostles had so far delivered were offensive on many grounds. (*a*) The Sadducean priesthood had been chiefly responsible for the death of Jesus Whom His disciples represented as the promised Messiah of their race. (*b*) The declaration that He Who had been executed by them as an impostor had been raised from the dead proved, if true, that one of their most distinctive beliefs was untenable. (*c*) The contention that Jesus, as the Messiah, would shortly return, was likely to foster among the people expectations that might lead to outbreaks against Roman rule, involving peril to, and perhaps forfeiture of, their own prerogatives. But whilst the Apostles' preaching thus alarmed and irritated the ecclesiastical authorities of the nation, it met with a different reception from the people at large. There was less sympathy among the mass of the Jews with the Sadducees than with the Pharisees, who cherished a belief in a future life and the resurrection of the dead; and claims advanced on behalf of a Messiah, even though not a Messiah of the type popularly expected, generally evoked enthusiasm among the multitude. And though the Apostles did not shrink from placing the responsibility for slaying Jesus upon their countrymen, they reassured those whom they addressed by declaring that through repentance and faith they could still share in the Messianic kingdom. Consequently many amongst those who listened to the Apostles believed; so that the number of the converts was increased to about five thousand.

[1] This seems to be the sense of ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ (*Acts* iii. 16).
[2] Cf. *Mk.* xiii. 8.

§ 2. *Persecution by the Priesthood*

The High Priestly party did not delay long before taking action. The Apostles had scarcely brought their speeches in the Temple to a conclusion when a body of priests,[1] together with the captain of the Temple (p. 93), attended doubtless by a body of men belonging to the Temple guard, suddenly appeared and arrested them, consigning them to prison with a view to examining them on the morrow. Next day a meeting of the Sanhedrin was called, which was presided over probably by the High Priest himself, Caiaphas, who was supported by his father-in-law Annas, with other of the high priest's relations, of whom two, John and Alexander, are especially mentioned.[2] Before this court the two Apostles were brought; and without being arraigned on any definite charge, were interrogated as to the power or name by which they had effected the healing of the lame man. The use of spells as means for the expulsion of demons or the cure of physical infirmities was a familiar practice in this age (p. 112), it being believed that the malignant spiritual agency causing the malady could be forced to retire before a superior Power, if the latter's name were pronounced over the afflicted individual. The inspired courage previously evinced by St. Peter when he spoke to the people was even more manifest now, when he stood before the chief council of the Jewish nation. He replied without hesitation to the High Priest's question that it was by the name of Jesus Christ the Nazarene, whom they had crucified, but whom God had raised from the dead, that the former cripple, standing in their presence, had been restored to soundness. Quoting *Ps.* cxviii. 22 (cf. 1 *Pet.* ii. 6, 7), he declared that Jesus was the stone which, despised by them, the builders, had been made by God the angle-stone consolidating the walls of the spiritual structure which was to defy overthrow. And he then added with great emphasis that through no other name or personality was the Messianic salvation which they, the Jews, looked for, to be secured.

The bearing and words of the Apostles, and their application to Him, Whom they maintained to be the Christ, of a figure of speech used in the Scriptures originally of Israel but appropriate to the Messiah, Who could be regarded as the representative of Israel, recalled to their minds Jesus Himself, Who had made use of the same passage from the Psalms (see *Mk.* xii. 10-11), and Whose influence was traceable in the transformation that had taken place in His followers, who earlier had seemed very ordinary persons, quite untrained in Rabbinical learning. The members of the Sanhedrin, who now bade the accused withdraw whilst they consulted among themselves,[3] were in a difficult position. The cure wrought on

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[1] In *Acts* iv. 1 the reading of ℵ A D E P, Lat., Syr., (pesh. hl.), Eg. is *οἱ ἱερεῖς*, but B C and the Arm. and Eth. versions have *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς*.

[2] Of these neither is mentioned elsewhere, but for the latter the uncial D has *Jonathan*, who was the son of Annas and succeeded Caiaphas in the high priesthood.

[3] The account of the subsequent discussion may be based on a report furnished by some members of the Sanhedrin who later grew sympathetic towards the Christian faith, or is perhaps constructed by inference from the decision reached.

the crippled man was undeniable, and to account for it they had no explanation to set against that supplied by Peter and John. But it was dangerous to leave them and their companions alone, for fear of religious excitement and consequent disorder among the populace ensuing upon their activity; whilst it was equally dangerous to suppress them by superior force, since the marvellous cure had created a great impression. Under these circumstances they contented themselves with merely prohibiting them from speaking in the name of Jesus; a policy of which the feebleness was apparent when the Apostles asked them whether they or God had the most right to their obedience. However, not seeing their way at the moment to any other course of effective intervention, they threatened them further and discharged them.

When Peter and John returned to the rest of the disciples, and related what had occurred before the Sanhedrin, the whole company united in prayer to God, recalling how the words of *Ps.* ii. 1–2 had been fulfilled by the alliance of Gentiles (like Herod and Pilate) with the Jews against Jesus, God's Anointed, and how the only result of their conspiring was to bring to pass the Divine counsels; and they petitioned for boldness to deliver their Message, and for signs and wonders, wrought through the name of Jesus, to attend it. Proof that their prayer was answered was seen in the persistency with which they, inspired by the Spirit,[1] continued to preach and to bear their testimony to the resurrection of Jesus.

The Christian community did not cease to be marked by unity and brotherhood. None regarded his property as exclusively his own, but deemed it a trust, designed to be used for the support of others no less than of himself. Probably there was no merging of private possessions into a single stock,[2] but voluntary contributions were made on a generous scale to a sustentation fund (cf. *Acts* iv. 37, v. 1). Such spontaneous benevolence had nothing in common with socialistic communism, of which the essence is the exploitation of the industrious, thrifty, and honest by the idle, thriftless, and dishonest, but had its motive in a feeling of spiritual kinship (one of the terms by which they described themselves being "the brethren" (*Acts* ix. 30, xi. 29, xii. 17, xv. 1, xvii. 10, etc.)); whilst an auxiliary cause was the prevailing belief that Christ's Second advent was near at hand and would inaugurate a new age, in which all their interests were centred, so that much provision for the brief future that remained to be spent under ordinary conditions appeared to be unnecessary. Nevertheless, as the interval expected to elapse before the Lord's return grew longer and longer, the experiment, however well-intentioned, proved disastrous; and it is not surprising that eventually the Jewish Christians had to be relieved at the expense of a number of Gentile communities (see *Acts* xxiv. 17, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1–3). But whilst during the period described there was no replacement of voluntary

[1] The descent of the Spirit is represented by the historian as accompanied (like the theophanies in the Old Testament) with a shaking of the place where they were assembled (see *Ex.* xix. 18, *Ps.* xviii. 7, lxviii. 8, *Is.* vi. 4, *Hab.* iii. 6): cf. Verg. *A.* vi. 256, *Sub pedibus mugire solum et inga cœpta moveri Silvarum . . . adventante dea.*

[2] Cf. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 48.

generosity by compulsory communism, there was some attempt at organization, for the owners of property, when they sold it to supply the needs of the necessitous, placed the proceeds at the disposal of the Apostles, who became responsible for disbursing the money in the relief of want. One who sold an estate and gave the price to the Apostles was a Levite called Joseph Barnabas,[1] a native of Cyprus, who was destined afterwards to figure conspicuously among the evangelists of the Church. The action of Barnabas, though not exceptional, is mentioned as a contrast to the conduct of another individual, one Ananias, who, having disposed of some property, brought to the Apostles part of what it fetched, professing that it was the whole. He thus laid claim to greater credit for liberality than was his due. The presentation of the money seems to have been made at a public meeting of the community, in the presence of which St. Peter (having learnt the facts through some ordinary channel of information or penetrating, through some faculty of thought-reading, to the man's consciousness of guilt)[2] taxed him with his duplicity, declaring that he had attempted to deceive not merely his fellow-men but the Holy Spirit, that was in the midst of them. Ananias was so conscience-stricken at the Apostle's words that he died on the spot.[3] It is likewise represented that his wife Sapphira, who was an accomplice in her husband's deceit, and who a few hours later came in without being aware of what had happened, was questioned by Peter about the transaction and repeated her husband's falsehood ; and when the Apostle exposed to her the gravity of the sin, she too fell dead. There is some improbability in the account that the circumstances of the husband's sudden end were so closely repeated immediately afterwards in the case of the wife, and that St. Peter addressed to the latter words amounting to a sentence of death (contrast his language to Simon the Magian, *Acts* viii. 21–23). But though the report in this respect may well have been heightened, yet what occurred struck awe into all who heard of it both within and without the Christian body, here called by St. Luke for the first time the " congregation " or " church " (the Greek term implying that it was the true successor and representative of God's chosen People (see p. 389)).

The power of healing possessed by the Apostles, of which an illustration has already been furnished, and of which further instances occurred that are not described in detail, increased their influence among the people and much augmented their adherents. Even those who through fear of the ecclesiastical authorities shrank from joining the group of believers who were accustomed to unite together in Solomon's Porch (p. 90),

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[1] In *Acts* iv. 36 the name " Barnabas " is explained to mean " son of encouragement " (*υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*), but the true etymology seems to be " son of prophecy " or " of a prophet " (from the root *nābā*). Encouragement and consolation were functions of a prophet (cf. 2 *Is.* xl., 3 *Is.* lxi.). The rule that members of the tribe of Levi should be landless (*Num.* xviii. 24) did not extend to such as resided outside Palestine.

[2] Cf. 2 *Kg.* v. 26.

[3] A somewhat parallel occurrence is commemorated by a monument in the market-place of Devizes, Wilts.

nevertheless held them in great esteem, and even used to carry[1] their sick into the streets in order that, as Peter passed by, at least his shadow might fall upon the sufferers, in the hope that relief might thereby be brought to them. The report of cures effected spread beyond the confines of Jerusalem, so that persons afflicted with physical or mental diseases were conveyed from the neighbouring towns to the capital, and received benefit.

The widespread influence which the Apostles acquired created such indignation amongst the Sadducean party that Caiaphas and his supporters, in spite of their fears of the people, decided to check the Christian movement forcibly, lest popular enthusiasm for the disciples of Jesus, with their declaration that He was the Messiah, should imperil their authority. They accordingly seized, not Peter and John only, but the Apostles collectively, and put them in prison. But by some means not explained, but attributed to God's providence, and so represented as the work of an angel (cf. p. 111), their escape by night was secured ; and in the morning they entered the Temple courts as before, and there proceeded to teach. The Sanhedrin had intended to try them ; and with this purpose in view, sent for them from the prison, and were much perplexed and disturbed when their officers reported that they could not be found. Information presently came that the Apostles were in the Temple courts ; and the captain of the Temple guard (p. 93) brought them thence, though without violence, since the use of force to them might have been resented by the populace. By the Sanhedrin they were charged with defiance of authority, and with seeking to induce the people to hold them responsible for the execution of Jesus. But Peter again, acting as spokesman for the rest of the Twelve, reiterated his earlier plea (cf. *Acts* iv. 19) that their duty to God transcended any duty owed to the Council ; and renewed his assertion (cf. *Acts* iii. 13) that the God of Israel had raised up Jesus to fulfil the Divine promises, that the authorities of the nation had killed Him, but that He had been exalted by God to be the Messianic Deliverer, whose mission it was to lead Israel to repent, and to procure for it forgiveness, and that of His exaltation to heaven both they and the Holy Spirit present among them could affirm the truth.

This answer so exasperated the majority of the Sanhedrin that they were prompted to have them executed, though they lacked legal authority to do so. But before they gave expression to any such decision, one of their number, when the prisoners had been temporarily removed, recommended caution. This was Gamaliel,[2] known as " the elder Gamaliel," to distinguish him from his grandson of the same name. He himself was grandson of Hillel, one of the most famous of Jewish rabbis, and was conspicuous among contemporary teachers for the sympathy which he showed for Greek learning.[3] Gamaliel belonged to the sect of the Pharisees

[1] In *Acts* v. 15 the subject of ἐκφέρειν is ὁ λαός mentioned in *v.* 13, the intervening *v.* 14 being parenthetical.

[2] It seems possible that Gamaliel was the ultimate source whence some information about the proceedings that followed was derived.

[3] As a rule the Jewish Rabbis discouraged acquaintance with Greek,

who, though they had been hostile to Jesus on account of His disregard of the letter of the Mosaic Law, and His claim to be the destined Messiah, yet were not antagonistic to a belief in the resurrection of the dead and did not cherish the same class-interests as the Sadducees (p. 101). Consequently, like others of his party, Gamaliel was disposed to be more tolerant than the High Priest and his adherents towards the Christians. So he proceeded to deprecate any hasty action by the Sanhedrin, urging that if the new movement was of purely human origin, it would not last, whereas, if it were Divinely inspired, opposition to it was futile and impious. Some such advice as this seems consistent both with the tenets of the Pharisees, who, without being fatalists, placed great stress upon Divine Providence as a factor in human history (p. 103), and with the reputation that Gamaliel bore for liberality of thought. But in the speech attributed to him by St. Luke, his citation of instances of abortive movements in the past appears to involve a serious chronological error, so that unless this is explained away by the assumption that two ringleaders of sedition bore the same name, the speech would seem to have been composed without sufficient care by St. Luke himself (see p. 238f.).

The suggestion of Gamaliel, who must have had many supporters belonging to his own sect in the Sanhedrin, was adopted ; and the Council, after beating the Apostles for their disregard of the orders previously given them, and again admonishing them to speak no more in the name of Jesus, released them. The second warning had as little effect as the first. The Apostles left the council-chamber counting it an honour to incur suffering and humiliation for the Name (*i.e.* the combination *Jesus Christ*), and continued as hitherto to proclaim both in the Temple and in private houses that Jesus was the Messiah.

The point in the history here reached marks the end of a stage in the relations between Christianity and Judaism. So far, there had fallen from the Christian teachers no word derogatory to Jewish institutions ; and the leaders of the Church had only come into collision with the Jewish officials who had been mainly responsible for the death of their Lord. But henceforward there began to be displayed in certain quarters within the Church an attitude of criticism and detachment as regards the Jewish Law and its ordinances ; so that there gradually developed between Christianity and Judaism a rift which time has not yet bridged.

§ 3. *Appointment and Work of the Seven "Deacons"*

As the number of disciples increased and there was, as yet, little organized distribution of functions among the infant community, it was inevitable that some defects or oversights should occur, causing complaint. The occasion is only vaguely indicated by the phrase "in those days" (*Acts* vi. 1, cf. i. 15), so that its relation to the events previously recorded cannot be precisely determined. The friction was due to the composite character of the growing Church. Having originated in Palestine, it consisted at first of Jews who habitually spoke Aramaic (p. 79). But Jerusalem was the resort of numerous Jews from countries where the

medium of intercourse was Greek (p. 80); and of these some had become converts to the Christian faith. Such, however, were a minority, and the administration of the affairs of the whole body naturally rested at the outset with the Aramaic-speaking section of it. The chief duty which called for attention was that of providing support for the poor and unprotected. In that age the absence of any form of state relief rendered the obligation of supplying the needs of the indigent one of the most imperative of religious duties; and liberality to the necessitous was not only inculcated in the Old Testament (*Ex.* xxiii. 11, *Dt.* xv. 11, *Lev.* xxv. 35), but was specially enjoined by the Founder of Christianity (*Mt.* v. 42 = *Lk.* vi. 30). Among those whose poverty was greatest were widows; and their daily wants were supplied from the common fund (*Acts* iv. 34, 35), by individuals appointed for the purpose, probably by the Apostles (in whose hands the money contributed to the fund was placed, see p. 500). These individuals were taken exclusively at first from among the "Hebrews" (*Ἑβραῖοι*), as those were called who used the Aramaic vernacular; and in the distribution of alms the widows of the Hellenists (*Ἑλληνισταί*)[1] or Greek-speaking Jews did not receive their proper share. This led to dissatisfaction, which it was expedient for the Apostles to remove as soon as possible. They therefore summoned a meeting of the whole body of the Church and explained the situation. It was clearly undesirable that the time which they devoted to imparting the Christian message should be consumed in providing for the physical necessities of the poorer disciples. They proposed, therefore, that seven persons (the number having a sacred character[2]), all of good report and characterized by religious enthusiasm and practical wisdom, should be elected by the rank and file of the Church, and formally appointed over the administration of relief by the Apostles, who should confine themselves to more strictly religious functions, prayer and the proclamation of the Message. The proposal met with approval, and the assembly chose Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas and Nicolaus. All the names are Greek, and prudence would dictate the inclusion among the seven of some who were Hellenistic in sympathy. One, indeed, Nicolaus, was of Gentile origin, and had been converted to Judaism before he became a Christian. When elected, they were brought before the Apostles, who, after prayer, laid their hands upon them, the rite, in accord with traditional usage, symbolizing the transmission to them of authority to act as the Apostles' representatives in regard to this particular duty (see *Num.* xxvii. 18, 20, 23, *Dt.* xxxiv. 9). From the employment of the words *διακονία* and *διακονεῖν* in connexion with their appointment, the Seven are often described as the Seven Deacons. But their proper title seems to have been "the Seven" simply (*Acts* xxi. 8); they are never explicitly styled deacons in the New Testament, and they really discharged only a temporary function, which after the death of one of their number, and the dispersal of the others, was eventually transferred to a different body (*Acts* xi. 30).

[1] The term Ἑλληνισταί (unlike Ἕλληνες) marks a class *within* the Jewish people.

[2] It probably went back to the "seven planets" known to the Babylonians (Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn).

The dissatisfaction manifested by the Greek-speaking Jews seems to have been allayed by the measures adopted to deal with it. The numbers of the disciples gained for the Christian faith kept constantly increasing; and amongst those who accepted its promises and obligations were a large body of priests (probably from the inferior ranks of the Jewish priesthood).

In the account of the Seven contained in *Acts*, a perplexing feature is the way in which the history passes over the exercise of their duty as relieving officers and proceeds to narrate the activities of some of them as Evangelists. The most remarkable among them was Stephen, eminent even among his companions for grace of speech[1] and for healing power. His varied endowments made him an influential and convincing advocate of the Christian faith. But if his success as a preacher and controversialist eclipsed that of the rest, it also concentrated upon him the antagonism which Christianity encountered from a section of the Jews. As one who was familiar with Greek, Stephen would naturally address himself principally to his fellow Hellenists. Although the Jews of the Dispersion were probably, in general, more liberal in thought than those of Palestine (p. 79), there were some who were no less zealous for the traditional beliefs of Judaism than their Palestinian countrymen. Stephen belonged to the liberal section amongst the Hellenists, and it was seemingly from some fellow-Hellenists that he encountered most opposition. These were members of a synagogue called the synagogue of the *Libertini* (manumitted descendants of Jewish slaves, p. 44), Cyrenæans and Alexandrians (p. 78), and were supported by other Hellenists from Cilicia and Asia. Unequal to him in debate, they procured men to misrepresent his words, and to charge him with having declared that by Jesus the Nazarene the Temple would be destroyed and the institutions of Moses changed (the accusation resembling that brought against our Lord Himself, *Mk.* xiv. 58, *Mt.* xxvi. 61). The ground of such a charge, which St. Luke describes as false, is not explained. It is not likely that Stephen disparaged the distinctive institutions of Judaism openly and explicitly, for such a contention at this early stage would have alienated from Stephen the sympathies of the Twelve no less than of other Jews. Probably he affirmed, like Jesus Himself, that the mere external performance of the commands of the Law, apart from real sympathy with its ethical principles, would not ensure admission into the kingdom of God. Any denial of the intrinsic value of the Temple ritual and the ceremonial regulations so carefully guarded by the oral traditions of the Scribes would suffice to provoke the Pharisees, who had the support of the mass of the people (p. 102); so that the offence with which he was accused at once created a commotion. He was arrested and brought into the presence of the Sanhedrin, presided over by the High Priest (p. 99); and before this body the witnesses suborned by his opponents gave evidence. But the seriousness of his position did not dismay Stephen, whose countenance, indeed, so far from wearing the depressed look of a prisoner on trial for his life, seemed to

[1] In *Acts* vi. 8 πλήρης χάριτος may perhaps be illustrated by *Lk.* iv. 22; cf. also *Ps.* xlv. 2, Hom. *Od.* viii. 175 χάρις ἀμφιπεριστρέφεται ἐπέεσσιν.

some of the bystanders to be irradiated with supernatural dignity and glory.

To the High Priest's question whether the accusation was true, he replied in a long and really remarkable speech. Although it contains a certain number of phrases characteristic of St. Luke,[1] it has some expressions which do not recur anywhere in the New Testament, and a few of which are rather noteworthy.[2] In general it is sufficiently distinctive amongst the speeches recorded in *Acts* to render it probable that it preserves something of Stephen's actual address. In it various incidents of Hebrew history are related, but with numerous and striking divergences from the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the speaker (or the historian who reports him) either depending upon the LXX (where it departs from the Hebrew), or drawing upon a treacherous memory, or else substituting for the statements and figures of the Scriptures others resting upon tradition.[3] To the charge of having used words derogating from the honour due to the institutions and possessions upon which the Jews placed such value, the speech indirectly supplies some sort of answer; for in it Stephen magnifies three things highly esteemed by his countrymen, namely (*a*) the land of Canaan, as having been destined for their race by God from the time of Abraham; (*b*) the Law, as containing living oracles, and as imparted through Angelic agency; and (*c*) the tabernacle, the precursor of the Temple, as built according to a Divinely communicated plan. Nevertheless, there were implicit in his argument three contentions that really impugned the importance of the Mosaic Law and the Temple. The first was that God's relations with men were independent of place, since He had revealed Himself to the patriarchs and to Moses in Mesopotamia, in Haran and in the wilderness; the second was that Moses had foretold the advent of another prophet [Jesus], so that the Law could not be the final disclosure of God's intentions for His people; whilst the third was that every material building was inadequate and unessential as a dwelling-place for the Creator of all things. And though formally the speech was Stephen's plea in his own defence, it was in substance an indictment of his countrymen, in which the Jews were arraigned as persistent rebels against God; and the charge was supported by instances drawn from their past history, illustrating the way in which they, in contrast to their great ancestors, had repeatedly opposed the schemes of Divine Providence.

The speech may conveniently be divided into five sections:—

(1) In the first place, attention was drawn to the faith and obedience of Abraham, who by Divine direction left his native land for another which was to be shown him, and proceeded first to Haran, and thence, after his father's death, to Canaan, where, however, God gave him no inheritance, though promising it (at a time when he had no offspring)

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[1] *E.g.* ἐξαποστέλλειν, σωτηρία, κατανοεῖν, διατάσσεσθαι, φυλάσσειν, see pp. 204–5.

[2] Such are ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης (cf. *Ps.* xxix. 3), λυτρωτής, ἔλευσις. The expression ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου attributed to Stephen in *Acts* vii. 56 does not occur elsewhere in *Acts* or, indeed, anywhere in the New Testament outside the Gospels.

[3] Cf. also *Lk.* iv. 25 and *Jas.* v. 17 with 1 *Ky.* xviii. 1; 1 *Cor.* x. 8 with *Num.* xxv. 9.

to his posterity, who would enjoy it only after suffering bondage 400 years.

(2) The next feature in the national history which was emphasized was the way in which the sons of Jacob, though actuated by evil motives, nevertheless, through their conduct, unwittingly brought about the fulfilment of God's purposes; for though from jealousy they sold Joseph into Egypt, yet there he was promoted to high office, and was able to support in that country during a period of famine his kindred, seventy-five persons in all. From thence Jacob and his sons, when dead, were carried into Canaan for burial in the tomb bought by Abraham of the sons of Hamor at Shechem (thereby acquiring a possession in the promised land, though only a grave).

(3) Another feature emerging from the history was Israel's rejection of the leader whom God sent them, and their disobedience to the Divine commandments. When a successor of the Pharaoh who had promoted Joseph enslaved the Hebrews, Moses was born. The king's design to destroy him with the other Hebrew children was overruled by God's providence, since he was rescued by the king's own daughter, who nourished him and instructed him in all the wisdom of Egypt. When he was come to forty years, he saved from an Egyptian one of the Hebrews, and thought that the people would understand that he was their destined deliverer, but they failed to do so; and when he subsequently tried to part two Hebrews who were at strife, he was repelled. Yet forty years later, a Divine communication was conveyed to him at Sinai, and he was appointed to be the liberator of his countrymen. But even Moses was not a final saviour, for he predicted that God would raise up another (and greater) prophet.[1] And he, though the intermediary in the wilderness between the angel that spoke at Sinai and the people of Israel, was repudiated by the latter, who sought to return to Egypt instead of advancing towards the promised land; and who, abandoning the worship of the God Who had done so much for them, rendered adoration to a calf which they themselves had made. Consequently God left them to their own devices, and allowed them to worship the heavenly bodies, as described in *Am.* v. 25–27.

(4) This idolatry on the part of Israel occurred in spite of their possessing, first, the tabernacle, built by Moses after God's own design, and next, a temple, built by Solomon. Shrines, however, constructed by human hands could be no real abode for the Most High, for heaven was His throne, the earth His footstool, and the universe His creation (3 *Is.* lxvi. 1, 2).[2]

(5) Finally, it was declared that the resistance to God's Spirit exhibited by the people in the past had been repeated recently by those whom the speaker was addressing. Their fathers had killed the prophets who foretold the coming of the Righteous One[3]; and Him, when He came, they themselves had delivered up to be put to death. Though they had received

[1] In *Acts* vii. 37 ὡς ἐμέ does not mean *like me* but *as* (he raised up) *me*.
[2] Cf. the argument of St. Paul in *Acts* xvii. 24, 25.
[3] Cf. *Acts* iii. 14, 2 *Is.* liii. 11.

the Law as an ordinance transmitted through angelic agency,[1] they had not kept it.

The principal divergences in the speech from the Old Testament are as follows:—

Acts vii. 3. The words quoted were spoken in Haran (*Gen.* xii. 1, though cf. *Neh.* ix. 7).

,, 4. Terah was 70 when Abraham was born, Abraham was only 75 when he left Haran, and Terah did not die until he was 205 (*Gen.* xi. 26, xii. 4, xi. 32).

,, 6. *Four hundred years* agrees with *Gen.* xv. 13, but not with *Ex.* xii. 40 (*four hundred and thirty years*).

,, 7. The words *they shall serve me in this place* (from *Ex.* iii. 12) refer in their original context not to Canaan but to Horeb.

,, 14. *Threescore and fifteen souls* agrees with *Gen.* xlvi. 27, LXX, but not with the Heb. (*seventy*).

,, 16. The tomb bought by Abraham was not at Shechem, nor got from the sons of Hamor, but at Machpelah and purchased from Ephron the Hittite (*Gen.* xxiii. 19). Neither Jacob nor any of his sons except Joseph was buried at Shechem (*Josh.* xxiv. 32).

,, 22, 23. Neither the instruction of Moses in the wisdom of the Egyptians nor his age when he intervened to save his fellow-countryman is mentioned in the Old Testament.

,, 30. The scene of the revelation at the Bush is called Horeb in *Ex.* iii. 1 f.

,, 38. At Sinai God Himself, not an angel, spoke to Moses (*Ex.* xix. 3 f.).

,, 42-43. The passage quoted follows the LXX, which differs considerably from the Heb., especially in the substitution of *beyond Babylon* for *beyond Damascus*.

The concluding words of the speech were more than the patience of the audience could brook, and the assembly burst into a frenzy of rage. Stephen, looking up to heaven, cried that he saw (in mental vision) the heavens opened [2] and the Son of man standing at God's right hand; but the people, stopping their ears, tried to drown his voice, and making a simultaneous rush towards him, hurried him out of the city and stoned him. Those who had appeared as witnesses against him were the first to begin the stoning (in accordance with the direction in *Dt.* xvii. 7); and before doing so they laid down their outer garments at the feet of a young man called Saul (from whom St. Luke in later years may have derived an account of the scene). Stephen commended his soul to the Lord Jesus, and then, kneeling down, prayed that the sin of his murderers might not be fastened irremovably upon them, and so praying, died.

The execution, though carried out in an ebullition of rage, was the issue of a formal trial, for Stephen was brought before the Sanhedrin (*Acts* vi. 12), and stoning was the penalty imposed by the Law for transgressing the Divine covenant, of which in the opinion of his judges he might be held to be guilty (see *Dt.* xvii. 2–5). It was probably, however, illegal (p. 100); and the circumstance that the perpetrators were not called to account was perhaps due to the Roman procurator's lack of principle. The year of the occurrence cannot be determined with any accuracy, but it is not likely to have been long after the Crucifixion, though

[1] For the attendance of angels at Sinai cf. *Ps.* lxviii. 17.

[2] Cf. *Acts* x. 11, *Mk.* i. 10 (*Mt.* iii. 16, *Lk.* iii. 21).

later than 30, and almost certainly fell within the procuratorship of Pilate (26–36). If so, the fact that the illegality was overlooked can be explained by Pilate's fear of the Jews (cf. *Lk.* xxiii. 23, *Mt.* xxvii. 24) and his indifference to the claims of justice.

Stephen was buried by some devout persons, who, whether actually Christians or not, had sufficient sympathy with him to see that his body received the last rites. His death marked a crisis in the fortunes of the infant Church. Hitherto its opponents had been chiefly the High Priests who belonged to the sect of the Sadducees (*Acts* v. 17). But the spirit of Stephen's teaching, depreciating, as it really did, the importance of the institutional and ceremonial elements of the Jewish religion so dear to the Pharisees, rendered them also hostile to those who were in accord with him. Such were mainly drawn from the Hellenist Jews, and a vigorous persecution was directed against them. One who took part in this persecution was Saul or (to give him his full name, so far as it is known), Saul Paul,[1] a Hebrew by race, of the tribe of Benjamin (*Rom.* xi. 1, *Phil.* iii. 5, 6), but a native of Tarsus in Cilicia (*Acts* xxi. 39), who was a zealous Pharisee (*Acts* xxiii. 6, *Gal.* i. 14, *Phil.* iii. 5), and had been trained from his early youth by Gamaliel at Jerusalem (p. 501), where he presumably became proficient in Aramaic. He possessed the Roman citizenship by inheritance ; and though he was taught a handicraft (as Jews, whatever their station, generally were, p. 98), he was a man of position and possibly of wealth, for in the course of his career he was treated by numerous persons in authority with a degree of respect and consideration not commonly shown to poor men.[2] As a worshipper in one of the Hellenist synagogues (presumably that of the Cilicians and Asians (*Acts* vi. 9)), he had been brought into contact with Stephen ; had been animated with a fierce antagonism to his teaching ; and had been present at his execution, of which he had fully approved.[3] For the attempted suppression of the new movement within Judaism, which appeared to be so disloyal to its principles, he was thus a most suitable agent. Houses where suspected Christians lived were visited, and all the inmates who avowed any leanings towards the heresy were committed to prison. The severe measures which were adopted by the Jewish authorities resulted in a scattering of all in Judæa and Samaria whose safety was imperilled, and who were able to take flight in time. The Apostles, however, though the leaders of the Church, appear to have escaped arrest, probably because (apart from maintaining that Jesus was the Messiah) they afforded no handle for a charge of seeking to subvert Mosaism.

The dispersion of the Christian Hellenists[4] in consequence of the search made for them in Jerusalem contributed to promote the diffusion of the Gospel (*Acts* viii. 1, xi. 19). Amongst those who left Jerusalem was

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[1] Cf. the names *John Mark, Jesus Justus, Symeon Niger.*

[2] See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 310–312.

[3] This is perhaps the sense of *I gave my vote against them* in *Acts* xxvi. 10. It seems unlikely that he was a member of the Sanhedrin.

[4] It is clear that in *Acts* viii. 1 *all* cannot embrace the entire Christian community at Jerusalem ; cf. viii. 14, ix. 26.

Philip, one of the Seven, who went to a city of Samaria (*Acts* viii. 5). The reading here varies, for whilst ℵ A B have *τὴν πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρίας*, which must mean Sebaste (p. 5), C D E omit the article before *πόλιν*. Sebaste must have been largely Gentile (p. 47); so that in spite of the superior MSS. authority for *τὴν πόλιν* there is something to be said for adopting *πόλιν* and conjecturing that Shechem is meant (cf. *Ecclus.* l. 26). The Samaritans (p. 16) accepted the Pentateuch as authoritative and inspired; and in consequence of its prediction of the coming of another Prophet, they hoped, like the Jews, for a Messiah (p. 485). Philip, therefore, was able to appeal to this expectation; and in the course of proclaiming the imminence of the Kingdom of God (*Acts* viii. 12), declared that the looked-for Messiah had actually come in the person of Jesus, Who was destined to return with power and inaugurate the Messianic age. The effect of his preaching was enhanced by the cures which he wrought upon numbers who were either mentally or physically afflicted, so that his visit to the city occasioned much rejoicing.

Previous to Philip's arrival in Samaria, there had come thither a certain Simon who had produced a great impression upon all classes through magic arts (*i.e.* occult practices whereby it was claimed by the magician that he could constrain demons to do his will). According to Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 26) he was a native of Gitta, three miles from Samaria, and was honoured by the Samaritans as "the first god" (*ὁ πρῶτος θεός*), or, as elsewhere explained (*c. Trypho*, 120), *θεὸς ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως*. He probably alleged that he was an incarnation of Divine Power in a pre-eminent degree (cf. *Acts* viii. 10), and perhaps supported his pretensions by the exercise of psychic powers or by imposture. His influence, however, though previously extensive, appears to have been eclipsed by that of Philip, who won many converts to faith in Jesus as the Christ, so that they were baptized; and among those who received baptism was Simon himself, who attended Philip, being deeply impressed by the marvels worked by him, which transcended his own.

Information of the reception of the Gospel by the Samaritans was carried to the Apostles at Jerusalem, and must have created much surprise. The Twelve can scarcely have yet realized the comprehensive character which in the scheme of Divine Providence was to mark the Christian Church; but they were prepared to follow the guidance of events, and accordingly sent two of their number, Peter and John, to Samaria to ascertain whether the facts corresponded to the report which they had heard.[1] What the two emissaries learnt satisfied them; and they thereupon prayed that the newly-baptized converts might receive the Holy Spirit, for as yet there had been among them none of the outward signs especially associated with the Spirit's Presence (p. 492). After praying for them, they laid upon them their hands, and they received the Spirit (as evidenced, presumably, by an outburst of ecstatic praise). The precise significance of the symbolic act of the imposition of hands, which

[1] Cf. the similar mission of inquiry undertaken by Barnabas (*Acts* xi. 22, 23).

seems to have different meanings in varying circumstances, is, on the present occasion and in *Acts* xix. 6, not quite obvious. At first sight, the parallel of *Dt.* xxxiv. 9, where it is stated that Joshua " was full of the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands upon him " suggests that the physical act in itself was believed to be a means whereby the possession of certain spiritual gifts was actually conveyed to another person, after the analogy of the transfer of property. But in *Num.* xxvii. 18 from P Joshua is represented as already possessed of the Spirit before the imposition of Moses' hands; so that possibly the practice which the rite reproduced was that of placing the hands upon, or lifting them towards, a person or persons for whom a blessing from heaven was implored (see *Gen.* xlviii. 14 f., *Lev.* ix. 22, cf. *Mk.* x. 16). In any case prayer accompanied the act. Whether the reason why Philip himself had not previously prayed that his converts might receive the Holy Spirit was that this function was already reserved for the Twelve Apostles only, or that he shrank from the responsibility of discharging it in the instance of Samaritans,[1] the New Testament evidence is not decisive.[2]

Simon the Magian was a witness of what occurred; and thinking that if it were possible to secure that the same effects should follow similar action on the part of himself, his own importance and reputation would be augmented, offered the two Apostles money if they would impart power to him so that all upon whom he laid his hands might receive Holy Spirit. He seems to have supposed the Apostles to be in possession of a magical secret, ignorant that what he had seen was not the result of a spell or charm which could be bought for a price. But Peter, indignantly exclaiming, " Thy silver go to perdition with thee," declared that one whose motives were evil could have no share in an experience which was dependent upon a right disposition; and bade him repent of his wicked thoughts, for he was on the way to prove a poisonous influence and harmful impediment[3] to the Church into which he had been baptized. Simon was much alarmed, and he petitioned Peter and John, as potent intercessors, to pray to the Lord that the evil which he had incurred might be averted.[4]

What the two emissaries from the Church at Jerusalem had seen in Samaria convinced them that it was the Divine will to include the

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[1] See *Theology*, May, 1921, p. 227.

[2] St Paul, who was not one of the Twelve, laid his hands on converts and they received the Spirit (*Acts* xix. 6); but he strenuously asserted his equality with the chiefest Apostles (2 *Cor.* xi. 5).

[3] In *Acts* viii. 23 χολὴ πικρίας seems to mean " a bitter gall-root "; see *Dt.* xxix. 18.

[4] For an account of Simon Magus' career subsequent to his encounter with St. Peter see Justin, *Apol.* i. 26, Eus. *H.E.* ii. 13 and 14, where it is stated that he went to Rome, and was there honoured as a god, a statue being erected to him, but was confronted during the reign of Claudius by St. Peter. Justin states that the inscription placed on the statue began with the words *Simone Deo Sancto*, but seems to have been misled; for in 1574 a statue was found in the Tiber, bearing the inscription SEMONI SANCO DEO FIDIO SACRUM SEX. POMPEIUS SP. F. COL. MUSSIANUS QUINQUENNALIS DECUR. BIDENTALIS DONUM DEDIT, which was doubtless the statue referred to by Justin, but which was really dedicated to the Sabine god Semo Sancus. The historian is also probably in error as regards the date of St. Peter's visit to Rome, whither he must have gone later than Claudius' reign (41–54); see p. 313.

Samaritans in the Messianic kingdom; so that on their return journey they preached in various Samaritan villages. Philip, however, did not accompany them to Jerusalem; but with the aim of prosecuting further evangelistic work, turned to the south-west, and joined the road leading from Jerusalem to Gaza. He did not go to the new town, but journeyed past the ruins of the older city (p. 7), and an incident that occurred on the way led him to believe that he was Divinely guided in his choice of routes. For he overtook a high official of the reigning queen of Ethiopia,[1] who had charge of her treasury. Like many other thoughtful Gentiles, this man had been attracted by Judaism, and though incapable of being included, as a proselyte, in the community of Israel, since he was a eunuch (*Dt.* xxiii. 1), he was presumably a "God-fearer" (p. 89) and had been to Jerusalem to worship there. He was acquainted with the LXX version of the Old Testament (which was made in Egypt (p. 28)); and whilst seated in his chariot was perusing in it the book of *Isaiah*. A monition from the same Divine source as that which had led Philip to take the road along which he was travelling, impelled him to join the stranger, of whom he inquired whether he understood what he was reading, namely, 2 *Is.* liii. 7, 8. The passage in *Isaiah* occurs in the account of Jehovah's Servant, whose sufferings, undeserved by any offences of his own, are represented as availing to atone for the offences of others, including those who maltreated him. The Hebrew of *v.* 8 probably signifies that Jehovah's Servant was taken away from life by an oppressive judgment, whilst none of his contemporaries reflected on the reason for his removal from the world of the living; but the LXX admits of the meaning that when he humbled himself to death, the judgment executed upon him was reversed by God, and that none would be able to recount the numbers of his spiritual descendants, for his life was removed from the earth to a higher sphere. It was probably in this sense that the passage was interpreted by Philip, whom the eunuch had taken into his chariot and who, in answer to his question whether the prophet spoke of himself or another, declared that his words were fulfilled by Jesus; and explained the purpose of His death and the significance of His risen life and exaltation. On reaching a sheet of water, Philip's companion asked whether there was any hindrance to his being baptized and made a member of the Christian body. After his experience in Samaria Philip felt persuaded that neither the Ethiopian's race nor his physical defect (see 3 *Is.* lvi. 3, 4) was an impediment to his inclusion in the Church; and being assured of his sharing the Christian belief about Jesus (*i.e.* that He was the Christ or Messiah[2]), he baptized him. The conversion and baptism of the eunuch being accomplished by Philip, the two parted; and whilst the one, full of happiness, returned to

[1] The name *Candăce* (*Acts* viii. 27) seems to have been transferred from an individual female sovereign to a series of successors (Pliny, *H.N.* vi. 29), like the Roman title *Cæsar*.

[2] *Acts* viii. 37, given in the R.V. mg., is found in E, some few cursives, and the Lat. (vet.), Syr. (hl.), and Arm. versions, but is absent from ℵ A B C, Lat. (vulg.), Eg., Eth. But some confession of belief, such as that Jesus was Christ (cf. *Acts* ii. 38 and p. 493), if not formally expressed, must have been implied.

his own land, the other went to Azotus[1] (the ancient Ashdod), situated north of Gaza (p. 7), and made an evangelistic tour through the towns on the coast lying between it and Cæsarea. The last-mentioned city (p. 47) distinguished from other places of the same name as *Cæsarea Sebaste*, was the place where Philip at a later time made his home (cf. *Acts* xxi. 8).

§ 4. *The Conversion of St. Paul*

The dispersion of the Hellenist Christians, in consequence of the execution of Stephen, had carried some of them outside the limits of Judæa (p. 508); and certain of them withdrew beyond the boundaries of the Holy Land to Damascus (p. 7). This, at the period here under consideration, *circ.* A.D. 33, was included in the Roman province of Syria; but since the Romans conceded to the Jewish Sanhedrin authority to take proceedings against such of their compatriots as offended against the religious institutions of their race (p. 100), this body, knowing or suspecting that adherents of the Christian faith had fled thither, gave to Saul of Tarsus (p. 508), at his own request, letters to the synagogues there, empowering him to arrest and bring to Jerusalem any members of the Jewish community that followed the Christian rule of life. Saul's activity in calling offenders to account is affirmed by himself (*Gal.* i. 13, cf. *Acts* xxii. 19, xxvi. 10, 11); and he started for Damascus (about 150 miles from Jerusalem, as the crow flies), accompanied by a sufficient retinue to escort safely to the Jewish capital all whom he might seize. He was close to his journey's end when, at noontide, he was suddenly conscious of an intense light about him, and in the midst of it, of a Presence near him. He fell to the ground, and he then heard a Voice saying to him, in Aramaic, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" To his inquiry "Who art thou, Lord?" there came the reply, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." When he rose from the earth he discovered that he was unable to see, and had to be guided by the hand. His companions led him to Damascus, where he found lodging in the house of a certain Justus, and where he remained in darkness for three days, which he spent in prayer and fasting.

Information conveyed by Paul's retinue that he, who was on his way to Damascus, with powers from the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem to arrest and imprison believers on Jesus, had suddenly abandoned his purpose, must soon have spread through the Christian community in the city. Among those whom it reached was a certain Ananias, to whom the narrative of what had happened occasioned much reflection. He was aware of the severity with which Saul had persecuted the Christians at Jerusalem, and it was difficult to suspect a man of such determined will of any faltering in his purpose; yet the circumstance that he had remained secluded for three days, without placing his commission in the hands of another to carry out, really pointed to a sudden change of mind in the persecutor. As a Christian, Ananias knew that Peter and the other disciples had been transformed from cowardly deserters to courageous champions through

[1] With *Acts* viii. 39 "The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip," cf. 1 *Kg.* xviii. 12, 2 *Kg.* ii. 16.

the appearance to them of Jesus; and he felt an impulse (owing, as he believed, its origin to the Lord Himself) to conclude, in spite of plausible reasons pointing to a contrary inference, that the risen Jesus had made a changed man of Saul, who would then, in virtue of the very qualities which had made him so formidable an opponent to the Church, prove all the more intrepid and devoted an adherent of it. But if he had been divinely guided to this conclusion, it could only be with the design that he should be instrumental in helping Saul at so critical a moment of his life by imparting to him instruction; and so he resolved to seek him at his lodgings in Straight Street (a name—*Derb El Mustakîm*—still borne by the main thoroughfare in Damascus).

Some such inward debate in the mind of Ananias seems to be reflected in the historian's account, written in the light of subsequent events, which describes how the Lord in a vision bade Ananias inquire for Saul, since the latter had seen Ananias come to him and restore to him his sight[1]; how Ananias replied that he had heard of the evil which Saul had done to the Christians of Jerusalem, and of his commission to imprison those of Damascus; and how the Lord answered that Saul was a chosen agent to make known His revelation to Gentiles and their rulers as well as to Jews, even at the cost of great sufferings. The representation that Paul saw (in a vision) the visit of Ananias (who was a stranger to him, as implied in *Acts* ix. 13) prior to its occurrence, and that this vision of Paul's enters into one received by Ananias himself, can be little else than a method of indicating that every step in St. Paul's conversion to Christianity was foreordained and determined by Jesus (cf. *Acts* x. 3, xvi. 9, xxvii. 23, 24 and p. 106). Certain features in the historian's narrative seem to reflect his further acquaintance with St. Paul's subsequent career, including his labours for the conversion of the Gentiles, and his examination before King Agrippa and the Roman Emperor.

Ananias, on going to Saul's abode, laid his hands upon him and greeting him by the term "Brother" (*i.e.* as a fellow-Christian) told him that he had been sent by Jesus, Who had appeared to him on the way to Damascus, in order that he might recover his sight and receive the Holy Spirit. With the sudden relief which Ananias' words brought to Saul's depressed and despairing heart there came back to him his power of vision (the sensation of returning sight being likened by the historian to the removal from his eyes of scales) and he thereupon received baptism and took food.[2] Ananias in laying his hands upon Saul made use of the same symbolic action as St. Peter and St. John in Samaria, having the same end in view, though Ananias (so far as is known) was only an ordinary member of the Church and held no office in it.

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[1] *Acts* ix. 12 (which alludes to Saul's recovery of sight through Ananias, without previous mention to the latter of Saul's blindness) is omitted by the Old Lat. MS. *h*.

[2] It is possible that the narrative of the blindness and its cure is symbolical (cf. Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, i. p. 92). It is noteworthy that only in St. Luke's account mention occurs of either the blindness or its cure (*Acts* ix. 9, 18); and the historian may have interpreted literally a figure of speech used by St. Paul himself.

Of the circumstances of St. Paul's vision of the Lord and its sequel there are three accounts in *Acts* ix., xxii., and xxvi. which present some divergences :—

In ix. (*a*) His companions, standing speechless, hear the voice but see no one.
(*b*) He is directed by Jesus to enter the city, where he will be told what to do.
(*c*) Reference to his bearing the name of Jesus before Gentiles and Jews occurs in the vision received by Ananias.

In xxii. (*a*) His companions behold the light but hear not the voice.[1]
(*b*) On asking what he is to do, he receives the same directions as in ix.
(*c*) Reference to his being witness for Jesus to all men occurs in the conversation between Ananias and St. Paul.

In xxvi. (*a*) His companions, like himself, fall to the earth.
(*b*) Jesus, after the question "Why persecutest thou me?" adds "It is hard for thee to kick against the goads," [2] and appoints him a minister and witness both of what he has already seen and what he will see later, and promises to deliver him from both the Jewish people (see xxii. 17, 18) and the Gentiles, to whom he is to be sent to effect their conversion.

Some of the important questions raised by this narrative have been considered already (pp. 481 f.). It is only necessary to say here that whatever explanation of the occurrence be adopted, it is essential that it should be adequate to account for a momentous fact, namely, the sudden conversion of an active opponent of the Christian faith into one of its most enthusiastic defenders, to whose penetrating insight and tireless activity it was chiefly due (humanly speaking) that the Christian Church ultimately became the most powerful spiritual force in the world.

For a certain time after his baptism St. Paul stayed with the Christian community at Damascus, and then retired into Arabia (presumably the desolate region lying to the east of Damascus, between that city and Babylon[3]). An explanation of this retirement (mentioned in *Gal.* i. 17) is not difficult to suggest. Withdrawal to some locality for protracted reflection would be essential, since his previous inferences from the prophecies of Scripture as to the character and functions of the Messiah had to be reconsidered in the light of his newly-gained conviction that the Jesus who had been crucified was the Messiah. Moreover, the views he had hitherto held respecting obedience to the Law as the Divinely ordered method whereby the people of God were to become qualified for participation in the Messianic Kingdom had to be adapted to the conception of salvation through Jesus which prevailed amongst Christians (*Acts* iv. 12, x. 43). He had, in short, to endeavour to lay the foundation of a Christian system of theology, both in order to satisfy his own intellectual needs and in order to make it easier to appeal to the thoughtful amongst his countrymen ; and the leisure and seclusion needed for this he would obtain most easily in the desert.

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[1] There seems to be no justification for the distinction (drawn by Rackham, *Acts*, p. 131) between the use of the gen. ("hearing the mere sound") and the acc. ("not hearing the articulate words") : cf. *Joh.* v. 25 (gen.) with *Joh.* iii. 8 (acc.), and note the equivalence of ἀκούειν τοὺς λόγους and ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων in *Mt.* x. 14, *Lk.* vi. 47.

[2] The proverb is only found in Greek and Latin (Æsch. *Ag.* 1026, *P.V.* 323, Eur. *Bacch.* 795, Ter. *Phorm.* i. 2, 27).

[3] Damascus itself was accounted as belonging to Arabia (Justin Martyr, *Tryph.* 78). But Lightfoot supposes the Apostle to have gone to the Sinaitic peninsula (*Gal.* p. 88).

St. Luke passes over the period spent in Arabia altogether. Chronologically it probably comes between *Acts* ix. 19 and 20. It must have been after his return, not prior to his retirement, that he began to proclaim in Damascus the fact which he had formerly denied ; *viz.* that Jesus was the Son of God. Such a change of belief on the part of one who had previously gone thither to arrest those who acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah caused extreme astonishment. But he was a man of great natural ability ; and as a Christian preacher he increased in effectiveness as his understanding of the Old Testament Scriptures became enlarged and deepened.

To his former associates, however, he must have seemed a renegade and traitor ; and he inevitably became the object of their bitterest enmity. Failure to encounter him successfully in argument at last led to the formation among them of a plot against his life. The particular design, however, by which at first his enemies hoped to accomplish their purpose was disclosed, and precautions were taken against it ; so that the conspirators, deferring but not abandoning their aim, had to content themselves with guarding the gates of the city, in case he attempted to leave it. But when it became desirable that he should place himself in touch with the Apostles at Jerusalem, the watch at the gates was eluded by his disciples, who lowered him by night in a basket through a window in the city-wall.[1] This happened at a time when Aretas IV, the king of the Nabatæan Arabs, exercised some authority over Damascus, and whose subordinate (ἐθνάρχης, 2 *Cor.* xi. 32) in command of the city was amenable to the wishes of the Jews, and seemingly furnished them with some soldiers to aid their schemes. The date of the occurrence is difficult to decide with confidence. Damascus was under Roman administration in A.D. 34 (as known from the evidence of coins), so that it cannot have been in the occupation of Aretas before that year ; but how long after 34 it came into his possession can only be conjectured. But since the chronology of St. Paul's career seems to harmonize best with the assumption that his conversion took place in 32 or 33 (see p. 345), probably no great error will be committed if the Arabian king's acquisition of the place is assigned to 34 or 35, and St. Paul's escape from it to the last-mentioned year.

When the Apostle reached Jerusalem and sought to mix with the disciples there, it was natural that the latter should view him with apprehension. This mistrust was ended by an act of generous confidence in him displayed by Barnabas (p. 500). Whether the latter had been previously acquainted with St. Paul or not does not appear ; but he knew the story of his conversion and credited it, and was aware that he had courageously preached in Damascus the faith which he had once defamed ; so bringing him to St. Peter and St. James (p. 491) he related the facts to them and convinced them of his sincerity. Through converse with them, especially with the former, St. Paul must have learnt much about the

[1] In *Acts* ix. 25 it is said that the Apostle was lowered to the ground in a σπυρίς, in 2 *Cor.* xi. 33 in a σαργάνη. Both terms can describe flexible baskets used for carrying fish. Probably Saul was put into one, and the opening closed by sewing (see *J.T.S.* July, 1909, p. 571).

ministry and teaching of the Lord. He then began to pursue evangelistic work among the Greek-speaking Jews at Jerusalem; and the fact that his activities were confined to this class of his countrymen accounts in some measure for the circumstance that he did not see any of the other Apostles (*Gal.* i. 19), whose work probably lay amongst the Aramaic-speaking part of the population in the surrounding neighbourhood, and that he did not become known to the Christian brotherhood in Judæa outside the Jewish capital (*Gal.* i. 22).[1] His preaching, however, met with great opposition, so that an endeavour was again made to kill him; and this being discovered, the disciples, after he had been in Jerusalem only a fortnight (*Gal.* i. 18), sent him away to Cæsarea and then to Tarsus, the order of the words (*εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας*) in *Gal.* i. 21 suggesting that he went by land. It was probably in the two provinces just named that he spent a large portion of the fourteen years which elapsed between the visit to Jerusalem just recounted and the third, which took place in 49 (p. 271), this period, however, including the eighteen months or more that were occupied by the First Missionary journey through certain other provinces of the Empire (p. 524). It seems likely that it was in the course of his activities in Syria that he converted Titus (*Gal.* ii. 1) to the Christian faith.

§ 5. *The Admission of Gentiles into the Church*

With the transformation into a believer of one who had been so active a persecutor as Paul, the Church,[2] which now extended not only through Judæa and Samaria but also into Galilee, enjoyed a period of peace, which resulted in a still further increase in numbers and spiritual progress. Though the hostility of the Jews did not abate, their attention was soon withdrawn from the Christian body to a danger threatening themselves, for it was about the year 39 that Caligula directed that his image should be placed in the Temple at Jerusalem (p. 82), a proceeding which, if persisted in, would have driven the Jews to armed rebellion. This absence of molestation St. Peter turned to account by visiting some of the Christian communities in the maritime Plain, which had been the scene of the preaching of Philip, whose work in converting not only a number of Samaritans but also a Gentile (pp. 509, 511) probably in the sequel helped to dispose the Apostle towards enlarged views respecting the admission of non-Jews into the Church. The first place he stopped at was Lydda[3] (p. 7). Here there was a paralysed man called Æneas (described by St. Luke as having been bedridden for eight years), to whom the Apostle restored the use of his limbs by addressing him with the words, "Jesus Christ healeth thee" (cf. *Acts* iii. 6). The report of the cure spread among

[1] With St. Paul's own statements the account in *Acts* is not quite in accord (p. 245).

[2] In *Acts* ix. 31 instead of *ἡ ἐκκλησία εἶχεν* E and other Greek MSS., with the Old Lat. and the Syr. (hl.) have *αἱ ἐκκλησίαι εἶχον*: cf. xvi 5.

[3] Famous as the birthplace of St. George.

the residents of Lydda and the neighbouring plain of Sharon and led to conversions there.

Christian disciples existed also at Joppa (p. 7), which was only some ten or twelve miles from Lydda ; and among them was a woman called Tabitha or Dorcas (the Greek equivalent of the Aramaic name, meaning "gazelle"), whose deeds of benevolence and charity were numerous. Whilst St. Peter was at Lydda, she died ; and the members of the Church there sent word by two men to the Apostle, requesting him to come to them. He at once did so ; and found Tabitha laid out in an upper room, where the indigent widows, who were supported by their fellow-Christians (cf. 1 *Tim.* v. 3 f.), showed him the garments for the poor which she had made. The historian relates that St. Peter put them all forth (cf. *Mk.* v. 40) ; and after praying, turned to Tabitha and bade her arise, whereupon she opened her eyes and sat up ; and he then summoned the others in the house and restored her alive to them. In regard to this narrative, it seems less probable that so great a miracle as the revival of a person actually dead really happened (cf. p. 401) than that a less remarkable occurrence has been magnified. Such a miracle is isolated in the Apostolic history, for the account of Eutychus (*Acts* xx. 7–12) does not point to more than a recovery from a state of unconsciousness consequent upon a fall (p. 567) ; and St. Paul, who declared that in nothing was he behind the very chiefest Apostles, and that through him were wrought the signs of an Apostle by wonders and mighty works (2 *Cor.* xii. 11, 12), never alludes to having performed such a marvel as the restoration of the dead to life (though silence is, of course, rarely conclusive evidence). In the case under consideration the facts recorded are consistent with the supposition that the woman was in a death-like swoon, from which she was roused by St. Peter, who detected in her signs of life which had escaped others. At the same time there is no reason to doubt that something unusual really took place at Joppa ; for the town was not very far from Cæsarea, and at the latter St. Luke came in contact with Philip, who had his home there (*Acts* xxi. 8), and who would naturally hear of any matter of interest relating to a district which he had evangelized (p. 512). The incident contributed to the influence exerted at Joppa by St. Peter, who stayed there for some time with a certain Simon who practised the trade of a tanner.

It was whilst he was at Joppa that another important step was taken in the direction of incorporating Gentiles in the Church. The case was more crucial than that of the Ethiopian eunuch (p. 511) ; for whereas the latter, after baptism, had returned to his own distant home, it was now a question of including in the Christian body residents within Palestine itself where acute difficulties relating to social intercourse between Christian Jew and Christian Gentile were likely to occur. At Cæsarea (p. 7), some 30 miles north of Joppa, there was a Roman garrison consisting of five cohorts of infantry and a squadron of cavalry. The infantry did not consist of legionary troops, but was drawn from the auxiliary forces of the Empire, being mainly recruited in Syria (Jos. *B.J.* ii. 13, 7) ; but it included a cohort constituted (it would seem) of Italian volunteers (p. 54) and hence called the "Italian cohort." One of the six centurions of this

cohort [1] was an officer named Cornelius, who was a "God-fearer," with all his household, and devoted to prayer and almsgiving. This man was doubtless attracted towards the Christian faith, and hearing that Peter, one of the Apostles, was staying at Joppa, he was Divinely prompted (the impulse being described, after Old Testament analogies (*Jud.* vi. 12, 2 *Kg.* i. 3, 15) as a direction imparted by an angel) to dispatch two of his servants and a pious soldier to Joppa with a request that the Apostle would come to instruct him. Peter, who was now in a district where Gentiles were numerous, had had, prior to the arrival of the messengers from Cornelius, much self-communing as to the terms on which Gentiles, if they sought to become Christians, should be included in the Church. On the one hand, there was the requirement of the Mosaic Law, that a Jew should keep himself from contact with any who were ceremonially defiled, this demand pointing to the imposition of circumcision and the rest of the ceremonial regulations upon Gentiles desirous of being admitted to Christian fellowship. On the other hand, the persecution of the disciples by the Jews, Stephen's speech at his trial, wherein he had shown that the Jewish people had constantly opposed the Divine purposes (p. 505), and the descent of the Spirit upon the Samaritans converted by Philip, were considerations favouring a new departure and a policy of comprehension. Some such mental discussion seems to be implied in the symbolical narrative (*Acts* x. 9–16 [2]) that relates how Peter, after praying at noon on the flat roof [3] of his house, became hungry, and whilst food was being prepared fell into a trance, and saw a great sail or sheet lowered from heaven by the four corners, and supporting all manner of living creatures; how he heard a Voice bidding him kill and satisfy his hunger; and how he, replying that he had never eaten anything ritually unclean (see *Lev.* xi., and cf. *Dan.* i. 8, 1 *Macc.* i. 62), was told by the same Voice that what God had declared clean, he was not to deem unhallowed. He had scarcely made up his mind that Jewish exclusiveness could not stand in the way of God's larger design, when the messengers from Cornelius reached his house.[4] On learning their errand he took the occurrence as being Divinely appointed for putting into practice the decision he had come to. He therefore lodged them that night, and next day, accompanied by six Jewish Christians of Joppa, he went to Cæsarea. There Cornelius had

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[1] Evidence of the existence of an Italian cohort in Syria some thirty-five years later than the time here under consideration is furnished by an inscription found about 1895 at Carnuntum, a Roman station on the Danube in Pannonia, near Vienna, and dating from about A.D. 69. It is an epitaph of a soldier called Proculus, who is styled OPT. COH. II ITALIC. C.R.F. . . . TINI EX VEXIL. SAGIT. EXER. SYRIACI, *i.e. optio* (an officer serving as an assistant to a centurion) *cohortis secundæ Italicæ civium Romanorum Faustini ex vexillariis sagittariis exercitus Syriaci.* See *Expositor*, Sept. 1896.

[2] Cf. *Ezek.* xxxvii., *Zech.* i. 7 f., ii. 1 f.; etc.

[3] The flatness of the roof of an Eastern house enabled it to be used for all kinds of purposes (1 *Sam.* ix. 26 mg., 2 *Sam.* xi. 2, xvi. 22, 2 *Kg.* xxiii. 12, *Neh.* viii. 16, *Jer.* xix. 13, *Dan.* iv. 29 mg.).

[4] In *Acts* x. 17 the "gate" is the gateway leading into a court from which the rooms of the house were entered (cf. *Acts* xii. 13).

placed one of his servants to watch for Peter and his companions, and when on the second day their approach was announced (*Acts* x. 25 and p. 253), he met Peter and prostrated himself before him. The Apostle, with a protest against such homage, entered the house, where a company was gathered, and explained that God had convinced him that the rule prohibiting Jews from associating with Gentiles was not in accord with His will, and asked why he had been summoned. Cornelius in reply related how, when engaged in prayer, he had been inspired to send for Peter; and begged him to make known the truths with which as an Apostle of Jesus he was entrusted. In answer Peter said that what had taken place showed that God made no distinction between the righteous, whatever their nationality. All present knew that the Gospel message had its beginning in Galilee, where, after the preaching of John the Baptist, Jesus of Nazareth, endowed with the Spirit and the power of God, went about healing physical and spiritual maladies. He had been put to death by the Jews, but had been raised by God from the dead on the third day; and His Apostles, who were witnesses of His Risen Life,[1] were charged by God to declare to the people that Jesus was the appointed judge of living and dead.[2] To Him testimony was borne by the prophets, that, through the revelation which He conveyed, all believers in Him should receive forgiveness of their sins. As he finished, there broke from Cornelius and his friends an ecstatic outburst of praise to God, such as had occurred at Pentecost. Then Peter asked whether baptism could be refused to Gentiles who had received the Spirit as plainly as had the Apostles themselves; and he answered his own question by directing them to be baptized in the name of Jesus as Christ. It was natural that the newly baptized converts should desire further instruction from Peter, and they accordingly asked him to spend some days at Cæsarea with them.

Though the Jewish Christians who had witnessed at Cæsarea the bestowal of the gift of tongues upon the Gentiles were convinced that the admission of Gentile believers to an equal footing with themselves had the sanction of God, it was otherwise with the Jewish section of the Church at Jerusalem. Information must soon have reached the Apostles and the rest of the Christian community at the capital; and as soon as Peter returned, the Jewish Christians[3] complained of his action in taking part in social intercourse with Gentiles. Peter met their challenge by explaining, as he had done at Cæsarea, that he had been prepared by God for the abolition of the lines of division separating Jew and non-Jew; and that when the messengers came from Cornelius he felt that he was under the guidance of the Spirit in going with them. He went on to recount what Cornelius had related to him and what had happened among those who were gathered at his house[4]; and he declared that, since God had conferred upon Gentile and Jew alike the same gift of the Spirit, it was not for him to dispute God's ordering. The cavillers were silenced, and even gave

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[1] On *Acts* x. 40, 41, see p. 480. [2] Cf. 1 *Pet.* iv. 5.
[3] This is explicitly stated in D (*οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς ἀδελφοί*).
[4] In *Acts* xi. 16 the allusion to the Lord's word is to *Acts* i. 5.

utterance to praise that God had granted to the Gentiles repentance unto life. Nevertheless it is not likely that they contemplated the eventual admission into the Church of large numbers for whom freedom from the Jewish Law would be claimed as a normal right and not as an exceptional privilege.[1]

It is now necessary to recur to the persecution of the Hellenist Christians which ensued on the death of Stephen.[2] One consequence was the departure of Philip to Samaria, and the preaching of the Gospel among the Samaritans (p. 509). Another result, and one that eventually led to more momentous issues, was the dispersal of several Greek-speaking evangelists into Gentile lands. Some travelled over sea to Cyprus, in which, under the rule of the Ptolemaic dynasty, numerous Jews had settled.[3] Others proceeded northward along the Phœnician coast to Syrian Antioch (p. 68). The evangelists, Jews by race, at first addressed themselves to their fellow-countrymen only. But when Antioch was reached some among them, who belonged to Cyprus and Cyrene, preached to Greeks[4] (*i.e.* uncircumcised Gentiles). This was a new departure, which, though it had a parallel in St. Peter's exposition of the Christian faith to the Roman Cornelius, yet in some measure went beyond that, since the Gospel was now imparted not to a single household but to a considerable body of Gentiles. In the absence of any indication by the historian of the order in which the two events at Cæsarea and Antioch occurred, it is impossible to decide which was actually the first occasion on which Gentiles were converted to Christianity. But in neither case, so far as can be judged, was there a transition to Christianity immediately from heathenism, certainly in the instance of Cornelius, and probably in the present instance the converts were "God-fearers."

A report of what had happened at Antioch reached the Church at Jerusalem, and, as on the occasion when the Samaritans accepted the Gospel preached by Philip (*Acts* viii. 14), a representative of the parent Church was sent to learn the facts at first-hand. The representative chosen was Barnabas (p. 515), himself a Cypriot, and therefore the more likely to be a sympathetic observer of the results attained. He was a man of kindly disposition, inspired with enthusiasm, and strong of faith; and he was filled with unqualified satisfaction at the proof of God's grace manifest in the conversion to the Christian faith of so many Gentiles, whom he urged to cleave to the Lord[5] with all their hearts. His encouragement helped

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[1] Cf. Bartlet, *Acts*, pp. 241–2.

[2] *Acts* xi. 19 resumes *Acts* viii. 1.

[3] Hastings, *D.B.* i. p. 540.

[4] In *Acts* xi. 20, though the textual authorities usually commanding most confidence have Ἑλληνιστάς, the true reading must be Ἕλληνας, for there would be nothing remarkable in the fact that the Evangelists, themselves Greek-speaking Jews, addressed fellow-Hellenists. The exceptional fact was their preaching to non-Jews. The MS. evidence for the two readings is as follows: (1) Ἑλληνιστάς ℵ (which by a scribal error has εὐαγγελιστάς) B E H L P and most MSS.; (2) Ἕλληνας A D and one cursive. The conjunction καί, which is intelligible only when prefixed to Ἕλληνας, occurs in ℵ B, though these have, or imply, Ἑλληνιστάς.

[5] In *Acts* xi. 23 ἐν before τῷ κυρίῳ is only found in B, 181, Syr. (hl.) and Eg. If it is retained, προσμένειν goes with τῇ προθέσει τῆς καρδίας.

to increase the numbers of those who gave their allegiance to Christ, and eventually Antioch became for some time a centre of Christian activity exceeding in importance any other. But Barnabas did more than use his own gifts in the cause of the Church. He sought the help of one whose powers of leadership exceeded his own, and went to Tarsus to find Saul, who had gone thither when his life was endangered at Jerusalem (*Acts* ix. 30 and p. 516). Having discovered him, he brought him back with himself to Antioch. There they were hospitably entertained [1] by the Antiochene Church for a whole year, which they spent in instructing more fully the converts already made. The large numbers of those who professed to be Christ's adherents attracted the attention of the populace of Antioch, who instead of styling them, as the Jews did, *Nazarenes*, called them *Christiani*, "Christ's men" (after the model of *Pompeiani*, *Herodiani*, etc.). The Sinaitic manuscript writes the title *Χρηστιανοί*; and the fact that in this form it would gain in significance for Greek speakers through association with the Greek adjective *χρηστός*,[2] "worthy," makes it not improbable that *Chrestiani* (retained in the French *Chrétien*) was the way in which the word was popularly pronounced. Like some other appellations applied at first jestingly or scornfully,[3] this name, coined by the Antiochenes, eventually became the accepted designation of our Lord's disciples even among themselves, appearing first in 1 *Pet.* iv. 16 (cf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 45).

The next incident related by St. Luke and vaguely connected with the preceding by the loose term "in those days" (*Acts* xi. 27) is the arrival at Antioch from Jerusalem of certain Christian "prophets." These were a class of persons who did not ordinarily discharge any regular office in the Church, but who were endowed with certain spiritual faculties enabling them by penetrating insight and fervent language to guide, encourage, and edify the Church (cf. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 3, *Acts* xv. 32). Like the ancient Hebrew prophets, some or all possessed in a remarkable degree the gift of prescience; and among those who visited Antioch from Jerusalem was one named Agabus, who predicted the occurrence of a great and widespread famine throughout the Roman Empire. The prediction was probably uttered before the death of Caligula in 41, for it is specially noted by the historian of *Acts* that it was fulfilled in the reign of Claudius. Confirmation of this is in some measure afforded by the evidence of Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 43) and Suetonius (*Claud.* xviii.),[4] though they do not mention Judæa. The prediction as reported in *Acts* xi. 28, "a great famine over all the world" (*ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην*) need not be pressed strictly; probably great scarcity prevailed over a large area for a considerable time, but in different years was more keenly felt in some regions than in others. In Judæa the severest pressure of want is generally assigned by chronologists to the year 46. It did not extend simultaneously to northern Syria where Antioch was situated, so that the Christians of Antioch were enabled to send help to

[1] For this sense of *συναχθῆναι* in *Acts* xi. 26, cf. *Mt.* xxv. 35, *Jud.* xix. 18.

[2] This is the form in which it is probable our Lord's name appears in Suet. *Claud.* 25; see p. 78.

[3] Cf. *Tory*, *Whig*, and perhaps *Cynic*.

[4] See also Dion Cassius lx. 11, Jos. *Ant.* xx. 2, 5, Eus. *H.E.* ii. 8 and 12.

the Church at Jerusalem, the decision to do so being doubtless taken at the time when the need for aid became urgent, and not (as the brevity of St. Luke's account suggests) on the occasion of Agabus' prophecy. The requisite supplies were conveyed to Jerusalem by Barnabas and Saul. One or both of these must have left Antioch after the expiration of the twelve months mentioned in *Acts* xi. 26, and gone back thither shortly before the year of the famine. At Jerusalem the supplies were delivered not to the "Seven" (p. 503) but to the presbyters of the Church. It may be assumed that in consequence of the persecution following the death of Stephen, the organization of the Seven had been broken up and their duties subsequently undertaken by a body of Elders constituted on Jewish lines (cf. p. 631). The two bearers of the bounty, after discharging their mission, returned from Jerusalem[1] to Antioch, bringing with them John Mark.

The account of the measures taken to alleviate the famine rather anticipates the actual course of events at Jerusalem. Hitherto such persecution as the Christians there had suffered proceeded chiefly from the priesthood; but now a blow was dealt them by the civil authority. In the spring of 44 Herod Agrippa I (p. 51), whose policy it was to keep on good terms with the leading classes among his subjects, gratified their enmity towards the Christians by putting to death James the son of Zebedee.[2] Then, from a desire to give the Jews further satisfaction, he arrested and imprisoned St. Peter, intending publicly to sentence him also to execution. Peter was secured in the usual way (p. 73); but he had friends outside who not only prayed (*Acts* xii. 5) but presumably worked for his deliverance. If there were Christians like Cornelius (p. 519) in the Roman forces at Cæsarea, there may have been Christians in the garrison maintained in the castle of Antonia by Agrippa. In any case, on the night before sentence was to be pronounced on St. Peter, means were provided for his escape; and on his finding himself outside the walls he proceeded to the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark (p. 173), with whom he may possibly have made his home. His sudden appearance there caused intense surprise[3] and joy; but after bidding his friends report to St. James and to the rest of the disciples how God had delivered him, he left the city for some place of safety. The escape of the prisoner was discovered in the morning, and the soldiers were put to death. The narrative of the incident in *Acts* xii. 1–16 is composed in the spirit of the Old Testament historians, by whom God is not seldom represented as delivering His servants, when in peril of their lives, through the agency of angels (1 *Kg.* xix. 5, *Dan.* iii. 25, 28, vi. 22).

Agrippa shortly after this retired from Jerusalem to Cæsarea; and the

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[1] In *Acts* xii. 25 ℵ B and some other authorities have ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, but this makes nonsense of the passage, and has probably originated from an accidental repetition of a frequent phrase occurring in *Lk.* ii. 45, xxiv. 33, 52, *Acts* i. 12, xiii. 13. Of the other MSS. A, some cursives, with the Syr. Eg., and Arm. versions, have ἐξ Ἰ.; D E with the Lat. versions have ἀπὸ Ἰ.

[2] For an account of his death see Eus. *H.E.* ii. 9.

[3] In *Acts* xii. 15 for *his angel* cf. *Mt.*, xviii. 10.

rank and file of the Church would have been more than human if they had not felt some satisfaction at the fate which speedily overtook him there. An occasion of offence having arisen between him and the citizens of Tyre and Sidon, he pursued the quarrel by means of an economic war (the only kind he could prosecute, since they were included in the Roman province of Syria), prohibiting the export to them of the corn and other products which his dominions usually supplied.[1] This policy compelled the two cities to negotiate for a settlement, which they were enabled to secure through the good offices of Blastus, Agrippa's chamberlain, whose friendship they had obtained. A deputation came to Cæsarea to hear the king's favourable response to their appeal. Agrippa, taking his seat in the amphitheatre, where audience was given, delivered a speech, which the envoys, with servile flattery, declared to be such as no man but only a god could utter. This adulation the king did not reject, and the historian saw a fitting nemesis for such impiety in a loathsome disease which presently brought about his end.[2] Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8, 2) gives a variant, but not essentially dissimilar, account of Agrippa's decease (see p. 239, and cf. Eus. *H.E.* ii. 10), both narratives relating that his acceptance of flattery more than ordinarily fulsome was followed almost at once by a horrible death. For the subsequent disposal of his dominions see p. 57.

§ 6. *St. Paul's First Missionary Journey*

About this time in the Church at Antioch there originated an undertaking which in the sequel had momentous consequences. This was the propagation of the Gospel message beyond the limits of Palestine and Syria. The extent of ground covered on the first attempt was not great; nor, so far as can be judged, was it at the outset the purpose of those who took part in the mission to address their appeal to others than Jews. But the enterprise had unexpected results and proved the beginning of a movement which eventually brought about the evangelization of the Western world.

The responsibility of it rested, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, with five prophets (p. 521) and teachers of the Antiochene Church, Barnabas, Symeon (surnamed Niger), Lucius (a Cyrenian), Manaen or Menahem (described as *σύντροφος* [3] of Herod Antipas), and Saul. The five were led to the decision to diffuse the knowledge of Christ beyond the sea at a moment when they were engaged in religious worship.[4] One of their number, presumably in the course of some ecstatic utterance, to which the

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[1] Cf. 1 *Kg.* v. 11, *Ezek.* xxvii. 17.

[2] For the representation of his death as caused by an angel cf. 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 16, 2 *Kg.* xix. 35 and p. 110. The statement in *Acts* xii. 23 that he was eaten by worms recalls the account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 *Macc.* ix. 9).

[3] The term was an honorary title; cf. 2 *Macc.* ix. 29 (where a certain Philip is styled *σύντροφος* of Antiochus Epiphanes).

[4] The Greek is *λειτουργούντων*; but though *λειτουργία* came to be used especially of the Eucharist, the verb cannot here imply that service, since those who were ministering are said to have been fasting, and the Eucharist at this period followed upon the meal called the Agape (1 *Cor.* xi. 20).

term "prophesying" was applied (p. 492), directed that Barnabas and Saul should be separated for a certain work to which their Lord called them, and which had perhaps occupied the thoughts of all; and this command of the Spirit was obeyed. Both of those designated for the undertaking were known to have had previous experience of evangelistic labours (*Acts* xi. 26), this being especially true of St. Paul (*Gal.* i. 21). After further fasting and prayer, the other three laid their hands upon those who had been expressly designated, and released them for the special service required of them.

The significance of the ceremony on this occasion may have been merely the bestowal of a blessing upon their enterprise (cf. *Gen.* xlviii. 14, 17, and see p. 510), or it may have been an act symbolizing that they were delegates of the Church, commissioned as "Apostles" (in the literal sense of the word) to disseminate a knowledge of the Christian faith in distant regions.[1] St. Paul, indeed, at a later period claimed that he had not received his Apostolate from man or through men (*Gal.* i. 1) but only through Jesus Christ; and rested his title to it on the ground that he had seen the Lord (1 *Cor.* ix. 1, cf. *Acts* xxii. 14). But "Apostleship" may be used with more than one meaning; and although from one point of view St. Paul could contend that the original impulse which sent him on the mission to the Gentiles came from Christ (*Gal.* ii. 6–8), yet mediately he went forth at first by the direction of the Church at Antioch; and the imposition of hands probably implied that he and Barnabas were regarded as being that Church's representatives and emissaries in the spread of the Gospel in parts to which it had not hitherto penetrated.

Commissioned to enter upon a new field of labour by the Divine Spirit, and having the formal sanction of the local Church, Barnabas and Paul started, probably in the year A.D. 47 (p. 346), on what is usually styled the First Missionary journey (or tour), taking with them John Mark, the cousin[2] of Barnabas (*Col.* iv. 10) as their attendant, perhaps for the purpose of baptizing such converts as they might make (cf. x. 48, 1 *Cor.* i. 14–16), and afterwards instructing them. They went down from Antioch to its port of Seleucia, fourteen miles distant (p. 68), and from thence sailed to Cyprus. The choice of this island as the sphere of their first missionary efforts outside Syria was obviously dictated by several motives, such as the connexion of Barnabas with it (*Acts* iv. 36), the circumstance that it had a large Jewish population (cf. p. 78), and the fact that the ground had been already prepared in some measure for them by preceding evangelists, who had gone thither not primarily to preach there, but in order to escape persecution (*Acts* xi. 19). The place of landing was Salamis, an important city at the eastern end of the island, with a good harbour. That there were numerous Jews in the locality may be inferred from the existence in it of more than one synagogue; and the Apostles

[1] When in Old Testament times the Levites were "separated" for special duties, the children of Israel laid their hands upon them: see *Num.* viii. 10, 14.

[2] The word ἀνεψιός is better rendered thus than by "nephew" (cf. *Num.* xxxvi. 11). The proper word for "nephew" is ἀδελφιδοῦς, though ἀνεψιός has this sense in very late writers (Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 235).

(as St. Luke calls them, xiv. 4, 14) made it the starting point of their mission, preaching in the Jewish places of worship. In the course of their activities they traversed the island (about fifty miles long) from east to west, finally reaching Paphos, the capital of the province under the Romans, built some ten miles from the site of the ancient town, which had been associated with the worship of Aphrodite. Here they attracted the attention of the Roman governor (p. 246), the proconsul Sergius Paulus, who being, if not a "God-fearer," at least interested in religious speculations, summoned them before him. The name of a proconsul Paulus occurs in an inscription found in the island [1]; and though there is no date in it to prove his identity with the official mentioned in *Acts*, the coincidence is interesting. Among the retinue of the proconsul was a certain Jew described as a *Magus* (p. 363) whose name was Bar-Jesus or Bar-Joshua.[2] Such an appellation is, in form, only a patronymic, and it is possible that he was really called Elymas,[3] since by the historian in xv. 8, Bar–Jesus is replaced by this name. But St. Luke's phrase, "Elymas the Magian, for so is his name by interpretation," is perhaps more intelligible if *Elymas* be taken as a title (from the Arabic *alim*, "wise") of which *ὁ μάγος* is given as the equivalent. This man had perhaps acquired influence over the proconsul and others partly through some knowledge of natural processes beyond the average of the time, and partly through skill and sleight of hand. In the interview between the Roman governor and the two Apostles, the former probably elicited the fact that Saul also bore the same Roman name as himself [4] and possibly gave in consequence most of his attention to him, for of the two Apostles Paul, in the incident that followed, took the lead. So great an impression was made by the Christian teachers upon the proconsul that the Magian was afraid that his own influence would be shaken [5]; so that he interfered and sought to neutralize their efforts. But St. Paul, turning upon him, denounced him as a son of the Devil (not a son of salvation, which is the meaning of Bar-Joshua), and bidding him cease to pervert the truth and righteousness, declared that as a penalty for his wickedness he should suffer temporary blindness. What was predicted ensued, and the man at once began to grope for some one to take him by the hand and guide him. Possibly the explanation of the sudden blindness which he experienced is that terror caused by the Apostle's words suspended for a time the activity of the sensory nerves connected with the organs of sight. The occurrence had a profound effect upon the proconsul and (according to the historian) he believed, being amazed at teaching which was supported by such proofs of Divine power (cf. *Acts* viii. 13). It does not follow, however, that he became an adherent of the Christian faith and was baptized, for had this result been produced, it is probable that it would have been

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[1] The inscription, which is much mutilated, contains the words *τῶν ἐπὶ* Παύλου (*ἀνθ*)υπάτου.

[2] Cf. *Bartimæus, Barabbas, Barsabbas.*

[3] In *Acts* xiii. 8 the uncial D substitutes 'Ετοιμᾶς.

[4] It is at this point that St. Luke first calls the Apostle by the name of Paul.

[5] At the end of *Acts* xiii. 8 D E and Syr (hl.) add *ἐπειδὴ ἥδιστα ἤκουεν αὐτῶν.*

stated in definite terms. The belief attributed to him was perhaps a persuasion that St. Paul was really the messenger of some divinity, but did not amount to a conviction of the supreme claims of Christianity. The interview with the Roman official and the impression produced on him may have resulted in turning St. Paul's thoughts for the first time towards the evangelization of the Roman empire,[1] though the idea, no doubt, was brought to maturity by later occurrences.

This is the last incident related in connexion with Cyprus, and from that island the Apostles crossed to Pamphylia,[2] no doubt landing at Attalia (cf. *Acts* xiv. 25), a city founded by Attalus II, King of Pergamum (159–138 B.C.), and serving as the principal port of the country. They did not stay there, but passed on to Perga on the river Cestrus, some twelve miles north-north-east, which was one of the chief towns of the province. Here a dissension occurred among the party, for Mark withdrew from the others and returned to Jerusalem. The cause of the disagreement is not described. St. Paul at a later date complained that Mark had not gone with them to the work (*Acts* xv. 38), so that the younger man must have shown an unwillingness to fall in with St. Paul's plans which, in the opinion of the latter, convicted him of faint-heartedness and want of resolution. On the other hand, Mark displayed no disinclination afterwards to join Barnabas in missionary exertions in Cyprus (*Acts* xv. 39); nor was Barnabas disposed to take the same unfavourable view of his action now as did St. Paul. The occasion of the difference could have been no dispute about the duty of offering the Gospel to the Gentiles, for it was not until later that the Apostles addressed themselves directly to the heathen (*Acts* xiii. 46, cf. xiv. 27). The quarrel therefore must have related to the local sphere of their labours. It is observable that it was not until Perga was reached that Mark severed himself from his companions, whilst, after his departure, St. Paul and Barnabas appear not to have stayed at Perga, but to have gone to Pisidian Antioch. This suggests that Mark was desirous of remaining in Pamphylia, whereas St. Paul, who carried Barnabas with him, wished to transfer their efforts elsewhere. Some idea of the direction in which St. Paul wished to go is indicated by the mention of two provinces which at a later date he tried to evangelize, namely Asia and Bithynia (*Acts* xvi. 6), and to either of them Antioch offered access; for from thence it was possible to go westwards to Ephesus, the capital of the former province, and northwards to Nicomedeia, the principal town of the latter.[3] If this is the right explanation of the dissension, it turned on Mark's unwillingness to participate in the more ambitious enterprises which commended themselves to St. Paul. That the rift between them was not permanent appears from *Col.* iv. 10.

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[1] McGiffert, *Apost. Age*, p. 175.

[2] St. Luke indicates that St. Paul, from Cyprus onward, was more prominent than Barnabas by using in *Acts* xiii. 13 the phrase οἱ περὶ Παῦλον, "Paul and his company"; contrast xii. 25, xiii. 2. But the order "Barnabas and Paul" is retained in xiv. 14 and xv. 12.

[3] See the map of Asia Minor in Hastings, *D.B.* vol. v, between pp. 400 and 401.

After Mark's return to Jerusalem, the others left the plains of Pamphylia and proceeded over Mount Taurus to Pisidian Antioch (100 miles distant). The designation *Pisidian* is strictly a misnomer, since the town, founded by Seleucus Nicator (312–280) and called after his father, was really in Phrygia ; but it was so close to the borders of Pisidia that it was distinguished as *Antiochia ad Pisidiam*. Though it was not the original intention of St. Paul and Barnabas to stop here, they were compelled to do so through some malady that attacked the former (*Gal.* iv. 13). The nature of this malady is quite obscure, and among the guesses hazarded are ophthalmia, epilepsy, and malaria.[1] It is against the two latter conjectures that the affliction seems to have rendered the sufferer unsightly (*Gal.* iv. 14) ; whilst ophthalmia, which is certainly disfiguring, appears inconsistent with the intense gaze which St. Luke seems to attribute to St. Paul as well as to others (*Acts* xiii. 9, xiv. 9[2]). On the whole, it seems most likely that the trouble which at intervals distressed him was some cutaneous and repulsive disease, such as erysipelas.[3] But be this as it may, the illness detained him at Antioch, and his enforced sojourn there altered his own and his companion's plans and caused them to evangelize a district in which (it would seem) they did not originally intend to preach, but which was nearer than that previously contemplated (cf. *Gal.* iv. 13).

Antioch, though in Phrygia, was likewise in the Roman province of Galatia and indeed the centre of military and civil administration[4] in the southern part of the province. Whether it was to the people of Antioch and of the towns in the vicinity, mentioned below, that the Epistle to the *Galatians* was afterwards addressed, is a much debated question, which is discussed at length on p. 266 ; and the conclusion there reached that the letter was really sent to converts made in this district, the southern half of the Roman province, and not to dwellers in the northern half, is adopted here, allusions in the Epistle being used to supplement the statements of *Acts*. The Antiochenes, though politically Galatians, were racially a mixed population. There was the original Phrygian stock ; there must have been a Greek element (p. 68) ; there were Roman settlers, for it had been made a colony by Augustus ; and there were also numbers of Jews who had a synagogue in the place. The inclusion of Jews among the inhabitants gave the Apostles an opening, and it was to their own countrymen that they first imparted the Gospel message.

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[1] Ramsay supposes that St. Paul was attacked by malaria in the enervating climate of low-lying Perga and went to the higher ground of the interior to get rid of it (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 93). But the journey to Pisidian Antioch was one of five days at least and involved an ascent to a city 3,600 feet above the sea, an arduous undertaking for an invalid.

[2] Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 38, 39.

[3] Of erysipelas in the face it is stated that "redness gradually appears over the whole surface of the face, and is accompanied with swelling, which in the lax tissues of the cheeks and eyelids is so great that the features soon become obliterated and the countenance wears a hideous aspect" (*Enc. Brit.* viii. p. 531).

[4] Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 104.

When they entered one Sabbath the Jewish place of worship, their presence in it was noticed,' and after the reading of the two lessons, the presidents of the synagogue sent to ask them to address the congregation (p. 96). St. Paul, though he was a more recent convert to the Christian faith than Barnabas, was the better speaker (*Acts* xiv. 12) ; and he seized the opportunity of delivering a discourse, addressed both to the Jews and the God-fearing Gentiles present, of which St. Luke purports to give the tenor.

The Apostle took as the subject of his discourse the same idea as that expressed in *Dt.* i. 31 (a chapter which may have furnished the lesson from the Law read on the occasion), namely the graciousness of God to Israel. He began by relating the Divine favours successively conferred upon the Chosen people—their deliverance from Egypt, the support afforded to them [1] in the wilderness, their settlement in Canaan, and the bestowal upon them first of judges and then of kings ; next, he explained how the promises made to David, the king after God's own heart (2 *Sam.* vii. 12, 16), had been realized by the advent of Jesus, a descendant of David's race, to be a Saviour, as previously announced by John the Baptist ; for though the Jews of Jerusalem, not recognizing Him, nor understanding the utterances of the prophets, had killed Him, yet He had been raised by God from the dead, and had been seen by His Galilæan disciples [2] ; then he affirmed that the object of the presence of himself and Barnabas among them of the Dispersion was to communicate this good news, pointing out that the Messianic dignity of Jesus and His resurrection from the dead were fulfilments of prophecies in *Ps.* ii. 7 [3], 2 *Is.* lv. 3, and *Ps.* xvi. 10 ; and finally, he declared that through Jesus was offered the forgiveness of their sins, so that [through faith in Him] believers [on repentance] could receive from God that acquittal for their offences and shortcomings which they could not secure by attempts to fulfil the Law [which were bound to prove futile], whilst he warned his hearers in the words of the prophet Habakkuk (i. 5, LXX) against courting destruction by despising the Divine Mercy.[4]

The speech put into St. Paul's mouth in *Acts* xiii. 17–41 is doubtless the free composition of St. Luke (who was not present), in accordance with the regular practice of ancient historians (p. 119) ; for it has several marks of his style (*e.g.* *ἀνήρ*, *ἔτος*, *εὐαγγελίζομαι*, *ἐξαποστέλλω*, *μετὰ ταῦτα*, *πᾶς ὁ λαός*, *προστίθημι*, *σωτηρία*, *ὑποστρέφω*).[5] In general tenor it bears some resemblance to the speeches to the Jews of Jerusalem attributed to St. Peter in *Acts* ii. and iii. (cf. especially *vv.* 27–31 with

[1] In *Acts* xiii. 18 *ἐτροποφόρησεν* is read by ℵ B D, Lat. vg ; *ἐτροφοφόρησεν* by A C E, Lat. vet. and some other versions. The latter occurs in the text which the Apostle seems to have had in his mind (*Dt.* i. 31, LXX.).

[2] It is strange that there is no reference to the vision of Jesus witnessed by St. Paul himself.

[3] This passage, here applied to the Resurrection (cf. *Rom.* i. 4), is in *Lk.* iii. 22 (D) used in connexion with the Baptism.

[4] The Heb. of *Hab.* i. 5 has in the first clause, "Behold ye among the nations and regard and wonder marvellously, for I work," etc.

[5] See p. 204 and Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*[2], pp. 16–23.

Acts iii. 13–18 and *vv.* 35–37 with *Acts* ii. 29–31, *v.* 38 with *Acts* ii. 38, iii. 19, *vv.* 40, 41 with *Acts* iii. 23), and like St. Stephen's in *Acts* vii. it contains some figures (*vv.* 19, 21) which do not occur in the Old Testament. In representing, however, the chief Apostles as pursuing much the same train of argument when seeking to commend the Christian faith to audiences similarly composed, it is probable that St. Luke is true to fact. All alike are sure to have declared Jesus, Whom the Jews in their ignorance of His true character had crucified, to be the promised Messiah, to have appealed to His resurrection as proof of their contention, to have cited prophecies predictive of Him, to have preached repentance and remission of sins in His name, and to have declared the peril of disbelief and disobedience. But St. Luke had less close acquaintance with St. Peter than with St. Paul; and in the close of the speech delivered at Pisidian Antioch (see *v.* 39) there occur phrases which reflect the latter Apostle's distinctive doctrines (cf. p. 250), and which the narrator must often have heard from him when, on other occasions, he was his companion.

The speech made an impression upon the audience, so that a request was put to the speaker and his companion Barnabas to address them on the following Sabbath; and when the assembly dispersed, many of both Jews and "God-fearers" followed the Apostles to their lodgings, presumably seeking further instruction, which they gave, urging them to persevere in the course upon which by the grace of God they had entered. In the codices D E and one MS. of the Old Latin version, it is added that it came about that the Word of God passed through the whole city. So the next Sabbath saw a large concourse gathered to hear the Message; but it also witnessed violent opposition manifested to the Apostles by the Jews, who, angry at the effect which St. Paul's preaching had produced, now contradicted his statements, probably representing that Jesus, so far from being the predicted Messiah, was a criminal, who by His death on the cross had incurred the Divine curse (*Dt.* xxi. 23). The controversy became so vehement that St. Paul and Barnabas realized that further success among the Jews, at least at Antioch, was out of the question, and that if they were to win many converts, it could only be from among the Gentiles.[1] They therefore boldly declared to the Jews that whilst they had duly delivered God's message of salvation to His chosen people first, yet inasmuch as they rejected it, they were free to turn to the Gentiles, to whom it had been predicted that Jehovah's Servant should bring enlightenment and salvation (2 *Is.* xlix. 6). This announcement found a welcome among those of their hearers who were not Jews; and the Apostles seem to have devoted themselves for some time to evangelistic work among the Gentile population, belonging not only to Antioch itself but to the surrounding district, from which the country folk would resort to the city for trade and other purposes. The southern portion of the Roman province of Galatia comprised (p. 265) people of two distinct races, Phrygian and Lycaonian; and the discovery of an inscription at Antioch

[1] That there were *some* Jews in the Galatian Church appears from *Gal.* iii. 28, v. 11, though the majority in it consisted of Gentiles (*Gal.* iv. 8, v. 2, vi. 12).

mentioning a regionary centurion (*ἑκατοντάρχην ῥεγεωνάριον*) suggests that an official was in command there who had jurisdiction over a certain area in which there perhaps resided the greater part of that section of the population which was of Phrygian origin. This would be the region (*χώρα*) described in *Acts* xvi. 6 under the term "the Phrygian and Galatic region," [1] because it was inhabited by Phrygians, but formed part of the Galatian province. In any case the Apostles' preaching extended beyond the confines of the city; and the faith of Christ through their efforts appears to have gained many adherents, who eventually constituted there (*Acts* xiv. 21) a Christian community.

The length of time spent by St. Paul and his companions at Antioch is not stated. St. Luke here, as elsewhere (cf. xvii. 2), notices the occasions when on the Sabbath they spoke to the Jews, but leaves quite undefined the interval occupied with work amongst the Gentiles. It seems to follow, however, from the statement in xiii. 49 that "the word of the Lord was spread abroad throughout all the region," that the Apostles' stay must have covered at least two or three months. It was brought to a close by a persecution organized by the Jews, who, through influence exerted upon the leading men and women of the city, caused their expulsion. As Antioch was a Roman colony, it was possible for the Jews to excite the suspicions of the civic authorities by representing the Christian missionaries as guilty, through proclaiming Jesus as the Messiah, of treason against the Emperor. Such a charge was a grave one, and inevitably led to the adoption of strong measures against any to whom it attached. But though, in consequence of Jewish machinations, they were compelled to leave the city, they did not desist from their efforts to evangelize other places in the province, but departed for Iconium, which, though not so considerable as Antioch, was nevertheless an important town.

Iconium (the modern *Konieh*), between 80 and 100 miles east-south-east of Antioch, is described by Strabo, Pliny, Cicero and other writers as a Lycaonian city; but by St. Luke it is distinguished from the Lycaonian towns Lystra and Derbe (*Acts* xiv. 6), and in this he is confirmed by Xenophon, who in *An.* I, ii. 19, calls it a border city of Phrygia. Though not a Roman colony, it received the honour of being allowed by the Emperor Claudius to change its name to *Claudiconium*. Here St. Paul and his companion renewed their endeavours to spread the Christian faith. Although the antagonism of the Jews at Antioch had turned St. Paul's thoughts in the direction of addressing his appeals to the heathen, he did not at once abandon the practice of preaching first to his own countrymen; and as there was at Iconium a Jewish community, the Apostle entered their synagogue and made many converts both among the Jews and the God-fearing Greeks who attended it. There is some obscurity about the events that followed, since in *Acts* xiv. *v.* 3 cannot be the immediate sequel of *v.* 2. The gap between the statement (*v.* 2) that the unconverted Jews created among the Gentiles opposition for the Christian evangelists, and the succeeding representation in *v.* 3 that the

[1] See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 102–4.

Apostles *therefore* stayed a long time in the place, is bridged in the Bezan MS. by the explanation attached to *v.* 2 that "the Lord quickly gave peace." But in view of the united effort (recorded in *v.* 5) as made by both Gentiles and Jews to assault the Christian teachers, it seems more probable that there is some slight disorder in the text; and that *v.* 3 should follow *v.* 1. On this assumption it would seem that the conversion of many of the frequenters of the synagogue encouraged St. Paul to remain a considerable time in the city, where by himself and his companion many "signs and wonders," presumably cures of diseases, were wrought. But the antagonism manifested at Antioch by the majority of the Jews reappeared at Iconium, and through their malice hostility was excited among the Gentiles likewise. There was, however, a division of feeling in the city at large, there being a section that sympathized with the Christians as well as another that supported the Jews. Notwithstanding the friendliness of part of the multitude, the opposition became so threatening that to avoid maltreatment St. Paul and his fellow-Apostle fled to Lystra, twenty miles distant south-south-west. This was situated in Lycaonia (strictly Galatic Lycaonia) where the population retained its native language; but since the place was a Roman colony and known as *Colonia Julia Felix Gemina Lustra*, there must have been a considerable Roman element in it. Of Jewish residents, however, there were but few, the only Jewish family to which reference is made being that of a widow called Eunice, who had married a Greek, and who, with her son Timothy, lived at the home of her mother Lois, where both the women, together with Timothy, were converted to the Christian faith (cf. *Acts* xvi. 1, 2, 2 *Tim.* i. 5); consequently the town (which has been identified with the modern *Khatun Serai*) was the first locality where St. Paul must have preached, from the outset, to heathen audiences. As neither St. Paul nor Barnabas seems to have been acquainted with the Lycaonian tongue (xiv. 11, 14), it is possible that in addressing those who understood no other language, they may have had the help of some converts from Iconium, whilst they themselves spoke in Greek to such as were familiar with it.

The impression which they made upon the people was aided by a cure wrought by St. Paul upon a cripple, who was in the habit of listening to him, and whose lameness is represented as being lifelong. The assertion that his infirmity dated from his birth, if true, renders the explanation of his cure as a case of faith-healing difficult (cf. p. 496); and it is possible that St. Luke, for whom accounts of miracles had an attraction (p. 247), may in this respect have magnified the wonder (cf. iii. 2). St. Paul, fixing his eyes upon the afflicted man, addressed him with the words, "I say unto thee, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, arise and stand upright on thy feet," and the direction was obeyed. The restoration to the cripple of the power to rise and walk excited the amazement of the spectators who witnessed it. It was a common belief among primitive peoples that the gods not seldom roamed through the cities of men in the guise of strangers; and Lystra, though in Lycaonia, was but a short way from the borders of Phrygia, where Zeus and Hermes were fabled to have visited Philemon and his wife Baucis. It was not unnatural,

therefore, that the inhabitants of Lystra, who must have been familiar with the Greek legend, should conclude that the authors of the miracle were superhuman beings, that they were, in fact, the two deities about whom the story was told.[1] There was no hesitation in deciding which of the strangers was Zeus and which Hermes. St. Paul's appearance, if the description of him given in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* contains any elements of truth, was incompatible with the dignity appropriate to the Greek King of Heaven, for he is represented as short in stature (though strongly built), bald-headed, and bow-legged; whilst his gift of speech [2] was consistent with his being Hermes, the messenger of the gods, whom Lucian calls *Ἑρμῆς λόγιος*.[3] On the other hand, the fact that Barnabas was probably the older of the two, more reserved in utterance, and more tranquil in demeanour, would predispose the crowd to identify him with Zeus. When this conclusion was reached, the next step was to do sacrifice to them. Zeus was the guardian divinity of the city, for before the entrance of it stood a temple where he was worshipped under the title of *Ζεὺς ὁ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως*.[4] Accordingly the priest of the temple brought to the gateway oxen decked with the usual garlands, and prepared to offer them to the supposed divine visitors. Information of what was contemplated reached the two Apostles, who, in horror at the thought of it, at once rushed forth and sought to deter the people from their design.

In accordance with his custom the writer of *Acts* reproduces what purports to be the speech delivered by the Apostles on the occasion. As St. Luke was neither present himself nor likely to have had notes preserved by others, the address he reports can hardly be the Apostles' actual words, but it is so suitable to the circumstances that it doubtless represents the gist of what was said.[5] The audience consisted not of Jews or of persons familiar with the Jewish Scriptures, but of pagans who were probably uncultured and ignorant, so that at the time any announcement respecting the distinctive features of Christianity would have been premature, and there was only scope for a protest against polytheism and an appeal on behalf of a monotheistic faith. The speakers confined themselves to two points: first, a declaration that they themselves were just ordinary men who were entrusted, indeed, with a Divine message, but were not themselves Divine beings; and secondly, that their message came not from one or other of the many gods whom their hearers were accustomed to worship, but from the One Living God, the Creator of the universe, Who desired that they should turn from their imaginary gods to Him; and Who, though He had long allowed men to follow their own devices, yet through the beneficent processes of nature had afforded some evidence of His existence, activity, and character. The address, brief and hurried, was

[1] See Ovid, *Met.* viii. 631 f.

[2] Some Corinthians at a later period deemed this to be of no account, but their contempt was probably due to their preference for the rhetorical style of Apollos (2 *Cor.* x. 10).

[3] Quoted by Blass, *Acta Apost.* p. 160.

[4] Cf. the title *Ζεὺς προάστιος* (Ramsay, *Church and Roman Empire*, p. 51).

[5] With *Acts* xiv. 16 cf. *Rom.* iii. 25.

no complete refutation of polytheism, and the Apostles, like the Hebrew prophets before them, affirmed rather than reasoned; but what they said served its purpose, though it was only with difficulty that they prevented the multitude from offering the intended sacrifice.

The favourable impression made at first upon the people of Lystra by the Apostles was not without results, for it appears that there gathered round them the nucleus of a Christian church. But any prolonged stay was precluded by the arrival of a party of Jews from Pisidian Antioch and Iconium, whose representations so worked upon the mob, that with characteristic fickleness they were ready to kill as deceivers the men whom shortly before they were eager to worship as gods. St. Paul seems to have been the principal object of Jewish animosity; and it was probably at the instigation of Jewish emissaries that an attack of the populace was made upon him in particular. He was so severely stoned (cf. 2 *Cor.* xi. 25) that he was rendered unconscious, and was dragged out of the city as dead. His companions, however, who were fortunate enough to escape violence, were not interfered with, when they sought for and found him; and as they stood about him, he recovered his senses. Probably with the help of sympathizers, he was enabled to re-enter the city and receive shelter and treatment; but inasmuch as it was necessary to allow time for the hostility excited against the Christians to subside, he and Barnabas went next day to Derbe. This place was about thirty miles south-east of Lystra, and was the last town in that direction within the Roman province of Galatia. Though not a colony like its neighbour, it had been favoured by the Emperor Claudius, who had dignified it with the title of *Claudio-Derbe*, and it was a centre of Roman influence. No particulars are recorded of the stay of the Apostles there beyond the fact that they made many disciples; and it may be presumed that the Jews who had caused such trouble for them at Lystra did not pursue them further. Beyond the Galatian border lay the semi-independent state of Commagene, ruled by Antiochus, to whom the Emperor Claudius had ceded eastern Lycaonia. It was St. Paul's plan to confine his evangelistic activities within the Roman provinces; and it was doubtless his unwillingness to go outside them, as well as the expediency of consolidating the little bodies of converts that had already been won in the towns previously traversed, that caused him and Barnabas to make Derbe the limit of their First missionary journey, and to retrace their steps, instead of returning to Syria through Cilicia and across Mount Amanus. They accordingly went back to Pamphylia and the sea through Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch, strengthening in each place the faith of the disciples there and encouraging them to support the tribulations which their Christian profession was likely to entail, and which was the avenue wherethrough the Kingdom of God was to be attained. It may be assumed that on their return journey they avoided the synagogues and refrained from any conduct calculated to create a renewal of disorder.

It is in connexion with the Christian communities in these places that we first meet with the appointment by the Apostles of a definite ecclesiastical organization. Since these churches consisted principally

of Gentiles, against whom their Jewish neighbours were much embittered, it was necessary to institute for them some form of government separate from that of the local synagogues. In the Church at Jerusalem there existed a body of elders who took charge of the money contributed by the Christians at Antioch for the relief of the distress occasioned by the famine of 46 (*Acts* xi. 30). These were probably not officials (for the Christians at Jerusalem still worshipped at the Temple, and still recognized the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities), but such members of the Church as were marked out by age or experience as best fitted to discharge important duties. But in the Gentile churches of South Galatia more formal arrangements were needed; and the Apostles to whom these churches owed their existence appointed [1] officials, also styled "elders," to administer the affairs of each church and to instruct and control the younger portion of the several communities. The term "elder" applied to them followed not only Jewish but Gentile analogies, for members of corporations in various Greek towns, invested with authority over both religious and secular matters, were called by this title. But whilst this word was fitted to describe their dignity, another was used to designate them as entrusted with the duty of supervising the conduct of those in the Church who were youthful and irresponsible. This was "Overseers" (*ἐπίσκοποι*), an expression applied in the LXX to certain officials appointed over the Temple (2 *Kg.* xi. 18), and to the heathen commissioners who under Antiochus Epiphanes enforced idolatry upon the Jews (1 *Macc.* i. 51), and employed in several places in Greece to describe functionaries who regulated colonies, finance, or the worship of certain deities; and adopted by the Christian community to denote those in the several churches who were qualified and authorized to exercise spiritual oversight over their brethren.

How long the Apostles spent on their return journey from Derbe to Antioch—a journey which seems to have passed without incident—there is nothing to show. But on proceeding from Antioch down to the coast, they took the opportunity of stopping at Perga, a place where they did not stay on their ascent from the coast to the interior, and there they preached. They were perhaps enabled to do so through hearing that there was no ship at Attalia in which they could at once sail for Syria; and so had to await the arrival of a vessel. They eventually found one to convey them, before the season of navigation closed, from Attalia to Seleucia, whence they had embarked perhaps eighteen months before (spring of A.D. 47). From the latter port they went up to Syrian Antioch, probably arriving in the autumn of 48, and reported to the Church there the success granted to them. The interest of this report centred in the account of the conversion of the Gentiles to whom God (it was plain) was granting admission to His kingdom through faith in Jesus (*Acts* xiv. 27) and not (as hitherto believed) only through submission to the Mosaic Law. Upon St. Paul individually the experience obtained

[1] The word for "appointed" (*χειροτονεῖν*) strictly refers to a popular election by show of hands (cf. 2 *Cor.* viii. 19), but is also used of nomination by individual authority: cf Jos. *Ant.* vi. 3, 4.

during the journey just accomplished must have made a deep impression, and placed beyond doubt any incipient conviction that he may have previously entertained that his own field of activity must henceforward lie chiefly not among his own countrymen but among men of alien race.

§ 7. *Controversy about the Relation of Gentile Christians to the Jewish Law*

But the inclusion of Gentiles in the Church without any enforcement upon them of circumcision and the other requirements of Judaism was an event which could not fail to attract unfavourable comments from Jewish Christians at Jerusalem. Jesus was by them regarded as the Messiah of the Jews exclusively. He had Himself received the seal of circumcision, had worshipped in the Temple, and had declared that the Law should pass away as little as the heaven or the earth (*Mt.* v. 18 = *Lk.* xvi. 17). It might therefore be urged that the salvation which He came to bring would be confined to Israel and to those Gentiles who by obedience to the Law should become members of Israel. To such the announcement that salvation had been offered to the Gentiles independently of the Law was sure to be most disturbing; and a sharp collision of opinion, with resulting bitterness, might ensue. It is true that there had been precedents of a kind. The Roman centurion Cornelius had been admitted into the Church, but he at any rate had been previously a "God-fearer" (p. 518); and both he and his companions had been endowed with the "gift of tongues," which was regarded as a manifest token of the presence with them of the Holy Spirit, and which therefore warranted their baptism. Some Greeks,[1] too, at Antioch had been addressed by disciples from Cyprus and Cyrene, and perhaps converted by them (*Acts* xi. 20), but they, like Cornelius, may have been "God-fearers"; and at all events were probably not numerous. But now considerable bodies of heathen at Lystra, Derbe, and other places in South Galatia had been converted by Paul and Barnabas without any mention of circumcision as essential to salvation; and many fears could not but occur to the minds of both St. Paul and Barnabas, but especially of the former, as to the spirit with which their course of action would be regarded by their fellow-Christians at Jerusalem. It was therefore desirable that a consultation with the latter should take place before any further missionary enterprises among predominantly Gentile populations were planned; and accordingly a journey was made from Antioch to the Jewish capital with that end in view.

At Jerusalem a settlement (though not an immediately decisive settlement) of the question was reached; but it is unfortunately impossible to trace with complete confidence the steps which led to it. For of the proceedings there are preserved two accounts, one in *Acts* xv. from St. Luke, and the other in *Gal.* ii. from St. Paul, and these appear in some vital features to be incompatible. Since it seems impracticable to dovetail

[1] For the text of *Acts* xi. 20, see p. 520.

the two accounts satisfactorily into one another, it is expedient to follow the one which has the best authority behind it. This is clearly St. Paul's, which comes from an actor in the scene described, whereas St. Luke, who was not present at Jerusalem on the occasion in question, was dependent upon the information of others or upon his own inferences.

It has been shown (p. 271.) that of the three occasions when St. Paul was at Jerusalem the one recounted in *Acts* xv (not in *Acts* xi. 30) [1] is probably identical with that described by the Apostle himself in *Gal.* ii.; but the differences between the two narratives are sufficiently great to make it necessary to choose between them. The points of divergence will be best appreciated if they are summarized in parallel columns.

Acts xv.	*Gal.* ii.
(*a*) Certain persons who had come to Antioch from Judæa having insisted upon circumcision for the Gentiles as necessary for their salvation,[2] Paul, Barnabas, and certain others went as delegates from the church at Antioch to the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem to discuss the necessity of it.	(*a*) Paul, accompanied by Barnabas and taking Titus with him, went by revelation from Antioch to Jerusalem to lay before the leading Apostles privately the Gospel he had hitherto preached to the Gentiles.
(*b*) At a general conference Peter, recalling the fact that through himself the first Gentiles had been converted, deprecated the imposition upon the Gentiles of a burden intolerable to Jews themselves,[3] and expressed the belief that both Jews and Gentiles would be saved through the grace of Jesus Christ; next, Barnabas and Paul related the signs and wonders wrought by them among the Gentiles; thirdly, James, appealing to *Am.* ix. 11, 12 (LXX), proposed that the Gentiles should only be required to refrain from meats polluted by being offered to idols, from blood, from the flesh of animals strangled, and from fornication; and finally this proposal was adopted and embodied in a letter sent in the name of the whole Church to the Church at Antioch and elsewhere in Syria and Cilicia through Paul and Barnabas, accompanied by Judas, Barsabbas and Silas.	(*b*) Paul refused to let Titus, a Greek, be circumcised under compulsion, in order to safeguard the Christian liberty menaced by the Judaizers; and received from the leading Apostles no directions supplementary to his Gospel; on the contrary, when they recognized that he had been entrusted with the Gospel for the Gentiles, as Peter with the Gospel for the Jews, James and Peter and John gave to him and to Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, agreeing to a division of the spheres of work, and only stipulating that Paul and his colleague should remember the poor.
	(*c*) Subsequently at Antioch, Peter, who at first had eaten with the Gentiles, no conditions about food having been imposed upon them, yet afterwards withdrew from such association on the arrival of certain persons from James; and his example was copied by other

[1] In *Acts* xv. 2, D, supported by the Old Latin codex *gig.*, after *no small discussion and questioning with them* adds ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος μένειν οὕτως καθὼς ἐπίστευσαν; cf. 1 *Cor.* vii. 18–20.

[2] McGiffert thinks that the narratives in *Acts* xi. 30 and *Acts* xv. refer to the same event, of which St. Luke found two independent and divergent accounts and took them to relate to distinct occurrences (*Apost. Age*, p. 171).

[3] Cf. *Gal.* ii. 16, v. 3.

Acts xv.	*Gal.* ii.
	Antiochene Jews, including Barnabas. Peter's inconsistency was rebuked by Paul, who asked him why, after disregarding Jewish scruples and mixing freely with the Gentiles, he should, by withdrawing from them, seek to compel them to adopt Jewish restrictions.
(*d*) Paul, on his second journey A.D. 50, when passing through the cities of S. Galatia, delivered to the churches there the resolutions passed at the Jerusalem conference.	(*d*) Paul, in writing to the Corinthian Church early in 55, when discussing the question of eating food offered to idols, does not allude to the resolutions of the Jerusalem conference (see 1 *Cor.* viii. x. 23–end).

It has been attempted to account for the discrepancies between these two accounts by assuming that whilst St. Luke records the action of the church at Antioch, the public deliberations of the Conference at Jerusalem, and the decisions reached by it, St. Paul confines himself to explaining his own motives and his private consultations (prior to the Council) with the leading Apostles at the Jewish capital.[1] Both, indeed, agree in representing that the source of the trouble was an effort made by certain Jewish Christians to impose Jewish obligations upon the Gentiles. Nor is there any inherent incompatibility between the assembling of a general meeting of Apostles and elders at Jerusalem, attended by a deputation from Antioch (including St. Paul and Barnabas), and the occurrence of a private interview between St. Paul himself (accompanied by Barnabas) and the three Apostles James, Peter, and John. But besides the strangeness of the fact that each writer should exclude from his own account so much that is related by the other, St. Luke's report of the general meeting, with its sequel, and St. Paul's narrative of the earlier private interview, assumed to have been a preliminary to it, are not easily harmonized. (*a*) St. Luke records that at the public conference, though circumcision was not required of the Gentiles, certain restrictions in regard to food were imposed on them as essentials, if intercourse was to take place between them and Jewish Christians; whereas St Paul asserts that at the interview no addition was made by the three to his Gospel (which is not likely to have included any food regulations). And if the private agreement between St. Paul and the other three Apostles had been modified by what was settled at the public conference, described by St. Luke, St. Paul was disingenuous in not mentioning the circumstance to the Galatians. (*b*) It is almost impossible to adjust to St. Luke's account of the conference such an incident as that which happened at Antioch (narrated in *Gal.* ii. 11–14). The "certain [that] came from James," alluded to in *Gal.* ii. 12, can scarcely be separated from the "certain [that] came down from Judæa" mentioned in *Acts* xv. 1. But if so, it is clear that St. Peter's inconsistency occurred before any general council was called. To refuse to regard *Gal.* ii. 12 and *Acts* xv. 1 as referring to the arrival at Antioch of the same people, to place the incident of St. Peter's vacillation *after* what is related in *Acts* xv. (the council being assumed to have been held between the occurrences in *Gal.* ii. 10 and 11), and to suppose that a *public* decision, requiring the Gentiles to discriminate between certain kinds of food, was almost immediately ignored by St. Peter, who is described as living as did the Gentiles until a second group of Jewish Christians arrived from Jerusalem, is extremely arbitrary. It is more natural to think that what St. Peter did when, after consorting at meals with the Gentiles, he subsequently withdrew from them was to violate only a *private* understanding with St. Paul that no observance of Jewish food regulations of any kind should be required of the Gentiles as a condition of intercourse with Jewish Christians. (*c*) St. Luke in *Acts* xvi. 4 represents St. Paul as subsequently conveying the decisions of the conference to the churches which he had founded in Galatia: whereas St. Paul (according to his own testimony), when the lawfulness of eating meat offered to idols became at a later time a serious question at Corinth, decided it, in a letter to the Corinthians, without any reference to a resolution of the collective Church (see 1 *Cor.* x., cf. also *Rom.* xiv.).

[1] See Rackham, *Acts*, p. 239, Hastings, *D. B.* iii. p. 706.

In view of these facts it seems necessary to reject St. Luke's account in favour of St. Paul's, which is a first-hand narrative. Nevertheless, St. Luke was not mistaken in representing, *when he wrote Acts*, that by the authorities at Jerusalem the eating of certain meats (as well as the practice of fornication) had been forbidden to Gentiles, for this he learnt when he went to Jerusalem with St. Paul at the end of the latter's Third Journey (*Acts* xxi. 25). He has erred, however, in the time to which he assigns the prohibition, which seems to have been issued during St. Paul's absence from Jerusalem between 52 and 56 (not in 49, when the Apostle was present at the Jewish capital). From the attitude taken up by St. Paul in 49 (as described by himself in *Galatians* ii.) it appears impossible that he would at that period have consented to any restrictions upon Gentile freedom in respect of food, though in 56 he was, no doubt, willing to acquiesce for the sake of peace in a course of action for which he was not responsible and which he could not counteract (see p. 572).[1]

In the light, then, of the conclusion just reached, it will be desirable to construct the history of the meeting which St. Paul and Barnabas had with the principal Apostles at Jerusalem by drawing exclusively upon St. Paul's own narrative. St. Paul, having misgivings as to the view likely to be taken in Palestine of the character of the Gospel which he had preached among the Gentiles, was prompted (perhaps by a revelation communicated by one of the prophets of the Church at Antioch, *Acts* xiii. 1) to go up to Jerusalem in company with Barnabas to confer privately with the Apostles of greatest reputation, especially those who had been the closest companions of the Lord Himself during His earthly ministry, in order to save from collapse (through the opposition of Jewish Christians) both his past and his future efforts to present Christianity to the Gentiles unfettered by Mosaic regulations. In proceeding to the Jewish capital, he took with him also Titus, a full Greek (perhaps a native of Cilicia), as representing those whose position was the subject of controversy. The presence of Titus among the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem would raise in an acute form the question of equality, within the Church, of Jews and uncircumcised Gentiles. It was probably contended by many that all Gentiles ought to be circumcised, but the demand was specially pressed in the case of any, who, like Titus on that occasion, were introduced into a distinctively Jewish community. St. Paul, however, realizing how much was at stake, refused to allow him, Gentile as he was, to undergo the rite,[2] even though he was present among those who regarded contact with an uncircumcised Gentile as a defilement. Among the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem was James (p. 255), whose doubts respecting Jesus' Messiahship had been dispelled by a vision of the risen

[1] Another view, which also assumes that the Council has been misdated by St. Luke, represents that it really occurred at an earlier period than A.D. 49, before the death of James the son of Zebedee (previous to A.D. 44), with whom the James of *Gal.* ii. 9, 12 and *Acts* xv. 13 is identified. Support for this view has been found in the fact that the letter sent by the Council was directed only to the Gentile Christians of Syria and Cilicia (*Acts* xv. 23), regions where St. Paul had begun to labour not long after his conversion, perhaps about 36 (*Gal.* i. 21): see Peake's *Commentary*, pp 793, 4 (Menzies). *Acts* xv. should therefore precede *Acts* xii. But this explanation seems less probable.

[2] In *Gal.* ii. 3–5 there is much variety of reading, and room for differences of interpretation; but the text which has the strongest attestation seems to mean that Titus was not circumcised. The question is discussed in Lightfoot, *Gal.* pp. 121–3, and Lake, *Early Epp. of St. Paul*, pp. 275–278.

Christ (p. 471). At some subsequent period he had apparently been included among the Twelve, perhaps to fill the vacancy caused through the death of his namesake, the son of Zebedee (p. 522); and he now occupied a position among them as eminent as that of Peter or John. With these three Apostles, St. Paul had an interview, and to them he gave an account of the mission which he and Barnabas had conducted among the Gentiles of Galatia and elsewhere. It is possible that at the outset they regarded him with some suspicion; but when he had laid before them the principles of the Gospel which he was accustomed to preach, and explained the success that had attended his activities amongst those who were not Jews, they expressed their satisfaction, and made no claim that he should preach otherwise in the future than he had done in the past. They recognized that the Gentile world was his special sphere of work as the Jewish world was in a predominant degree St. Peter's, and they supplemented his teaching in no respect, insisting neither on circumcision nor on any other part of the ceremonial Law as obligatory on Gentile Christians, for otherwise they would have stultified what he had done. It was doubtless understood on both sides that exemption from the Mosaic requirements was to be confined to *Gentile* Christians; Paul was not to release Jews from them any more than the elder Apostles were to burden the Gentiles with them. Thereupon the Three gave to both St. Paul and St. Barnabas pledges of fellowship, though their fields of labour were to be distinct. They only begged them to remember the needs of the poor among the Christians at Jerusalem for reasons which, though not stated, are readily intelligible. Material relief from the Gentiles seemed only a fitting return for the spiritual privileges which they had imparted to them, and liberality on the part of the latter was calculated to disarm opposition amongst those who advocated the uniform obligation of the Law. St. Paul, who some three years before had, in company with Barnabas, conveyed to Jerusalem the charity of the Antiochenes, was quite willing to meet the wishes of the Three, and, as will be seen, did his best to stimulate the generosity of his Gentile converts towards their poorer fellow-Christians at the Jewish capital (p. 541).

St. Paul, as has been pointed out, alludes to no public conference following upon the private interview just related; and he does not imply that his teaching was submitted to the general body of Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, or received their approbation. Some among these persisted in wishing to impose circumcision on the Gentiles, and became bitterly hostile to St. Paul (p. 558). Others, in consenting to relieve the Gentiles of this and other ceremonial obligations, still felt themselves, in virtue of keeping the Law, on a higher plane of sanctity, which would be impaired by unrestricted intercourse with uncircumcised Christians; so that they tacitly assumed that the two sections of the Church would live apart. But such separation could not be universally or permanently maintained, and it became essential, if the two parties were to mix harmoniously, either that the Jewish Christians should abandon some of the Mosaic regulations respecting defilement, or that the Gentile Christians should forgo part of their liberty. An occasion speedily occurred which brought

this issue to the front. St. Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch, where, within the Church, Jews and Gentiles appear to have lived in close intercourse with one another.[1] Thither St. Peter soon afterwards went down, and at first mingled freely with the Gentile Christians at their meals. But when some Jewish Christians from Jerusalem joined him there, they expressed their surprise that he should eat with men who were ceremonially unclean; and influenced by their reflections upon his conduct, he withdrew himself from further converse with the Gentiles, thereby proving disloyal to the understanding reached at Jerusalem, at least as St. Paul represents it. The contagion of his example extended to others of the Jews of Antioch, including even Barnabas. This inconsistency provoked a rebuke from St. Paul, who asked St. Peter, how, after he himself had laid aside Jewish habits, he could now, by a sudden resumption of them, put pressure upon the Gentiles to adopt the same if they wished to associate with Jewish Christians on an equal footing.

How St. Peter received St. Paul's remonstrance, is not explained; for St. Paul does not carry his reminiscences of the occasion further. At a later date the Jewish party at Jerusalem were strong enough to impose certain rules regarding food upon the Gentiles, not as necessary for salvation but as expedient for the avoidance of friction; and under the leadership of St. James, who was more consistently Jewish in his sympathies than St. Peter, they demanded that the Gentiles should abstain from food offered to idols, from blood and from the flesh of animals slaughtered by strangling, as well as from the vice of fornication so habitual among the Greeks (p. 273). The imposition of these restrictions St. Luke seems to antedate, assigning them to the year 49, instead of placing them five or six years later, which seems to be the real date (p. 572).

In the absence of further information from St. Paul's correspondence, it is necessary to recur to the narrative of *Acts*. The historian represents that St. Paul and Barnabas, when returning to Antioch, were accompanied by Judas Barsabbas and Silas. Of these, Judas went back to Jerusalem before long, but Silas (or Silvanus) appears to have stayed at Antioch (p. 541). Though he was a Jewish Christian, he was a Roman citizen, and the circumstance may have enlisted his sympathies on the side of those, who, like St. Paul, advocated a liberal attitude towards the Gentiles. At any rate, he won the esteem of St. Paul, and the latter's confidence in him was soon to be strikingly manifested.

§ 8. *St. Paul's Second Missionary Journey*

The fact that Barnabas, on the occasion of St. Peter's visit to Antioch, had imitated him in his defection from his former principles, did not at once interrupt the friendship between him and St. Paul; but an occasion of serious friction arose when St. Paul proposed that they should go together on a second evangelistic tour embracing all the cities in which Christianity had been previously preached by them. Barnabas, whilst

[1] Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age*, p. 189.

acceding to the proposal, wished to take his cousin John Mark also. St. Paul, however, resented what he considered to be Mark's desertion in refusing to proceed with them from Pamphylia to the regions lying beyond it (p. 526) and declined to allow him to accompany them. Neither would yield; so it was decided to break up the partnership. Barnabas, taking Mark, went again to Cyprus (p. 524); and after this disappears from the history, though it is clear from 1 *Cor.* ix. 6 that he was pursuing missionary work as late as 52–55 (p. 275). Meanwhile Paul chose Silas (who either did not accompany Judas Barsabbas when the latter went back to Jerusalem, or else returned thence to Antioch shortly afterwards),[1] and planned with him to reach the cities in South Galatia by the road that led from Antioch and Northern Syria into Cilicia by the pass through Mt. Amanus, called the Syrian gates.

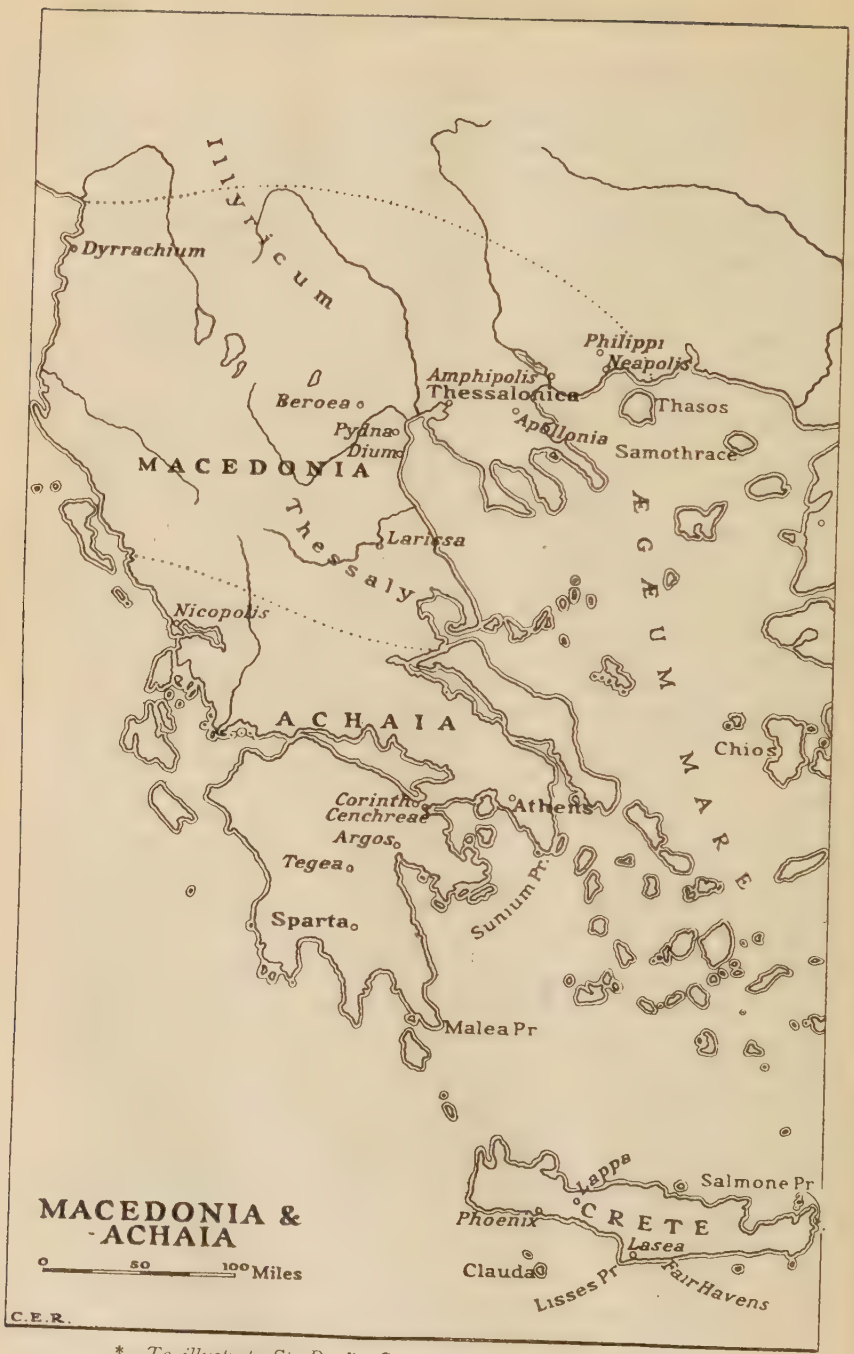
This Second Missionary journey, probably begun in the autumn of A.D. 49, was in some ways the most momentous of St. Paul's travels, for in it he carried the Gospel into Europe. In accordance with his original design he first of all revisited certain Churches in which he had formerly laboured, and pursuing the main route from Syria to the west by way of Tarsus, he traversed Cilicia, strengthening in the faith the little communities of Christians which he had established there during the many years spent in this region after his first visit to Jerusalem (*Gal.* i. 21). Then, advancing farther through Laranda, but probably not staying to evangelize either that or any other place within the kingdom of Antiochus of Commagene (p. 533), he entered once more the Roman province of Galatia. The Churches founded here on the earlier journey he now visited, as was natural, in the reverse order (since he approached them from Cilicia and not from Pamphylia), beginning with Derbe and going on to Lystra, and probably Iconium. Lystra was the home of Timothy (p. 531), and St. Paul, who had contended strenuously for freedom from the Jewish Law in the case of converts of Gentile origin on both sides (p. 538), was yet so wishful to conciliate his countrymen that he circumcised Timothy because his mother was a Jewess. Timothy bore an excellent reputation not only in his native town of Lystra, but also in Iconium; and St. Paul being desirous of having his assistance in his further labours and intending to pursue his previous policy of delivering the Gospel to his own countrymen first, wherever it was possible to do so, wished to avoid any cause of offence which might prejudice the success of his preaching (cf. 1 *Cor.* ix. 20). That Timothy fully answered the expectations with which St. Paul took him as his companion appears from numerous eulogistic references to him in the Apostle's correspondence (1 *Cor.* iv. 17, xvi. 10, *Rom.* xvi. 21). It was probably in the course of this Second journey through Galatia that the Apostle set on foot the collection for the poor of Jerusalem, who had been commended to his consideration by James, Peter and John (p. 539). It was seemingly started among the Galatian Churches (1 *Cor.* xvi. 1) and continued in the provinces subsequently traversed.

[1] In *Acts* xv. 33 most MSS. represent both as going back to the capital, but C D and some other authorities imply that Judas went alone.

When the Apostle, accompanied by Silas and Timothy,[1] after revisiting most of the South Galatian towns, reached the frontier between Galatia and Asia, he seems to have meditated breaking new ground by entering and evangelizing the latter province. It offered an attractive field for one with St. Paul's missionary ambitions, for it was the most important of the Roman provinces, contained a number of populous cities (p. 66), and afforded the most convenient approach to Rome and the West. But becoming convinced (perhaps by some intimation conveyed by Silas, who was a prophet, *Acts* xv. 32) that the Holy Spirit did not sanction his intentions there at that particular time, he, with his two companions, went through "the Phrygian and Galatic region." The denotation of this term has been disputed, it having been identified both with North Galatia, which historically had been first Phrygian and subsequently Galatian, and with that part of South Galatia which ethnologically was Phrygian, but administratively was included in the Roman province of Galatia, though the second view seems the most probable (p. 268). The chief objection to it is that it involves the supposition that in *Acts* xvi. 4 the cities referred to in the words *ὡς διεπορεύοντο τὰς πόλεις* did not in the writer's mind include Pisidian Antioch, and that St. Paul, according to his original intention, had omitted it from the plan of his journey through Galatia. This objection seems to be outweighed by the difficulties attending the alternative view; and the "South Galatian theory" will be adopted here as a working hypothesis. It may be assumed, then, that the party, having gone straight from Iconium to the border of Asia, near Tyriæum, and there finding themselves prohibited from preaching in Asia, changed their route, and keeping for a little while longer within the confines of Galatia, proceeded, after all, to Pisidian Antioch, instead of leaving it on one side. After this was reached, a new course had to be chosen. In view of the prohibition of work in the province of Asia, it was useless to go westward along the road to Ephesus. But there was situated away in the north another Roman province, Bithynia-Pontus (p. 67), and a road leading to Nicomedeia, its capital, was easily gained from Antioch. This road the Apostle and his companions probably followed as far as Dorylæum, where they would be near the frontiers of Bithynia, a territory containing numerous important towns, and then seeming to offer a favourable field for missionary effort. But here an admonition from the Spirit once more checked them; and they were prevented from entering this province also. In these circumstances they must have felt at a loss as to the direction which they should take; so, having at Dorylæum the country of Mysia at their left hand, they turned towards it. Mysia was included within the province of Asia, so they did not feel themselves at liberty to preach there; and accordingly passing through it without stopping,[2] they arrived at Troas, a port on the Ægean coast, which was more fully styled Alexandria Troas, and which, founded

[1] See *Acts* xvii. 14, xviii. 5, 1 *Th.* i. 1.

[2] In *Acts* xvi. 8 *παρελθόντες* means "neglecting it" (passing by it with unconcern); cf. Hom. *Il.* viii. 238–9.



*** *To illustrate St. Paul's Second Missionary Journey (part).*

or refounded by Lysimachus, one of Alexander's successors about 300 B.C., had been constituted a Roman colony by Augustus. In entering Mysia and descending to the coast, they were really waiting on Providence; and at Troas the wished-for intimation as to their future course came. St. Paul had a vision in which a Macedonian appeared to him, beseeching him to come over to Macedonia and help his countrymen. Troas was doubtless much frequented by Macedonians, who were distinguishable by wearing a broad-brimmed cap called *causia* and a *chlamys* of peculiar shape; so that the Apostle would be able to identify the nationality of the figure seen in his dream. But his conviction that Macedonia was his proper destination (*Acts* xvi. 10) must have been greatly strengthened by intercourse with one whom he met first at Troas, and who afterwards became a close and beloved companion.[1] This was Luke, who, though represented by tradition as a native of Syrian Antioch (p. 195), may have been really a Macedonian, or at least have had his home in that country. Whether Luke was already a Christian or whether he was converted to Christianity by St. Paul is a matter of conjecture only; and it is equally uncertain how the two came into contact with one another, though it is not an unreasonable guess [2] that St. Paul, in an attack of illness, sought advice from Luke, who was a physician by profession. However this may be, they became associated; and Luke, whose permanent residence seems to have been at Philippi, not only seconded the Apostle's resolve to go thither, but accompanied him on the voyage.

St. Paul, without staying long enough at Troas to found a Church (one was established there later, see 2 *Cor.* ii. 12 f.), set sail with his three fellow-travellers, and having a favourable wind behind them [3] they followed a straight course of about 140 miles past the islands of Imbros and Samothrace to Neapolis, a town situated on the *via Egnatia* (probably on the site of the modern *Kavalla*) and serving as the port of Philippi, 10 miles away. This was separated from the sea by Mt. Pangæus, but easy communication with the coast was rendered possible by a depression at the east extremity of the hills. It was built by Philip of Macedon (*circ.* 357 B.C.), who called it after his own name, and was a Roman colony (p. 71), having been made such by Octavianus and Antonius after the victory in 42 B.C. gained in its neighbourhood over Brutus and Cassius, and honoured with the title of Colonia Julia Augusta Victrix Philippensium. Its magistrates are styled by St. Luke *prætors* (στρατηγοί), but since the town was not among the colonies of early foundation, in connexion with which the title is usually found, their proper designation was probably *duumviri* (δυανδρικοί). It is described with excusable pride by St. Luke as a leading city in its district of Macedonia (πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας). By "its district" is probably meant one of the four divisions into which

[1] Ramsay supposes that St. Paul after meeting with Luke dreamt about him (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 203).

[2] Ramsay, *op. cit.* p 205.

[3] This may be inferred from the fact that they reached their destination on this occasion in two days, whereas a later voyage in the reverse direction lasted five days (*Acts* xx. 6).

the Romans partitioned Macedonia at the conquest of it in 168 B.C. (Livy xlv. 29); if so, the one wherein Philippi was situated was that which included all the country between the Strymon and the Nestus, of which Amphipolis was really the chief city.[1] Besides the native Greeks and the Roman colonists (inscriptions are said to render it probable that at least half the population was Latin in origin and speech) there was a certain number of Jews. A stay was made in the place for some days; and on the Sabbath St. Paul with his companions sought and found the Jewish place of prayer (*προσευχή*)[2] outside the town by the banks of the river Angites (p. 95). There were gathered at the spot a group of women, and these the Christian teachers addressed. Among them was a native of Thyatira called Lydia, who, as her husband is not mentioned, was perhaps a widow and who, from her name, was probably a freedwoman.[3] Thyatira was famous for its trade guilds, especially those of the coppersmiths and dyers; and Lydia made her living by selling cloth dyed purple, which she imported from her former home. Through attendance at the Jewish place of prayer she had become a "God-fearer" (p. 89), and she was consequently the better able to understand and appreciate St. Paul's appeal on behalf of the Christian faith. The Apostle's discourse so impressed her that she was baptized; and in gratitude she begged him and his friends to make her house their temporary abode. The names of two other women who became Christians are also known, Euodia and Syntyche (*Phil.* iv. 2); and also of two men, Epaphroditus and Clement (*Phil.* ii. 25, iv. 3).

Although there was clearly a body of Jews at Philippi, and their place of prayer was the earliest scene of St. Paul's preaching, it is probable from the comparative smallness of their numbers that the Christian Church which he established there was mainly Gentile. This circumstance, if the inference is correct, helps to account for the affectionate relations which continued to exist between the Church and the Apostle. On several occasions, when he was at Thessalonica, at Corinth, and at Rome, the Philippian Christians sent him gifts; and these he accepted from them, though he refused to be a burden to certain other Churches (*Phil.* iv. 16, 2 *Cor.* xi. 8, 9). And the liberality which they displayed to the Apostle personally they also showed towards those in whom he was interested, contributing even beyond their means to the fund which he collected for the poor at Jerusalem (2 *Cor.* viii. 2). The Philippian Church underwent much persecution (2 *Cor.* viii. 1–4), for which the unconverted Gentiles rather than the Jews were most likely responsible. Before St. Paul wrote to the members of the Church a letter from Rome (p. 294), there had been

[1] In *Acts* xvi. 12 *πρώτη* cannot mean the first city of Macedonia reached by the travellers, for this was Neapolis. It seems needless to replace *πρώτη τῆς μερίδος* by *πρώτης μερίδος* (as proposed by Blass and others).

[2] In *Acts* xvi. 13 ℵ A B C have *ἐνομίζομεν προσευχὴν εἶναι*; E H L and many other Uncials have *ἐνομίζετο προσευχή* ("where prayer was wont to be practised"); D has *ἐδόκει προσευχὴ εἶναι*. For *προσευχή* in the sense of a place of prayer cf. 3 *Macc.* vii. 20, Juv. *Sat.* iii. 296.

[3] National names like *Syrus*, *Thrax*, to which *Lydia* is parallel, were usually borne by slaves or those who had been slaves.

instituted among them some measure of ecclesiastical organization, reference in that letter being made to "overseers" (or bishops) and "deacons"; but it seems probable that such organization (p. 631) came into existence at a later period than the Apostle's first visit.

The evangelists' stay at Philippi was brought to a close by an incident which occurred when they were proceeding to the place of worship alluded to. On the way they were met by a slave girl who is described as having an oracular spirit, called by the Greeks a Python, but who really (it would seem) possessed the faculty of ventriloquism,[1] and who, by giving to persons that consulted her what purported to be oracles imparted by some Divine agency, was a source of income to her masters. On encountering St. Paul and his companions she turned and followed them, exclaiming, "These men are slaves of the Most High God, who proclaim to you a way of salvation." She may have listened to one of St. Paul's discourses and heard him speak of the Most High, and of the way of salvation revealed by Christ, though, since the epithet *Ὕψιστος* was not confined to the God of the Jews and Christians,[2] and many religions offered salvation to their votaries (cf. p. 85), it cannot be inferred that she had been won to the Christian faith. She repeated this behaviour on several successive days, until St. Paul, addressing the spirit believed to dwell in her, charged it in the name of Jesus Christ to depart out of her. The Apostle's words so disconcerted her that she could no longer exert her faculty for ventriloquism, and so ceased to be valuable to her owners. The latter, enraged at the loss of the income which she had brought in, seized St. Paul and Silas (Luke seems to have been absent at the time, or at least was not arrested), and dragged them before the local magistrates (p. 543). It was represented that they were Jews who instead of being content with the toleration extended to them by Rome in permitting the exercise of their own religion, had sought to introduce Jewish usages amongst the Roman community with the object (it might be supposed) of making proselytes (*Mt.* xxiii. 15). Probably, too, they were alleged to employ magic arts to the injury of Roman citizens, for what had been done to the slave girl could be so explained, and the use of magic practices was a charge not lightly regarded by Roman authorities (cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 59). The populace sympathized with their fellow-townsmen, and made a demonstration against the accused; and the magistrates, perhaps intimidated by the mob, gave them no proper trial but ordered them to be stripped and flogged, St. Paul's claim (if he made it) that they should be exempted from this degradation on the ground of their Roman citizenship, being perhaps unheard amid the uproar.[3] They were then consigned to prison,

[1] Cf. Suidas, *ἐγγαστρίμυθος ἐγγαστρίμαντις ὃν τινες νῦν πύθωνα.* In the LXX *ἐγγαστρίμυθος* is often used of one who had a "familiar spirit": cf. 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 3 f.

[2] It is used of Zeus in the Greek poets (Pindar, Æschylus, Sophocles), whilst its Semitic equivalent occurred among the Canaanites and Phœnicians (p. 398).

[3] That St. Paul did not always plead his right, or that it was sometimes ignored appears from the fact that on three occasions he was beaten with the rods of Roman lictors (2 *Cor.* xi. 25).

the gaoler receiving such strict orders to keep them in safe custody that he thrust them into an interior underground cell and put their feet into wooden stocks, probably a plank pierced with holes, the ends of which were inserted in the walls. The prisoners spent the early hours of their captivity in prayer and thanksgiving; but at midnight there occurred an earthquake and the prison was so shaken by it that the doors were opened and the prisoners' fetters were loosed. "Anyone that has seen a Turkish prison will not wonder that the doors were thrown open; each door was merely closed by a bar, and the earthquake, as it passed along the ground, forced the door-posts apart from each other, so that the bar slipped from its hold and the door swung open. The prisoners were fastened to the wall or in wooden stocks; and the chains and stocks were detached from the wall, which was shaken so that spaces gaped between the stones."[1] The gaoler, roused from sleep, saw the doors of the prison unbarred; and knowing that he would be held responsible if any of the prisoners should escape (cf. *Acts* xii. 19), was on the point of killing himself. He was, however, prevented by St. Paul, who, discerning his purpose, stopped him by declaring that they were all there (fear, no doubt, rooting the others to the spot until the chance of flight was lost). The man, on this, recovered his presence of mind, and having secured the rest (as the Bezan text represents), and procuring lights, entered the cell where Paul and Silas were, and first kneeling before them and then leading them out, asked them what he should do to be saved. He may have known of the change caused in the slave girl by St. Paul; and the occurrence of the earthquake now overawed him, persuading him that he had to do with the ministers of some supernatural Power. The two prisoners took the opportunity of deepening the impression created. In answer to the question put by the gaoler, they bade him believe in the Lord Jesus, and then both he and his house would be saved. Such a statement would need much explanation; and the gaoler gathered around the two Evangelists all who formed his household, including probably his slaves and warders, and together they listened to the Divine Message. They were attentive and responsive hearers, and the words addressed to them produced conviction. After the discourse was ended, the gaoler first attended to the injuries received by his instructors, in consequence of the scourging, and then with the rest of his house received baptism. After that he led them from the dungeon to the dwelling-rooms built above it, and there supplied them with the food they needed, whilst rejoicing at the salvation which had come to him and his.

The next morning saw a surprising alteration of attitude on the part of the magistrates, who the day previously had, after the most perfunctory investigation, beaten those who had been accused before them, and committed them to prison. They now sent their lictors to order the gaoler to let his prisoners go. The change in them requires an explanation, and the Bezan MS. supplies a plausible one, by attributing it to alarm caused

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 220–1. Possibly there may be an element of exaggeration in St. Luke's narrative: cf. *Acts* xii. 7.

by the earthquake of the preceding night, for an occurrence that had worked on the fears of the gaoler was likely to have impressed the minds of his superiors also. The message was reported to St. Paul and Silas; but they were not prepared to accept release without pointing out to the magistrates the illegal conduct of which they had been guilty. So the Apostles replied that those who had publicly beaten two Roman citizens and had even denied them a proper trial [1] must come themselves and release them. The lictors duly conveyed the message; and the magistrates, filled with fears at having disregarded the constitutional rights of Roman citizens,[2] came in person, accompanied, according to the Bezan text, by a number of their friends, and apologized for what had happened. The same text represents that they excused themselves as being unaware that the prisoners were innocent persons, and requested that they would leave the town lest the populace should again collect and make an outcry against them. The Apostles, recognizing the feebleness of the civic authorities, accepted the apology for what it was worth, and leaving the prison went to the house of their former hostess Lydia. There they met a number of those whom they had recently converted, and having given them encouragement, and perhaps taken counsel about their own immediate plans,[3] departed from Philippi, leaving behind them Luke (whose home was seemingly here) and proceeded along the Egnatian road in the direction of Amphipolis and Apollonia.

The narrative of what occurred at Philippi has been reproduced as it is related in *Acts* xvi., including the account of the earthquake and the conversion of the gaoler in *vv.* 25–34. But to render it plausible, use has had to be made of clauses found only in the δ text; and the general character of that text raises a suspicion that the clauses in question may have been introduced just to render the incidents more intelligible. In the best-attested text there is no reference in *vv.* 35–40 to the earthquake as accounting for the change of mind exhibited by the magistrates when they directed the prisoners to be released.[4]

Amphipolis, situated on the Strymon, was a place founded by the Athenians as a colony in 437 B.C.; and having been made a free city by the Romans 270 years afterwards, was now the capital of the division of Macedonia which included Philippi. Being about 30 miles from the latter town, it marked the first stage of St. Paul's journey along the *via Egnatia*; but he did not delay there, perhaps because the Jewish community in the city was small. He completed the next day's stage by arriving at Apollonia, 29 miles distant, near Lake Bolbe; but here, too, he did not stay. On the third day he reached Thessalonica (the modern *Saloniki*), about 38 miles from Apollonia and once called Therma, giving to the Thermaic gulf, on which it stood, its designation. Something about its origin is said on p. 66. It was a place of much importance, for being both on the coast and on the *via Egnatia*, it occupied a position

[1] In *Acts* xvi. 37, ἀκατακρίτους seems to be used in the sense of ἀκρίτους.

[2] A *Lex Porcia* prohibited a magistrate from beating a Roman citizen; see Livy x. 9, *gravi poena si quis verberasset necassetve civem Romanum sanxit.*

[3] Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 226.

[4] See McNeile, *St. Paul*, p. 61

extremely favourable for commercial development by sea and land. It had been made by the Roman Senate in 168 the capital of the second division of Macedonia; and when the country was formally constituted a province in 146, was selected to be the seat of government. During the war between Cæsar and Pompey it was the head-quarters of the latter; but in 42 it supported the Cæsarians, Octavianus and Antonius, against the Republican leaders Brutus and Cassius. Like Amphipolis, it was a free city (p. 71), and was governed by local magistrates styled *politarchs* or "burgomasters," a title not uncommon in Macedonian towns (p. 246) but rare elsewhere. Unlike the two cities which the Apostles had passed through on their journey from Philippi, Thessalonica seems to have contained a considerable number of Jews. Here St. Paul and his companions decided to stop, finding hospitality in the house of a certain Jason, probably a Jew whose Hebrew name was perhaps Joshua (cf. p. 31), and who may have been the same as the Jason from whom at Corinth St. Paul afterwards sent salutations to Rome or Ephesus (*Rom.* xvi. 21, cf. p. 283). As usual, the Apostles began their evangelistic work in the local synagogue. For three successive Sabbaths [1] they tried to win to the Christian faith those who gathered there, seeking to show from the Scriptures that there was foretold in them the coming of a Messiah who was destined to suffer and die, and then to rise from the dead (the passage adduced being, no doubt, 2 *Is.* lii. 12-liii. end) and then claiming that Jesus was proved to be the Messiah in virtue of the coincidence between His experience of death and resurrection and the prophecy in question. Their reasoning persuaded a certain number of Jews (one of whom was the Aristarchus mentioned in *Acts* xx. 4, *Col.* iv. 10); but was more convincing to the class of devout (*i.e.* God-fearing) Greeks, including some ladies of rank who were wont to worship in the synagogue (p. 89). The majority of the Jews (as at Pisidian Antioch and Iconium) rejected the appeal made to them; and probably rendered it impossible for St. Paul and Silas to continue to frequent the synagogue. For it is clear from the Epistles which St. Paul afterwards wrote to the Thessalonian Church that it consisted mainly of Greeks and other Gentiles who had been converted from heathenism and heathen vices (p. 261). It appears therefore that St. Luke's account of the Apostles' sojourn in the place is incomplete, and that they must have stopped there much longer than the two or three weeks implied in *Acts* xvii. 2. A comparatively protracted stay is further indicated by the facts that St. Paul practised there his occupation of making tent-cloth (1 *Thess.* ii. 9, 2 *Thess.* iii. 8), and that he twice received supplies from his converts at Philippi (*Phil.* iv. 16). Their departure from the city was eventually brought about by a disturbance organized by the Jews, who, resenting the success of the Christian preachers with the "God-fearers" (who might be regarded as prospective proselytes), got together a number of bad characters from among the loafers in the market-place, and caused a riot. They assaulted the house of Jason, the host of the Apostles, but failed to find the men whom they wanted to bring before

[1] Or "for three weeks" (cf. p. 261).

a mass meeting, which might have lynched them. Disappointed of their prey, they dragged Jason himself and some of the Christian converts before the burgomasters, accusing them of having harboured persons of treasonable designs who belonged to a widespread society that was supporting the claims of a rival Emperor, a certain Jesus (whom Christians were accustomed to call their Lord (*Κύριος*, *Dominus*)). They created much excitement among the multitude and perturbation among the magistrates, for a place suspected of being the seat of treasonable plots might lose its privileges. But the magistrates recognized that those who were brought before them were not the responsible parties, so they contented themselves with taking security from them that they would not shelter Paul and Silas any longer, and then discharged them.

It is plain from 1 *Th.* ii. 14 that the Jews had kindled for the time at least among the populace at large such indignation against the Christians that it was dangerous for the Apostles to continue to remain in the place. Accordingly Paul and Silas were sent away by night to Beroea (the modern *Verria*), some fifty miles south-west of Thessalonica. St. Paul seems to have thought that the disturbance might subside, for he looked forward to an early return to Thessalonica. Meanwhile he continued his evangelistic efforts at Beroea, where, as there was a Jewish synagogue, he and Silas were able to pursue their customary practice of addressing first their countrymen who worshipped there. The reception they met with was much more favourable than that which they had previously experienced, for the passages of Scripture to which they appealed in support of the plea for the Christian faith were candidly examined. In consequence, many converts were made both of Jews and of Greeks, the latter including a number of women of position; and among the disciples specified by name whom St. Paul gathered about him here was Sopater (mentioned in *Acts* xx. 4). How long an interval the Apostles spent in this town is not indicated. But it is possible that it was a period of some duration, and that the place was made a centre for evangelistic work in the surrounding regions, for in *Rom.* xv. 19 (written prior to A.D. 56) St. Paul claims to have preached the Gospel as far as Illyricum, and among the Macedonian cities where he is said to have stayed, Beroea lies farthest west.[1] It is not, however, likely that he actually penetrated into Illyricum (a province lying along the Adriatic), for this would have involved a protracted journey which St. Luke is not likely to have omitted. Probably the Apostle only reached its borders,[2] in the course of missionary tours within Macedonia.

The work here was at last interrupted through the machinations of the Jews of Thessalonica, who, receiving information of what was being accomplished at Beroea, followed the example of their countrymen at Pisidian Antioch and Iconium (cf. *Acts* xiv. 19), and sent emissaries to excite amongst the populace hostility against Paul and Silas. It accord-

[1] On his Third Missionary journey, when he passed through Macedonia about A.D. 55, he was too anxious about the Church at Corinth (p. 278) to have undertaken work in an unfamiliar country like Illyricum.

[2] For this exclusive sense of *μέχρι* cf. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 143–144

ingly became necessary for the former, as the one whom danger chiefly threatened, to withdraw from the place; and a body of his converts escorted him as far as the sea. It is possible that he then took ship at Dium or Pydna; but since he is represented as being conducted to his ultimate destination by some companions or attendants, it seems probable that he accomplished the whole of his journey by land, and was guarded by his disciples against possible attempts of the Jews to assassinate him. The road southward has to turn the flank of Mount Olympus, which approaches close to the Thermaic gulf, near the borders of Thessaly; and it was presumably to this point that the bulk of his escort accompanied him.[1] The city he was bound for was Athens (distant from Beroea in a direct line about 200 miles), where he arrived without his fellow-workers Silas and Timothy. These, if they set him on his way, returned to Beroea; but those who attended the Apostle as far as Athens were directed to carry back a message bidding them rejoin him as soon as possible. It may be conjectured that St. Paul, on leaving Beroea, had not decided on his plans, and that until he had done so the others would be of greater service in helping the infant Church at the place which he had just left. The Bezan text explains that he was prevented from preaching in Thessaly (as previously in the case of Asia and Bithynia, *Acts* xvi. 6, 7), which seems to imply that he had meditated work in that region, for there were not lacking towns of importance in it (*e.g.* Larissa); but was led to abandon his purpose, and did not see his way to renew his missionary efforts until Athens was reached. When there, he felt the need of his companions, and so summoned them to him.

At Athens the Apostle was in another province, that of Achaia, which, after several changes of administration, was now under the control of the Senate, and governed by a proconsul (p. 67). Athens was not the capital of the province, but it was the most famous city in Greece both for its illustrious history in the past and for its existing university, to which resorted lovers of learning from all parts of the Roman world. It was renowned alike for philosophy, art, and literature, though at the era when St. Paul visited it, its reputation rested upon its former achievements in these various spheres of culture rather than upon its contemporary activities. Its citizens were described by Josephus as the most pious of the Greeks (Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 12), and the streets were full of temples and statues, Livy (xlv. 37) mentioning, among conspicuous features in it, *simulacra deorum hominumque, omni genere et materiæ et artium insignia*.[2] This aspect of the city was not unnoticed by St. Paul, as he awaited the arrival of Silas and Timothy. In every Jew all plastic or carved representations of the human form, if connected with religious worship, excited abhorrence (cf. *Dt.* iv. 16–19, *Rom.* i. 23); and the sight of the masterpieces of Athenian sculpture must have suggested subjects for the discourses which, according to his custom, he delivered in the Jewish synagogue. Though for the Jews themselves who worshipped there reflections upon, and arguments against, idolatry were superfluous, such might be helpful to the God-fearers

[1] See Rackham, *Acts*, p. 300.

[2] Quoted in Hastings, *D.B.* i. p. 197.

who were not at once able to free themselves from earlier practices and associations. It was not, however, only to those who formed his audience in the synagogue that St. Paul addressed himself. His experiences at Lystra and elsewhere inevitably disposed him to appeal to a wider circle; and in the Agora, the resort alike of men of affairs and of idlers, of the learned classes and the unlearned, he used to reason with all whom he encountered. The discussion of novel speculations was pursued at Athens with the more zest as, under the rule of Rome, there was no scope for political debate. Among those whom he met were certain adherents of both the Epicurean and the Stoic schools of philosophy (p. 82 f.); and in conversing with them his reasonings would embrace both a discussion of the Being of God and the duties of man towards Him (as these were deducible from the principles of natural theology), and also an exposition of the special doctrines of Christianity. By some of the self-complacent disciples of the popular philosophies of the day he was spoken of with contempt as a mere smatterer (*σπερμολόγος*, "seed-picker"), gathering up scraps of learning which he did not understand, and prating of subjects too high and deep for him. In others he excited some amount of curiosity, because, by his allusions to "Jesus" and to "Resurrection," he seemed to be advocating the claim of new divinities to veneration and worship.[1] The name "Jesus," recalling the verb *ἰάομαι*, might suggest a god of healing; whilst "Resurrection" (*Ἀνάστασις*) might well sound like the name of a goddess to a people who erected altars to "Reverence" (*Αἰδώς*), "Rumour" (*Φήμη*) and "Energy" (*Ἐνέργεια*).[2]

The Apostle's conversations with the frequenters of the market place attracted sufficient attention to cause some of his hearers to bring him to the Areopagus (*ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον*) with a request that he would explain more fully and explicitly the nature of his unfamiliar teaching. The term *Areopagus* is ambiguous, and may signify both (1) the hill of Ares, a rocky eminence to the west of the Acropolis, and (2) a council, or court, which usually held its meetings on that hill, and was ordinarily called in consequence *ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ* (or *ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου*) *βουλή*, but sometimes simply *Ἄρειος πάγος*.[3] It is therefore debatable whether St. Paul was brought to the hill as a convenient place where an address could be delivered, or to the council that met there. But the summit of the hill is said to be too confined for a large crowd to gather on it; whilst a comparison of the phrase in *Acts* xvii. 22 (*σταθεὶς δὲ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου*) with the corresponding expression of *v.* 33 (*οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλδεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν*) supports the conclusion that the council, and not the hill, is really meant. This was a body which had jurisdiction in cases of homicide, but also exercised control over the morals of the citizens and superintendence over the state religion. It is possible, therefore, that St. Paul was led before this council in order that it might

[1] Cf. the charge made against Socrates (Plato, *Apol.* 24*b*, "He does not recognize the gods of the state, but other new divinities").

[2] See Pausanias i. 17 (quoted by Rackham, *Acts*, p. 309).

[3] See Cic. *Att.* I. 14, 5, *Senatus* Ἄρειος πάγος. An inscription of the first century A.D. also has Ἄρειος πάγος ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι λόγους ἐποιήσατο.

see whether he was liable to the charge of introducing unauthorized objects of worship. But since the speech which he made does not appear to be a defence against an accusation, and since there is some evidence that the council had certain duties in connexion with education,[1] it has been suggested that he was conducted before it in order that he might prove to its satisfaction that he was a competent teacher of philosophy or religion.[2] This view accords best with the tenor of the speech delivered by the Apostle, and with the disparaging epithet (p. 551) which was applied to St. Paul by some of the philosophers, who were perhaps desirous of finding out whether he really had any qualifications for the rôle he assumed. With this intention it may be presumed that they took him to one of the colonnades adjoining the Agora, and there interrogated him. The speech which St. Luke puts into the Apostle's mouth as a reply, though no doubt owing its form to the author of *Acts*, probably represents substantially the manner in which St. Paul addressed a cultivated audience.

He took as his subject one that was suggested to him by an altar which he had seen inscribed *ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ*. Inasmuch as the various divinities worshipped by most of the peoples of antiquity presided over different provinces in nature, or departments of human life, it was important to direct prayers and thanksgivings for particular favours to the appropriate god; but since it was not always certain who this was, an altar under such circumstances might be erected with the inscription *τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ* or *ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ*.[3] The ambiguity of this last phrase (which could mean "To Unknown God" as well as "To an unknown god") enabled St. Paul to assume that the Athenians, being religious above the average of men, had been worshipping, though ignorantly, the One true God; so that he proceeded to explain something about His nature, deducing from His relations to the Universe and to mankind His immanence and transcendence, the unreasonableness of idolatry, the Divine forbearance in the past, and the nearness of a future judgment through the agency of One who had been designated as the Divine representative by His resurrection from the dead. A rather fuller analysis of the argument of the speech is as follows:—

(*a*) As the Maker of the Universe, God could neither dwell within temples built by human hands, nor require offerings tendered by the same.[4]

(*b*) As the Creator of men, the Arbiter of their destinies, and the Disposer of their places of habitation, He had given to them clues to guide them to Him, though He was not really a remote God, inasmuch as He encompassed

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[1] See Plutarch *Vit. Cic.* 24, *διεπράξατο δὲ* (*ὁ Κικέρων*) *τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι καὶ δεηθῆναι μένειν αὐτὸν* (Cratippus) *ἐν Ἀθήναις . . . καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς νεοῖς ὡς κεσμοῦντα τὴν πόλιν.*

[2] See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 243–247

[3] The inscriptions of a parallel character mentioned by secular writers or discovered by explorers are usually in the plural. At Olympia, for example, there was an altar "to Unknown Gods" (*ἀγνώστοις θεοῖς*).

[4] This would have received the assent of the Epicureans: cf. Lucr. *De rer. nat.* ii. 646–50 *divum natura . . . nil indiga nostri.*

their whole existence, and was immanent in them; as their own Stoic poet (Aratus, *circ.* 270 B.C.) had written (in his poem *Περὶ τῶν Φαινομένων*), "For of Him we are also the offspring." [1]

(*c*) Since God's Personality transcended man's personality, it was irrational to suppose that material images, devised by human art, could in any way represent the Divine nature.

(*d*) The idolatry of the past due to ignorance God had overlooked, but now He required repentance from the guilty, whom He was about to call to account and judge through One of whose Divine authority He had given assurance by raising Him from the dead.

The Greek philosophic mind was generally more appreciative of intellectual truth than sensitive to moral obligations, and the Apostle's hearers, whilst they would readily acquiesce in his statement that within God men had their existence and from Him drew their origin, would be less responsive when he declared that God would exact a reckoning from them. And as soon as he proceeded to speak, in connexion with Divine judgment, about resurrection from the dead, some of those present began to scoff; and though others expressed a wish to hear more from him on another occasion, it was clear that his speech exerted little influence upon his audience. He won a few converts, including a member of the Council of Areopagus, Dionysius by name, and a lady of rank called Damaris [2]; but on the whole his endeavours to evangelize the Athenians were unsuccessful, and he may have received an intimation that he would not be allowed to teach further in the city.

St. Paul when he first reached Athens had sent back word by his attendants that Timothy and Silas were to come to him there from Beroea (p. 550). It is plain from 1 *Thess.* iii. 2 that Timothy carried out his wishes and rejoined him, but was sent back speedily to Thessalonica. From 1 *Thess.* iii. 3 it may be inferred that the Christians at Thessalonica were exposed to severe trials, and Timothy's presence was perhaps desirable to encourage them to endure such bravely. Nothing is said about Silas' movements, but if he accompanied Timothy to Athens, he, too, must have been dispatched on a similar mission (perhaps to Philippi), for St. Paul after Timothy's departure was left alone.[3]

Dispirited in consequence of his want of success at Athens (cf. 1 *Cor.* ii. 3) the Apostle proceeded to Corinth, about fifty miles distant. This was a city both politically and commercially much more important than Athens, since it was the residence of the Roman proconsul (p. 67), and being situated on the isthmus uniting the Peloponnese to Northern Greece and separating the Corinthian gulf (on the west) from the Saronic gulf (on the east) it was on the highway between north and south and east and

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[1] A close parallel occurs in Cleanthes (300–220 B.C.), *Hymn to Zeus*, *ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν*.

[2] There is some inconsistency between the mention of these converts at Athens and the statement in 1 *Cor.* xvi. 15 that the household of Stephanas (apparently a Corinthian) formed the first-fruits of Achaia (the province in which Athens was situated).

[3] In 1 *Thess.* iii. 1 the plural is probably epistolary.

west. The small area of the Corinthian territory and its position between the Mediterranean and Ægean seas caused its population to turn for its main support to a seafaring life, and for several centuries prior to its conquest by Rome it was a maritime and colonizing power conspicuous for its enterprise. Its downfall occurred in the war between the Romans and the Achæan league (of which it was a member); and it was taken and dismantled by the consul Mummius in 146 B.C., remaining for a hundred years a mere village. But in 46 B.C. it was re-founded by Julius Cæsar as a Roman colony, receiving the title of *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthi*; and in 27 B.C. it became the capital of the Roman province of Achaia In consequence, its population, besides comprising native Greeks, was also partly Roman, and included, in addition, a considerable number of Jews (cf. *Acts* xviii. 4). Philosophy, rhetoric, and the fine arts were cultivated; but the citizens, though quick-witted, were vain, turbulent, and factious; whilst the tendency to licentiousness, which was characteristic of the Greeks generally, was aggravated by the circumstance that it was the resort of traders from the East, bringing thence, especially from Phrygia, the impurity which was there so closely associated with religion, so that the place became a by-word for sexual immorality.[1]

Though the prevalent wickedness might seem to call for the preaching of Christ's Gospel immediately to all classes of the population without distinction, yet here, as elsewhere, St. Paul made the Jewish synagogue the first scene of his labours. There before the arrival of Timothy and Silas he found companions in a certain Jew called Aquila, a native of Pontus by birth, and his wife Prisca or Priscilla. Aquila had previously been a resident at Rome; but in consequence of an edict issued by Claudius in A.D. 49 (p. 78) expelling all Jews from Rome, he had settled in Corinth. Like St. Paul, he was a weaver of tent cloth (p. 68), and the circumstance that the two had a common occupation bringing them together, the Apostle stayed at his house. Since no mention occurs of the conversion and baptism of Aquila and Priscilla, it is natural to assume that they were Christians before meeting St. Paul, for a Christian Church was in existence at Rome (p. 280). At any rate, if they were still Jews when at Corinth, they are represented as Christian teachers not long after this date (*Acts* xviii. 26).

As usual, St. Paul took the opportunity offered by the Sabbath services at the synagogue to reason with both the Jews and the God-fearing Greeks; but his teaching there does not seem to have been very persuasive.[2] His first converts were Stephanas and his household (1 *Cor.* xvi. 15), and probably Gaius (1 Cor. i. 14), though it does not appear whether these were Jews or Gentiles. The sense of his failure at Athens, and perhaps his anxiety about the Thessalonian Church, which had compelled him to send back Timothy to Thessalonica (p. 553), may have impaired for the moment his powers.[3] Encouragement, however, came with the arrival of his two friends from Macedonia. Timothy brought good news (1 *Thess.*

[1] It gave rise to the verb *κορινθιάζεσθαι*.

[2] See *Acts* xviii. 4 *ἔπειθεν* (imperfect).

[3] Cf. Rackham, *Acts*, p. 324.

iii. 6 f.), and the reception of it led the Apostle to write to the Church at Thessalonica the First Epistle to the *Thessalonians* (p. 262) late in 50 or early in 51. Possibly the friend who conveyed the First Epistle speedily returned with further news. Seemingly, too, Silas brought from the Church at Philippi funds which set him free from the necessity of earning his own living (2 *Cor.* xi. 9). Being thus relieved from many anxieties, St. Paul became immersed[1] in his Message, the tenor of which he himself describes in 1 *Cor.* ii. 2 as "Christ crucified." The renewal of his vigour, however, was not attended by any greater success among the Jews; and their rejection of the Gospel, accompanied, as it was, with blasphemy against Christ (cf. 1 *Cor.* xii. 3), caused him finally to abandon the synagogue, and to declare that henceforward he would address himself to the Gentiles. He accordingly left the house of Aquila[2] and took up his abode with a certain Titus (or Titius) Justus, a "God-fearer," whose house adjoined the synagogue; and the bulk of those whom he influenced were non-Jews (cf. 1 *Cor.* xii. 2). Yet he was not entirely unsuccessful even among his countrymen (cf. 1 *Cor.* vii. 18), for his converts included the ruler of the synagogue (p. 95), whose name was Crispus, and who seems to have been, like Gaius, among the earliest of the Corinthians to be admitted into the Christian Church (cf. 1 *Cor.* i. 14).

Henceforward his evangelistic work was confined to the Gentile section of the population. Some features in Corinth were conducive to the spread of the Christian faith. Its people were familiar with the religions of the East (p. 85), which at this time were extending their influence westward, so that in some of the doctrines and rites of Christianity (such as the idea of a Divine Saviour and the use of sacraments) they would find nothing strange (cf. p. 86 f.); and such points of likeness to other cults would prepossess them in its favour. On the other hand, the sexual licence prevalent in Greece generally and in Corinth in particular, the factious spirit and fickleness inherent in the Greek character, and its preference for intellectual subtlety and rhetorical skill over ethical qualities made numbers of the Corinthians (as 1 *Cor.* reveals) very unsatisfactory converts. Although St. Paul won many to the Christian faith (as presaged in a vision with which the Lord is represented to have encouraged him), so that the Corinthian Church became one of the most important of those founded by him, yet he had in it cause for much anxiety in consequence of the self-conceit, the unruliness, the partisanship, and the tolerance of immorality which conspicuously marked it. The Christians of Corinth seem to have been exposed to less persecution than those of other localities, and this immunity may have contributed to the prevalence among them of many undesirable developments.

The time spent by St. Paul in Corinth amounted to a year and a half, during which he extended his labours not only to the port of Cenchreæ, on the Saronic gulf, but likewise to other parts of the province of Achaia (*Rom.* xvi. 1, 2 *Cor.* i. 1). The bulk of those who were converted consisted

[1] This seems to be the sense of *συνείχετο* in *Acts* xviii. 5.
[2] In *Acts* xviii. 7, the Bezan codex replaces *ἐκεῖθεν* by *ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκύλα*.

of persons in a humble station of life (1 *Cor.* i. 26); but there were a few of higher rank and better circumstances. Besides Crispus and Gaius others (designated by name) included Erastus (who was the treasurer—οἰκονόμος—of the city), Tertius,[1] Quartus, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (*Rom.* xvi. 22, 23, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 17). As the last four names, as well as that of Gaius, are Latin, it is possible that St. Paul's influence penetrated among the Roman residents in the place (p. 554).

The lapse of time did not mitigate Jewish animosity against St. Paul, to which reference is made in 1 *Thess.* ii. 7; and after the appointment of Gallio to the proconsulship of Achaia, an attempt was made by the Jews to procure the Apostle's punishment by the Roman authorities. Gallio, who was the brother of Seneca the philosopher, and uncle of the poet Lucan, and whose full name (through adoption) was Junius Annæus Gallio, probably did not reach his province till A.D. 51 (p. 346); and it may have been late in this year that a concourse of Jews brought St. Paul before him. The charge was similar to, but not quite the same as, that laid against the Apostle at Philippi (*Acts* xvi. 21). There the native population complained that St. Paul and Silas (taken to be Jews) were not satisfied with practising their own religion, which the Roman government allowed them to do (p. 79), but sought to extend it among non-Jews. Here the Jews accused St. Paul of teaching a form of religion which was not Judaism recognized by the Romans as a *religio licita* and was therefore illegal. Gallio, however, was not inclined to adjudicate between what he took to be rival Jewish sects. So before St. Paul could say a word in his own defence, the proconsul declared that the charge was not any offence against the statutes or against morality, of which he as a Roman magistrate was bound to take notice, but turned upon questions relating to the interpretation of their own Law, which the Jews were empowered to decide themselves. He accordingly dismissed the case and directed the court to be cleared. The scanty respect which the Roman official showed for the Jews encouraged the Greek populace [2] to manifest their dislike for the latter by beating Sosthenes,[3] the successor of Crispus as ruler of the synagogue, who had presumably taken a prominent part in the accusations against St. Paul; and Gallio allowed this piece of mob violence to be enacted without interference.

The rebuff which the Jews sustained in the proconsul's court secured for St. Paul freedom from further molestation; but his plans were too comprehensive to suffer him to remain indefinitely in any one place or province. And as one of his objects was to consolidate the Church by keeping the Christian communities that had been founded in various localities in touch with one another, and with the parent communities at Antioch and at Jerusalem, he determined to return to Syria, probably early in 52. Having taken leave of his Corinthian converts and being accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla, he went to Cenchreæ, where he had

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[1] He was St. Paul's amanuensis when he wrote *Rom.* xvi., see *ver.* 22.

[2] In *Acts* xviii. 17 D E H L P supported by Lat. vet. (*gig.*) have πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες.

[3] Probably distinct from the Sosthenes of 1 *Cor.* i. 1.

his hair shorn [1] after having left it untrimmed for a certain period in consequence of a vow. At the expiration of such vows it was usual for the hair to be cut or shaved and probably (as in the case of temporary Nazarites) to be burnt on the altar (*Num.* vi. 18). The customs involved in the observance of vows like this must have long been conventional, but probably they had their origin in the practice of making offerings of hair to a divinity, the usage being not confined to the Hebrews but occurring amongst other peoples, and the hair being allowed to grow freely for a period in order that there might be more to offer as a sacrifice (perhaps as a substitute for the whole person of the offerer [2]). The fact that St. Paul had taken such a vow shows that whilst he vindicated for Gentile Christians freedom from the obligations of the Jewish Law, he himself nevertheless continued to take part in practices to which he, as a Jew, had been accustomed in his youth. From Cenchreæ he and his companions crossed to Ephesus, where Aquila and Priscilla took up their abode. St. Paul, however, appears to have remained there only as long as the ship was in port, or (if he had to change vessels) until he could find another going to Syria. Ephesus was the principal city in the Roman province of Asia; and the Apostle seems to have felt that the prohibition against his preaching in that province was now removed, for during his stay in the place he reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews. The Ephesian Jews seem to have given him a favourable hearing, since they appealed to him to remain longer. But this he was unwilling to do, giving as his reason (according to D and many other manuscript authorities) that he wished to keep the approaching feast (the Passover?) at Jerusalem. Doubtless, too, he wished to discharge there the duties connected with his vow (by offering certain sacrifices in the Temple), and to bring into relation with the Church at the Jewish capital the new Churches he had established among the Gentiles; so promising to return to Ephesus if God allowed him, he took his leave and sailed for Cæsarea. His next movements are rather uncertain. The text of *Acts* xviii. 22 merely has "he went up and saluted the Church and went down to Antioch," and "the Church" is generally taken to mean the Church at Jerusalem. But usage makes it probable that it refers to the Church of the place previously named (cf. *Acts* viii. 1, 3, xi. 26, xiv. 26, 27, xv. 4), so that *ἀναβάς* may mean that the Apostle went up from the harbour of Cæsarea into the city; and this is the way in which the passage is understood by the Bezan MS., which in xix. 1 has *θέλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, διελθὼν δὲ τὰ ἀνωτερικά* etc. On the other hand, it may be argued that the words "he went *down* (*κατέβη*) to Antioch" are more appropriate to a journey from Jerusalem than from Cæsarea. If St. Paul on this occasion really proceeded to Jerusalem (as his going to Cæsarea implies that he *intended* to do), it may perhaps be conjectured that the reception which he met with there was an unfriendly one, since on the next occasion when he went

[1] Some suppose that it was Aquila and not Paul who took the vow, a view which *Acts* xviii. 18 admits of; but cf. xxi. 24.

[2] Cf. Gray, *Numbers*, p. 69.

thither he did so with much trepidation (*Acts* xx. 22). In any case, either from Cæsarea or from Jerusalem he returned to Antioch, the place whence he had departed on the important tour just concluded.

§ 9. *St. Paul's Third Missionary Journey*

It has been assumed here that the Apostle's return happened in the summer of A.D. 52, the Second Missionary journey having occupied between two and three years. The length of his stay at the Syrian capital is not stated ; but since he was now responsible for the care of so many Churches both in Asia and Europe, it is scarcely likely to have been protracted.[1] There was, indeed, a special reason for his revisiting some of the districts he had previously traversed. He probably received about this time disheartening news concerning the Galatian Churches. Although in preaching salvation through faith, independently of circumcision and the ceremonial requirements of the Mosaic Law, he had had the countenance of the leaders among the Apostles (p. 539), there was an influential section in the Church at Jerusalem that took strong exception to this, his fundamental principle, and insisted that circumcision was obligatory upon all Christians. In doing so they could appeal not only to the observance of the Law by Jesus during His earthly ministry (p. 380), but also to certain parts of His teaching, which seemed to imply that the Law was, for His followers, to be of perpetual validity (p. 607). And in accordance with this contention they had sent emissaries into Galatia to impress upon the Churches at Derbe, Lystra, and the neighbouring towns, which had been evangelized by Paul and Barnabas (p. 530), the necessity of submitting to circumcision. This mission, about which nothing is mentioned in *Acts*, and which seems to have been headed by a person of some eminence in the Church (cf. *Gal.* v. 10), was engaged not only in neutralizing St. Paul's teaching but in undermining his authority. Information about its activities caused the Apostle to write to the Churches in question, that were lending a ready ear to the arguments of the Judaizers, the Epistle to the *Galatians*, the date of which, though not ascertainable beyond doubt, seems to be most plausibly assigned to the interval between its author's return from his Second journey and his departure upon his Third (p. 272). If this conclusion is justified, St. Paul must have felt, immediately after the dispatch of it, that the situation was too grave to be dealt with by correspondence ; for he determined to appeal to the seceding Churches once more in person, by going to them for the third time, this visit, however, being intended to constitute the initial stage of another journey to the West.

Accordingly he left Antioch before the end of A.D. 52, and following the same route as on the previous journey (*Acts* xvi. 6 f.), he quickly crossed Cilicia and the territory of King Antiochus, and reached Southern

[1] Some scholars think that the visit of St. Peter to Antioch when he was rebuked by St. Paul (*Gal.* ii. 11–16) occurred during the interval between the latter's Second and Third journeys (Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 709).

Galatia. St. Luke's rapid narrative dismisses the time spent there almost in a line, merely stating that the Apostle passed through the Galatic region and Phrygia [1] in order, establishing all the disciples; so that this is the only light thrown by the account in *Acts* upon the success that followed his efforts to defeat the Judaizers. He was under promise to go to Ephesus (p. 557); and it was with this end in view that, after traversing what St. Luke rather curiously describes as "the Galatic region," he entered Phrygia, crossing the border probably near Metropolis. Here the road to Ephesus forks, one branch following the valley of the Mæander through Apamea, Colossæ, and Laodicea (this being the easier and more frequented route), and a second keeping upon higher ground (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*) some distance north of the river. It was the latter road that was taken by St. Paul, who would pass through Tralles, traverse the lower slopes of Mt. Tmolus, and reach his destination by way of the valley of the Cayster.

Previous to the Apostle's arrival at Ephesus there had been staying there a Jew of Alexandria called Apollonius or Apollos, who, besides being an eloquent speaker, was deeply versed in the study of the Scriptures, and perhaps trained in the allegorical system of interpretation for which Alexandria was famous. When he came to Ephesus he was not a Christian, but a disciple of John the Baptist. He had been instructed by the latter in the way of the Lord (cf. *Mk.* i. 3), and, like him, was intent upon promoting among his countrymen the reformation which was the necessary condition for entrance into the Kingdom of God. He was familiar with the prophecies relating to the Messiah (cf. *Lk.* xxiv. 27), whose speedy advent John had announced; but he was ignorant of the fact (as Christians held it) that the Messiah had already come in person, if not in function. He accordingly expounded in the synagogue the prophecies about the Christ, but did not identify the Christ, as Christian teachers did, with Jesus. This explanation of the statement in *Acts* xviii. 25, *ἐδίδασκεν ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, assumes that the latter words do not bear the sense which they have in *Lk.* xxiv. 19, and that a more correct description of the instruction given by Apollos would have been that he taught carefully *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, which *only to a Christian* meant *τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ*, and that this phrase has been substituted by St. Luke as an equivalent, though Apollos himself could not have used it until he met Christian believers able to show him that the Christ had already appeared in the person of Jesus.[2] Those who convinced him that this was so were Aquila and Priscilla, who had made Ephesus for a time their home (p. 557), and who, having learnt the nature of the teaching he had been imparting, communicated to him what they knew and believed about Jesus, and thereby led him to recognize that of the Messianic prophecies which he had studied Jesus had already fulfilled some, and was expected to fulfil others when He should come a second time. It may be assumed that

[1] In *Acts* xviii. 22 *Φρυγίαν* (without the article) is a substantive; cf. *Acts* xxvii. 5 (*Παμφυλίαν*), 1 *Thess.* i. 8 (*Ἀχαΐᾳ*).

[2] See *J.T.S.* Oct. 1905; Lake, *Early Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 108–10.

Apollos, being thus brought to accept the Christian faith, received Christian baptism (cf. *Acts* xix. 5). The zeal that had marked him as a disciple of John was not likely to be impaired when he became a Christian. But Ephesus, where he had been so recently active in continuing the mission set on foot by John, was not the best sphere for him to advocate the new faith of which he had become an adherent. Achaia offered a more favourable field; so when he was disposed to go thither [1] the Christians at Ephesus encouraged him to do so, and wrote on his behalf a commendatory letter to their fellow-Christians at Corinth. There he became a great source of help to the Church (*Acts* xviii. 27, 28, 1 *Cor.* iii. 6), using his knowledge of the Old Testament and his rhetorical skill to much effect in controversy with the Jews, contending that their Scriptures proved the Messiah whom they looked for to be Jesus. Upon the Corinthian Christians he made such an impression that some professed to be his disciples rather than St. Paul's (1 *Cor.* i. 12). But although by zealous partisans he was thus brought into rivalry with the latter, no feeling of jealousy subsisted between him and the Apostle; and on a later occasion, after Apollos had left Corinth and returned to Ephesus, St. Paul earnestly exhorted him to visit the Corinthian Church once again (1 *Cor.* xvi. 12).

It was during the absence of Apollos from Ephesus, when he went to Corinth shortly after his acceptance of the Christian faith, that St. Paul reached the Asian capital from Galatia. When he had come there, he found a small body of men, twelve in all, who, though they had been baptized, had not experienced the ecstatic state usually associated with the presence of the Holy Spirit, and indeed, were not even aware of the occurrence of such experiences.[2] Further inquiry elicited the fact that they, like Apollos, had undergone only the baptism of repentance preached and administered by John,[3] and had not become believers in Him Whom John had foretold as destined to follow him, and to baptize with the Spirit. This, however, was due not to rejection of Jesus as the Messiah, but to ignorance of the evidence pointing to His being such. When this evidence was placed before them, they became believers in Him, and were baptized into His name. And when St. Paul laid his hands upon them (cf. p. 509), the same ecstasy seized them as had marked other believers at a similar critical moment in their religious life (cf. *Acts* x. 45, 46); and they spoke with "tongues" and "prophesied." It appears from this narrative that Baptism at this period was "into the name" of *Jesus*, and that the rite was the symbol of admission into the Christian body regarded as the sphere wherein alone the gift of the Spirit was conferred. But there is a difference of view discernible between this passage and the one just cited: in x. 45 no hint is given that the bestowal of the Spirit did not occur until

[1] The Bezan MS. represents that the suggestion of a missionary journey through Greece came from certain Corinthian residents at Ephesus, who heard his preaching and pressed him to accompany them on their return home (p. 254).

[2] In *Acts* xix. 2, D for ἔστιν has λαμβάνουσίν τινες.

[3] In *Acts* xix. 1 it seems necessary to assume that by μαθητάς is meant disciples of John the Baptist.

Apostolic hands were laid on the baptized, whereas here the gift is represented as following the laying on of St. Paul's hands.

At Ephesus St. Paul continued the same policy as he had observed previously, addressing first his own countrymen in the synagogue and seeking to win them (*Acts* xix. 8, *πείθων*, present tense) to Christianity. He persisted in doing this for three months, taking as the subject of his discourses the Kingdom of Heaven and the conditions of entrance, namely, repentance towards God and faith in Jesus (cf. *Acts* xx. 21). The length of time that he taught in the synagogue suggests that he was tolerated by the Jews longer at Ephesus than at many places. But when some of them not only refused to accept Jesus as the Messiah, but calumniated the Christian profession, he at last withdrew both himself and his disciples altogether from the synagogue and transferred his preaching to the lecture-room of a certain Tyrannus (perhaps a teacher of philosophy or rhetoric) which, according to the Bezan manuscript, was available from shortly before midday till late in the afternoon.[1] This was the scene of his labours for two years. His first convert was Epænetus (*Rom.* xvi. 5), and if the last chapter of *Romans* is really part of a letter to Ephesus (p. 283), a considerable number of Ephesian Christians are also known by name, of whom Andronicus, Junias, and Herodion certainly were Jews and probably a woman called Mary likewise. The first two of these were not converted by St. Paul, but had been members of the Christian Church before him. There is mention of other Ephesians also in 2 *Tim.* i. 15, 16. In his preaching the Apostle must have displayed much conciliatoriness and tact, since among the friends he made were certain of the religious officials of the province called Asiarchs (p. 66). Whether he confined his residence to Ephesus all the while is not clear. On the assumption that in the Pastoral Epistles are contained portions of letters written by St. Paul, or that the letters are based on trustworthy traditions of his missionary enterprises, it is not improbable that the evangelistic work which he initiated in Crete and left to Titus to continue (*Tit.* i. 5) was undertaken from Ephesus (p. 299). During this sojourn in the principal city of the province of Asia he had an exceptional opportunity of extending the Christian faith, since the city was the seat of the Roman government, a great emporium for trade, and a place of resort for the numerous votaries of the goddess Artemis (p. 564); so that among those who heard him would be many who had connexions with other towns, and would carry thither information about him and his Message. Possibly Philemon, a native of Colossæ, who was converted by the Apostle presumably at Ephesus, made known his teaching to his fellow-townsmen. At any rate, Christian churches were eventually founded in various localities in the neighbourhood (cf. 1 *Cor.* xvi. 19, "the churches of Asia"), among them being Hierapolis, Colossæ, and Laodicea. In the last two St. Paul was personally unknown (*Col.* ii. 1), so that it is clear that the Apostle's evangelistic work in the vicinity of Ephesus was prosecuted partly through

[1] St. Paul presumably spent the earlier part of the day in working at his trade to supply his needs.

the agency of disciples, among whom was Epaphras (*Col.* iv. 12, 13); and so vigorously must it have been carried on that St. Luke represents that the whole province heard the Word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks.

The impression produced at Ephesus by St. Paul's preaching was enhanced by various cures which he wrought amongst those who had come under the influence of his personality. Such confidence came to be felt in his power to heal disorders that even handkerchiefs and aprons which had been in contact with his body were believed to have become imbued with remedial virtue, so that when they were carried to afflicted persons the sufferers received relief (*Acts* xix. 11, 12), the demons to which many of the maladies were attributed being expelled. It is not stated that the practice was authorized or countenanced by the Apostle; but that cures occurred need not be questioned. Such might well result from the renewed faith and hope which even material articles associated with the Apostles might create in many who had despaired of recovery; and what is related in *Acts* xix. 11, 18 is readily paralleled by the cures sometimes following upon contact with relics or the use of charms. It appears that St. Paul must also have healed cases of "possession" (p. 112) by pronouncing over the "possessed" the name of Jesus (cf. *Mk.* ix. 38 f.). For certain Jewish exorcists proceeded to imitate him in this, adjuring the evil spirits by the Jesus Whom Paul preached to leave the unhappy men into whom they were supposed to have entered. On one occasion two [1] of the sons of a certain Jew called Sceva, who is described as a chief priest (see pp. 92–3), are related to have done this.[2] But when they went to the house of an afflicted person whom they hoped to deliver from his malady by the spell of Jesus' name, he turned upon them with the words, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?" and being endued, no doubt, with the strength that madness often confers, attacked them so violently that, though they escaped from the house, it was not without much injury both to their garments and to their persons. This occurrence, when it became known, caused the name of Jesus to be held in greater reverence by all, both Jews and Greeks. The awe which was thus inspired had an important consequence upon many of the Christian converts at Ephesus. The city was one of the principal seats of Oriental magic, certain magical formulæ deriving their designation from it and being entitled *Ἐφέσια γράμματα*. These were employed as spells to exert constraint over demons, either neutralizing their malign influence [3] or compelling them to serve the purposes of the utterers of the spell. The words thus used as charms and incantations, though often transformed by constant use into meaningless jingles like *ἄσκι, κατάσκι, αἴξ, τέτραξ*, were probably

[1] In *Acts* xix. 14 *ἕπτα* is omitted by D, and the number *two*, read by the Old Lat. codex *gig.* is confirmed by *ἀμφοτέρων* in *v.* 16, though H L P and some versions there have *αὐτῶν* or *omnium*. Indeed, *all* is said to be a possible meaning of *ἀμφότεροι* in papyri.

[2] In *Acts* xix. 13 after *ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς* presumably *ἐξέλθετε* must be supplied.

[3] Cf. Plut. *Symp.* vii. 5, 4, *οἱ μάγοι τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους κελεύουσι τὰ Ἐφέσια γράμματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταλέγειν* ("repeat").

corruptions of names once full of significance. The source of some is no longer recoverable, but of others the origin is clear enough. For instance, in a tablet on which is inscribed a long adjuration addressed by a girl to a demon, invoking the latter to bring her lover to her, the potent name by which the demon is adjured is that of *Jehovah Sabaoth* (reduced to *Ἰάω*, *Ἄω θ* and *Ἀβαω θ*).[1] Among the Ephesians who had been converted to Christianity many, previous to the incident in which the sons of Sceva figured, had been in the habit of practising such magic; but now, alarmed by what had occurred, they came forward and confessed what they had done.[2] And not a few brought the rolls in which the magic formulæ were contained, and burnt them publicly, though such rolls were of no small value, and the destruction of them was a considerable sacrifice on the part of their owners. St. Luke represents that the total worth of those which were burnt on this occasion amounted to 50,000 *drachmæ*, or not very much less than £2,000, whilst if the purchasing power of the sum mentioned be considered, the actual equivalent was greatly in excess of this.

During these two years spent at Ephesus where the Apostle had the companionship and help of Timothy, Titus, and some other disciples, he had much trouble with the Church at Corinth. That city was a hot-bed of vice (p. 554), and the pervading immorality was calculated to exercise a pernicious influence upon the Christian community. To put its members on their guard against this, St. Paul wrote a letter (now lost) counselling them not to associate with immoral persons, by which admonition he meant them to exclude from social intercourse any professing Christian who pursued a vicious life, but which was taken to be a direction to have nothing to do with anyone, Christian on non-Christian alike, who was guilty of licentious conduct—advice which, in a place like Corinth, would have been impracticable (1 *Cor.* v. 9, 10). Of this letter a fragment may survive in 2 *Cor.* vi. 14–vii. 1 (p. 274). Information also reached him from Corinth through the servants of a lady called Chloe, indicating the existence in the Church there of much that was unsatisfactory, more especially the tolerance shown towards one of its members who had been guilty of a grossly incestuous union; whilst he also received from the Corinthian Christians themselves a letter wherein they sought his opinion on various subjects concerning which they were much perplexed. To put an end to the evils which had been brought to his notice, he directed Timothy, accompanied by Erastus (who was a native Corinthian), to go to Corinth through Macedonia (*Acts* xix. 22); whilst in order to pave the way for Timothy's arrival and to answer the questions which had been put to him, he wrote a second letter (our 1 *Corinthians*, p. 275) which Titus conveyed by sea, and which would reach its destination before Timothy. Timothy, however, never got as far as Corinth, or if he did, failed to effect any reform; and, in consequence, St. Paul himself paid a hurried visit to the Corinthian Church, crossing to Greece by ship (p. 276).

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[1] See Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 211, and Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 271 f.

[2] In *Acts* xix. 18 *τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν* may mean "their spells."

On this occasion he seems to have been grossly insulted,[1] and had to return without bringing about any improvement in the situation. He thereupon wrote to the offending Church a third letter, couched in a tone of great severity, of which a part has been plausibly identified with 2 *Cor.* x.–xiii. (p. 277). This letter, like the one immediately preceding it, was carried by Titus. Meanwhile events occurred at Ephesus, which, coupled with St. Paul's impatience to ascertain what effect his stern language had had upon the Corinthians, caused him to leave Ephesus and to set out for Macedonia, in the hope of meeting Titus there. His intention was to return from Greece to Jerusalem, and eventually to proceed to Rome (cf. *Rom.* i. 13), a goal which he was destined to reach indeed, but otherwise than he had hoped.

Ephesus, as has been said, was famous for the great temple of Artemis, built in the fourth century B.C., on the site of one destroyed in 356 on the day when Alexander the Great was born. The shrine contained an image of the goddess, consisting of a block of wood, the upper part of which was carved in the shape of a woman's head and bust (the latter being covered with a number of breasts). This image was of great antiquity; so that in the absence of any knowledge of its origin, it was reputed to have fallen from heaven (*διοπετές*). It really represented not the Greek goddess Artemis, but a native deity, personifying the productive power of nature, who had been identified with the huntress-goddess of Greece. Of it Ephesus was styled the sacristan (*νεώκορος*). The existence, within the city, of this emblem of the goddess, and the celebrated fane in which it was kept, brought to its citizens much profit. Not only was the festival of the *Artemisia* held there, attracting crowds of worshippers, but small models of the shrine of the goddess, enclosing her image, were in much request among them. These were made by a guild of silversmiths, whose trade and prosperity were likely to be injured by the spread of a religion which was hostile to all idolatry. Consequently, the influence which St. Paul was exercising in the city's neighbourhood impelled the warden or president of the guild, called Demetrius, who organized the trade and so brought business to his fellow-members, to take steps to render unpopular the man who was responsible for their losses. Summoning a meeting of his fellow-craftsmen, he reminded them that their occupation was the source of their wealth, and that St. Paul, not only at Ephesus, but almost throughout the province, had convinced many that gods made by human hands were no gods; and he insisted that there was danger lest their own craft should be discredited, the temple of the goddess depreciated, and her magnificence impaired. This appeal to trade interests and religious fanaticism was successful. The guildsmen, filled with rage, began a tumult which extended to the whole population. Two of St. Paul's companions, Gaius and Aristarchus (both styled by Luke in *Acts* xix. 29, Macedonians, though in xx. 4 Gaius is represented as belonging to Derbe and so a Galatian), were seized and carried into the theatre[2] where an irregular mass meeting assembled.

[1] Some think that Timothy was the person who had been insulted; see Hastings, *D.B.* iii. 711.

[2] It is said to have been capable of holding 24,000 persons.

Thither the Apostle, as soon as he heard what had happened, wanted to go, in order to speak on their behalf and his own; but he was prevented from doing so by the disciples, and he was also counselled by some of the friends whom he had among the Asiarchs (p. 461) not to venture himself among the mob. As the demonstration was held in defence of the local cult and of idol worship generally, it was obviously not more menacing to the Christians than to the Jews, whose hostility to idolatry was notorious; and the latter, realizing this, put forward one of their number called Alexander, with instructions to speak for them and dissociate them from St. Paul and his fellow-Christians. But the populace, recognizing his nationality, would not give him a hearing; and for two hours kept shouting in honour of their divinity.[1] The tumult was only calmed by the action of the Clerk of the City,[2] who, addressing the multitude, declared that the reputation of Ephesus for devotion to Artemis was world-wide, and that under such circumstances there was no need for the assertion of it by any rash proceedings; that Gaius and Aristarchus were not charged with robbing their temple (cf. *Rom.* ii. 22) or insulting their goddess; that if Demetrius and his fellow-guildsmen had any private suit against them, they could obtain a decision from the Roman proconsul on the regular court-days; and that if anything further was called for,[3] the matter could be settled in the lawful assembly, which alone was competent to transact public business, whereas they ran a risk of being brought to account for that day's concourse, for which no sufficient explanation could be given. With these words he closed the meeting, which dispersed.

It is clear from the incident that the danger which the Christians incurred in the course of their missionary efforts did not always proceed from the antagonism of the Jews. Amid a heathen population they had often to advocate a monotheistic and spiritual faith in opposition to polytheism and idolatry; and in doing so they were liable to give great offence to various classes of people whose personal interests were bound up with the maintenance of idolatrous rites.[4] The peril to which St. Paul was exposed at Ephesus is possibly understated in the account given by St. Luke in *Acts* xix. 23–41, for the Apostle himself refers to a very dangerous situation in which he had recently been placed when he wrote 2 *Cor.* i.–ix. (see i. 8–11 [5]). Moreover, the disturbance organized by Demetrius was probably only one of several of like character; and in some that had occurred at an earlier date St. Paul was subjected to mob violence, allusion to such being made in 1 *Cor.* xv. 31, 32 (a letter probably written prior to the incident related in *Acts* xix. 23–41), where he speaks

[1] In *Acts* xix. 34, D, instead of reading Μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, omits the article and makes the cry an appeal to the goddess.

[2] The function of the γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως doubtless varied at different times and places, but at this period he was responsible for the form of the decrees submitted to the people after approval by the Council or Senate. At Ephesus he seems also to have acted as chairman of the popular assembly (see Hastings, *D.B.* iv. p. 800).

[3] In *Acts* xix. 39 περὶ ἑτέρων is read by ℵ A D and other uncials and most versions; περαιτέρω by B, 431 and Lat. vet. (*gig.*).

[4] Cf. the experience at Philippi (*Acts* xvi. 19 f.).

[5] Some conjecture that the passage refers to a dangerous illness.

of having "fought with beasts at Ephesus." In view of the fact that he was a Roman citizen, it is not probable that he ever fought in the arena (if he had, he would scarcely have escaped with his life); and the expression (like the phrase in 2 *Tim.* iv. 17, "I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion," cf. *Ps.* xxii. 21) is doubtless to be understood otherwise than literally. If *Rom.* xvi. was directed to Ephesus (p. 283), it must be concluded from it that at some period during his sojourn in the city he was imprisoned, since he there speaks of Andronicus and Junias as his fellow-prisoners. It is noteworthy, however, that at this period there is no trace of persecution of Christianity because its followers did not take part in the worship of Rome and the Emperor. It has been seen that of the Asiarchs whose function it was to foster that worship (p. 66) some were friends of St. Paul, and the Apostle used to admonish his converts to honour all civil rulers (*Rom.* xiii. 1–7). Probably at this time the Christians generally were regarded as merely a Jewish sect; if so, then as Jews they were exempted by law from any obligation to render divine honours to the head of the State (p. 79).

The outbreak of popular indignation just described happened in the summer of 55; and shortly afterwards St. Paul, when he had taken leave of the disciples there, departed for Macedonia by way of Troas, where an opportunity offered of preaching the Gospel (2 *Cor.* ii. 12). His anxiety, however, caused him to proceed on his journey without any long delay. In Macedonia his solicitude about the Corinthian Church (p. 278) was relieved by the arrival of Titus, who reported that the disorders in the Church had diminished, and that the Apostle's authority there had been vindicated. It was from Macedonia, and perhaps from the city of Philippi that he expressed his deep satisfaction at this good news by sending to Corinth the communication contained in 2 *Cor.* i.–ix., chapters differing widely in temper from the four that follow, and seeming to constitute a distinct Epistle, written at a rather later date than ch. x.–xiii. This letter was speedily followed by another journey undertaken by the Apostle to Greece (*Acts* xx. 2), when he can scarcely have failed to stay at Corinth. If this supposition is correct, he must have visited that city three times. On this occasion he spent three months there, or in other parts of the province (Achaia), though unfortunately no particulars of his work have been preserved; and during this period he wrote the Epistle to the *Romans* (p. 281). He probably entered Greece at the close of 55, so that his stay ended early in the spring of 56. It had been his original purpose to sail for Syria as soon as navigation opened (p. 76); but a plot of the Jews to murder him when he was embarking, or else in the course of the voyage, decided him to travel back by Macedonia, the route by which he had come. At the interview which he had had with the three leading Apostles in 49, before starting on his Second journey (p. 539), he had been requested by them to remember the poor of Jerusalem; and during his Third journey he had set on foot a fund for their relief. Delegates from the churches through which he had passed in Galatia, Asia, and Macedonia had accompanied him to Corinth with the sums collected; and they were now to go with him to carry the money to Jerusalem (the Apostle himself being

seemingly entrusted with the contributions of the churches in Achaia). The delegates were seven, including Sopater of Beroea, Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica, Gaius of Derbe (p. 564), Timothy of Lystra, and Tychicus and Trophimus of Ephesus[1] (cf. *Acts* xxi. 29). But the reasons that rendered it expedient for St. Paul to return by land did not apply in the case of the delegates just named; so they adhered to the original arrangement and went by sea to Troas, where they agreed to wait for the Apostle. The latter journeyed through northern Greece to Macedonia; and at Philippi he was joined by St. Luke. From Philippi, after the Passover festival (A.D. 56), the two went down to Neapolis, and thence took ship for Troas, not reaching it until the fifth day out, in consequence of unfavourable winds (contrast xvi. 11), and staying there seven days.

The vessel seems to have arrived at the port on a Tuesday, so that the day before the resumption of her voyage was Sunday. This being the first day of the week, which began according to the Jewish system of reckoning on the evening of Saturday, the travellers assembled with the Christian converts whom St. Paul had made there on his way to Macedonia (2 *Cor.* ii. 12), to partake of the Agape (of which the Eucharist seems to have formed the conclusion, cf. 1 *Cor.* xi. 17–34). The place of meeting was a room in the third story of the house; and there St. Paul discoursed at some length, prolonging his address until midnight. Though it was only March or early April, the number of lights in the chamber made the atmosphere hot; and this and the lateness of the hour caused a young man named Eutychus, who was seated in the window (unprotected by lattice-work) to slumber, and in his sleep he slipped and fell to the ground. He was picked up, as the bystanders believed, dead; but St. Paul descending and embracing him, told them to desist from the distress which such a belief had occasioned them, for his life was yet within him (cf. *Mk.* ix. 26, *Acts* xiv. 19). The stunned man was carried home; and the Apostle, with the rest of the company, re-ascended to the upper room, where the interrupted meal was proceeded with, and where converse was continued until break of day. In the morning, as St. Paul and his fellow-travellers were taking leave of the rest, Eutychus, who was sufficiently recovered to move about, was brought by his friends to join in the farewells, to the great relief and comfort of those who had witnessed the accident. It seems reasonable to infer from St. Luke's narrative that, though Eutychus was found unconscious after his fall and was taken for dead, yet he was not really killed. The fact that St. Luke, whose interest in miracles has been noticed (p. 247), and who appears to have had in mind, when writing his account, the stories told of Elijah and Elisha (with *Acts* xx. 10 f. cf. 1 *Kg.* xvii. 21, 2 *Kg.* iv. 34), has, nevertheless, not left a decisive impression that a stupendous miracle was wrought by St. Paul (it is noteworthy that there is absent from the narrative anything equivalent to the explicit statements in 1 *Kg.* xvii. 22,

[1] In *Acts* xx. 4 for Ἀσιανοί D has Ἐφέσιοι. For Tychicus cf. *Col.* iv. 7; for Trophimus see 2 *Tim.* iv. 20.

2 *Kg.* viii. 5), affords sufficient ground for concluding that St. Paul's words in *v.* 10 were strictly correct, and that the Apostle was sure, when he felt the body, that life was not extinct.

The ship in which St. Paul and the delegates of the churches were making their way towards Syria was a coasting vessel, its first port of call after leaving Troas being Assos, on the gulf of Adramyttium, a little to the east of the promontory of Lectum. St. Paul consequently decided to cross to Assos by the shorter land route, about twenty miles in length, leaving his companions to proceed thither by sea and pick him up there. This they accordingly did, St. Luke going in the ship. The stopping-place next to Assos was Mitylene, the principal town in the island of Lesbos. Sailing from thence, and probably anchoring the following night close to the mainland opposite Chios,[1] the vessel touched at Samos on the second day out from Mitylene; and after passing[2] Trogyllium (the promontory at the end of the peninsula of Mycale confronting Samos) came next day to Miletus.

Miletus lies south of Ephesus, at the mouth of the Mæander, and the circumstance that St. Paul had embarked on his homeward voyage in a ship that did not call at the latter city, where he had resided so long, was due to his wish to reach Jerusalem by Pentecost. To have gone to a place to which he was bound by many interests and where he had provoked much hostility (*Acts* xix. 23) would have delayed him seriously. Nevertheless, he could not approach Ephesus so closely (it was only thirty-five miles from Miletus) without seeking to give to the representatives of the Church there some words of admonition on what he seems to have felt might prove, and St. Luke appears to imply, did prove,[3] the last occasion of their meeting. So from Miletus he sent for the Elders of the Christian body at Ephesus to come to him; and when they reached him he delivered to them, in the interval before the sailing of the vessel, a parting address. It was devoted to (*a*) a vindication of his conduct and ministry during the period of his residence in the province of Asia; (*b*) a charge to the elders of the Church; (*c*) a farewell and concluding exhortation. The speech, which must have been heard by St. Luke, and which, though containing various features of the latter's style,[4] is likely to reproduce more closely than most of those contained in *Acts* the matter and the manner of the speaker, naturally falls into three sections, the divisions between them occurring at *vv.* 28 and 32. The following is a brief summary.

(*a*) The Apostle declared that his mode of life, marked by humility, sorrow, and trials, was known to all of his hearers, who could testify to the outspokenness and candour of his teaching, and to the impartiality and persistence with which he had sought to win both Jews and Greeks to repentance towards God and faith towards Jesus. He felt bound to

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[1] This seems to be the significance of the statement in *Acts* xx. 15, *τῇ ἐπιούσῃ κατηντήσαμεν ἀντικρυς Χίου.*

[2] The Bezan MS. has "anchoring off."

[3] This is a natural deduction from the emphasis placed in *v.* 38 upon St. Paul's words in *v.* 25.

[4] *E.g.* *διῆλθον* (*v.* 25), *προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς* (*v.* 28).

go to Jerusalem,[1] and he anticipated tribulations in the future similar to those which he had experienced in the past; but he set no value on his life, provided he could accomplish the duty imposed upon him by the Lord Jesus of preaching the Gospel of God's grace. And as he believed that the end of his career was not far off, and that they would not see him again, he solemnly declared that he had discharged his responsibilities as a revealer of God's purposes to mankind.

(*b*) Those whom he addressed likewise had responsibilities. They had been made by the Holy Spirit overseers of the Church which God had acquired by the death of His own Son[2]; and as the Church was exposed to the inroads of unscrupulous intruders from without and to the lures of false teachers from within, he warned them to be on their guard, and to keep in mind the admonitions which he had incessantly given them during the three years he had spent among them.

(*c*) Finally he commended them to God,[3] whose graciousness was disclosed by His Word; and he called their attention to his own disinterestedness (for he had, out of the proceeds of his own manual labour, both supported himself and helped others (cf. 1 *Thess.* ii. 9, 2 *Thess.* iii. 8, 1 *Cor.* iv. 12)) in order to encourage them to follow his example, remembering the saying of the Lord Jesus that to give was more blessed than to receive.[4]

At the conclusion of the address, St. Paul prayed with his hearers, who, broken-hearted at the thought that they would never see him again, took a sorrowful leave of him, and then escorted him to his ship.

When the voyage was resumed the vessel had a straight run to Cos, and then doubling the peninsula of Cnidus, reached Rhodes the next day; and finally arrived at Patara, a port of Lycia, or, according to the Bezan text, Myra (cf. xxvii. 5), a harbour as far east from Patara as the latter is from Rhodes. The ship either reached the termination of her voyage at one or other of these places, or else was bound for some other destination than Syria; in any case, it became necessary for the passengers for the latter country to find another vessel sailing to a port nearer Palestine and Jerusalem. They succeeded in getting taken on board a ship bound for Phœnicia; and in it they crossed to Tyre, sighting Cyprus and keeping to the south of it. This ship discharged her cargo at Tyre, so the travellers had to stay in that port for a week until the operation of unloading was completed. They searched for and found a body of Christians known to be there, who were inspired to warn St. Paul not to set foot in Jerusalem, though the warning did not deter him from his purpose. When the ship was once more ready to sail, the travellers were escorted by the members of the Tyrian Church until they gained the beach; and then, after united

[1] One reason for this constraint was the conveyance of the money collected for the relief of the poor there (cf. xxiv. 17).

[2] If in *Acts* xx. 28 the reading of ℵ B, *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ* be adopted in preference to *τὴν ἐ. τοῦ Κυρίου* (*i.e.* Jesus), found in A C D E, it seems necessary to assume at the end of the verse the loss, after *τοῦ ἰδίου*, of the word *υἱοῦ*.

[3] B and Lat. vet. (*gig.*) read *Κυρίῳ*.

[4] This is the only saying of our Lord included in the New Testament outside the Gospels.

prayer, they took leave of one another, St. Paul and his companions going on board the vessel.

From Tyre the travellers sailed to Ptolemais (p. 6), about twenty-five miles south of Tyre. Here there was a body of Christians, with whom they spent a day; and then on the morrow they left for Cæsarea (more than thirty miles further south), though whether they proceeded thither by sea, changing ships, or went by land is obscure. At Cæsarea they stopped at the house of Philip, one of the Seven (p. 503), here by St. Luke styled the Evangelist, who had four daughters endowed with the spirit of prophecy.[1] It is not recorded that any prediction about St. Paul was uttered by these prophetesses, but one was delivered by the same prophet Agabus, who had at an earlier date foretold the famine of A.D. 46 (p. 521). This man, who had come from Jerusalem, on entering Philip's house took St. Paul's girdle to illustrate by a significant action (after the custom of the ancient prophets[2]) what he was about to announce, bound with it his own hands and feet, and declared that the Jews at Jerusalem would bind in like manner the owner of the girdle, and deliver him to the Gentiles. Such an utterance naturally caused great distress amongst those to whom it became known, and they entreated St. Paul not to go up to the Jewish capital. But as he could not be turned from his aim, but declared that he was ready to incur not imprisonment only but death for the sake of the Lord Jesus, they desisted from their efforts to dissuade him.

§ 10. *Peril at Jerusalem*

The Apostle's previous haste (*Acts* xx. 16) gave him some days' leisure, which he spent at Cæsarea, and during which he may have written to some friend at Ephesus the letter of which a fragment is preserved in 2 *Tim.* iv. 19–22 (p. 298), whilst the rest of the party made preparations for a journey to Jerusalem by road (probably procuring horses to carry the baggage[3]). When they started they were accompanied by some disciples belonging to Cæsarea, who came with them to conduct them to the house of a certain Cypriot called Mnason, an original (ἀρχαῖος) disciple, probably one of those who were associated with the Apostles before Pentecost, or converted after it, who lived between Cæsarea and Jerusalem and at whose house they could break their journey, since the distance between the two cities was more than fifty miles.[4] When they finally arrived at their destination, they were warmly welcomed by the Church there; and on the following day they had an audience with St. James

[1] Though at this time all were unwedded, two married at a later period, and with their father removed from Cæsarea to Hierapolis (in the province of Asia); see Eus. *H.E.* iii. 30, § 1, 31, § 4, v. 24, § 2. Eusebius, however, seems to confuse Philip the Evangelist with Philip the Apostle.

[2] See 1 *Kg.* xi. 29–31, xx. 35, xxii. 11, *Is.* xx. 2 f., *Jer.* xix. 1–13, etc.

[3] In *Acts* xxi. 15 the sense of ἐπισκευασάμενοι is probably the same as that of ὑποζύγια ἐπισκενάσασθαι, "to lade baggage-animals," in Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1, 18.

[4] In *Acts* xxi. 16 ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνι must be a compressed phrase for ἄγοντες παρὰ Μνάσωνα ἵνα ξενισθῶμεν παρ' αὐτῷ: cf. the reading of D (p. 254).

and the elders (cf. *Acts* xi. 30). To them St. Paul gave an account of his ministry among the Gentiles, and the success which God had granted him. He must have felt, however, no little anxiety about the reception he would meet with from the Jewish section of the Church generally. Although the three principal Apostles, in the course of his interview with them in 49, had not required the imposition of circumcision upon Gentile believers, or qualified in any way the terms in which he presented the Gospel to non-Jews (p. 539), yet ever since that understanding had been reached there had occurred a vigorous and unscrupulous effort on the part of the Judaistic Christians to make his converts in Galatia believe that their salvation depended upon their submission to the Jewish Law. An apprehension of their hostility and a desire to disarm it as far as possible had probably been factors in causing him to promote so energetically the collection of a fund for the relief of the poor in the Church of Jerusalem, in accordance with the wishes of the elder Apostles (*Gal.* ii. 10). This must have helped in some measure to placate his opponents; but the position was an awkward one. St. Paul, in consequence of his contention that to a believer in Christ circumcision was a matter of indifference (*Gal.* v. 6), could easily be represented as discouraging even Jewish Christians from practising that rite, and this charge he learnt had been actually brought against him. St. James and the elders of the Jerusalem Church, whilst rejoicing at the progress of the Gospel among the Gentiles through his agency and thanking God for it, yet told him that the Jewish Christians, who were very numerous and extremely zealous for the Mosaic Law, had had the statement pressed upon them that he was in the habit of dissuading their countrymen of the Dispersion (p. 77) from circumcising their children or respecting the customs of their religion. Therefore to avoid the friction which was likely to ensue as soon as his arrival at Jerusalem became widely known, they recommended that he should demonstrate the falsity of such a charge by himself observing the Law to which as a Jew he was subject. They represented that an opportunity of his doing this was afforded by the presence among them of four men who had undertaken a vow (similar to that with which St. Paul had once bound himself, *Acts* xviii. 18, see p. 557) and had allowed their hair to grow for a certain time, and who, now that the interval had expired, were wishful to shave their heads and offer the necessary sacrifices, but being poor men, found it difficult to defray the expense. St. Paul, therefore, through associating himself with them and by paying for the sacrifices (which consisted, in the case of each individual, of two lambs and a ram, as well as cereal and drink offerings (*Num.* vi. 13–15) and so were costly) could prove that the accusations against him were unfounded. The proceeding recommended was not unwonted, for Herod Agrippa I, when the Emperor Claudius enlarged his dominions (p. 52) and he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving at Jerusalem, is related to have ordained that many of the Nazarites should shave their heads (the period for which they had become such having expired), the funds that enabled them to do so being no doubt supplied by him (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 6, 1). St. James also explained another source of trouble in the Church

which they had already taken steps to remove. Social relations between the Jewish and Gentile sections of the Church were prejudiced by the fact that the latter, through the sexual licence to which they were accustomed by reason of the impurity so common in heathen countries, and through their habit of eating certain kinds of food forbidden to the Jews, rendered themselves "defiled," and unfit for Jews to associate with. Consequently, to facilitate intercourse, they had required of the Gentiles abstinence from meats offered to idols, from the use of blood as food (see *Lev.* iii. 17, *Gen.* ix. 4, *Dt.* xii. 16, and cf. 2 *Zech.* ix. 7), from eating the flesh of animals strangled (from which the blood had not been drained, in accordance with the command in *Lev.* xvii. 13, cf. 1 *Sam.* xiv. 32, 33), and from fornication, and had conveyed to them these their decisions in writing.

What is here related is for reasons given previously (p. 538) a reconstruction of the history contained in *Acts* respecting the resolution of the Council of Jerusalem about the measure of submission to the Jewish Law required of the Gentiles. In view of the absence of all reference by St. Paul to its provisions, in letters written (so far as can be judged) not very long after A.D. 49, the year to which the Council appears to be assigned in *Acts* xv., it seems impossible that the Council can have met at so early a date. On the other hand, it is clear from St. James' speech in *Acts* xxi. 25, at which St. Luke was present, that a resolution of the nature described above had been passed prior to A.D. 56, when St. Paul returned to Jerusalem from his Third journey (begun about 52). From this it appears probable that the Church at Jerusalem came to the decision in question during the absence of St. Paul, who was not a party to it, but found it an accomplished fact on his arrival. The passing of the resolution was seemingly the work of St. James and the Jerusalem elders, both St. Peter and St. John apparently being absent. It was a departure from the understanding with St. Paul reached at the private interview in 49, as described in *Gal.* ii. 1–10; for St. Paul then received the impression that no Jewish ceremonial restrictions were to be imposed on the Gentiles (p. 537). But St. James may now have considered that a modification of the understanding with St. Paul was necessitated by circumstances, in view of the spread of the Gospel among the Jews of Palestine (*Acts* xxi. 20),[1] if peace and friendliness were to be maintained between the two wings of the Church. Restrictions about eating flesh with the blood prevailed at a later period in certain churches, and were probably based on such a decision as is recorded in *Acts* xxi. 25 (see *Rev.* ii. 14 and cf. Eus. *H.E.* v. 1. 26).

The precise purport of the decree of the Jerusalem Council (whatever the date when it was passed and circulated) is a matter of dispute in consequence of a serious variety of readings in *Acts* xv. and xxi. The chief uncial MSS. (ℵ A B C) and many other textual authorities represent the decree as consisting of four clauses; of which, according to the natural interpretation, only one is a moral requirement, whilst the other three are ceremonial regulations relating to food. But Codex D, together with one Old Latin manuscript (*gig.*), omits in xv. 20, 29, xxi. 25 all reference to things strangled (*πνικτόν*, *πνικτά*), and the omission appears in various Latin Fathers. If the reading of D and its supporters, which make the decree to consist of three clauses only, is the original text, it is possible to regard all the three clauses as prohibiting infractions, not of ceremonial, but of moral laws. "things offered to idols" being equivalent to sacrificial meals in a heathen temple (and not merely meat bought in the market after consecration to a heathen god, cf. 1 *Cor.* x. 25–28), and "blood" standing for "murder." This gives to the provisions of the decree a uniform ethical character. It is, however, against the originality of the reading of D that (*a*) in *Acts* xv. 29, this and some other MSS. and versions, after "from fornication" add, in dislocation of the construction, the words "and whatsoever ye wish not to

[1] The words *πόσαι μυριάδες* are, of course, not to be understood literally.

be done to yourselves do not do to another," [1] which suggests that the shorter reading has arisen through tampering with the text, in order to convert into a moral injunction what was originally, in the main, a ceremonial rule ; (*b*) the word αἷμα in the context in question is not a natural expression (in spite of *Acts* v. 28, *Rev.* vi. 10, xix. 2) for "murder" (φόνος, which occurs in *Acts* ix. 1, *Lk.* xxiii. 19, 25, *Rom.* i. 29). Moreover it is hard to believe that the Jerusalem Church deemed it necessary to embody in a decree sent to Gentile Christians such elementary moral prohibitions as those which this reading represents (though see 1 *Pet.* iv. 15). The question, however, is complicated by the fact that the reading of D is supported by Irenæus, who lived in Gaul, where a food law was observed (see Eus. *H.E.* v. 1, 26), and where consequently there would be little motive for altering the text, if it was at first a food law, into a moral enactment.[2]

The suggestion made by St. James to St. Paul that the latter should allay the suspicions of the Jewish Christians by participating in the sacrifices offered by the four men under a vow was readily accepted, for St. Paul maintained that a person, if he was a Jew when he became a Christian, should continue to be such in his religious practices (1 *Cor.* vii. 18, cf. ix. 20). The interval included in the vow of each of the four seems to have ended on successive days, so that St. Paul, who had already spent two days in Jerusalem (*Acts* xxi. 17, 18), had to stay there four days more in order to accompany each individual into the Temple courts to announce the termination of the vow, and to declare himself responsible for the cost of the offerings. His assuming responsibility for the expenses of the men seems to have been held equivalent to taking the same vow as they (see *Acts* xxi. 26, where ἁγνισθείς and τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἁγνισμοῦ reproduce the language of *Num.* vi. 5, LXX).[3] The last of the four, with the Apostle's help, was discharging the duties obligatory upon him just before the expiration of the seven days (reckoned inclusively) to which St. Paul's responsibility for the four compelled him to prolong his stay, when certain Jews from Asia, residents in Ephesus, recognized him in one of the inner courts of the Temple, which could be entered by Jews but not by Gentiles (p. 90). These men raised an outcry, calling the attention of all bystanders to him as the man who showed himself everywhere antagonistic to the Jewish people, their Law, and their Temple, and who had defiled the last by introducing Greeks into a part of it from which they were excluded on pain of death. The latter charge was based upon the fact that they had observed in the city their fellow-Ephesian Trophimus, whom they maliciously alleged that St. Paul had taken with him when he passed from the Court of the Gentiles into one of the interior courts. The statement conveyed from mouth to mouth spread through the city, and at once created a tumult. St. Paul was seized as he was standing probably in the Court of the Women, was hurried out of it (the gates of which (p. 91) were immediately closed by the Temple Guard (p. 93), and was on the point of being lynched by the enraged mob, when information reached the military tribune in command of the cohort that occupied the castle of Antonia (p. 54). The Roman officer, who was called Claudius

[1] The addition of the command interrupts the connexion between the prohibition ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων κτλ. and the relative clause ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες, κτλ.

[2] See Lake, *Early Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 48–60.

[3] See McNeile, *St. Paul*, p. 97

Lysias, taking a body of troops at once rushed down the steps leading from the fortress to the outermost Temple court (p. 11) and intervened between the mob and their intended victim. After arresting St. Paul, he directed him to be bound by chains to two soldiers, and then sought to learn the offence he was charged with. As the uproar prevented him from ascertaining the facts on the spot, he ordered the prisoner to be escorted to the castle ; but such was the violence of the multitude thirsting for his life [1] that the Apostle had to be carried by the soldiers. But before St. Paul entered the gates he asked leave in Greek to speak to the officer, much to the latter's surprise, who said that he had taken him for an Egyptian impostor, whom he described as having recently raised a sedition and placed himself at the head of a body of Assassins (p. 103), though Josephus represents that the pretender in question claimed to be a prophet and led a great multitude to the Mount of Olives by a promise that from thence they would see the walls of Jerusalem fall at his command.[2] The Roman had probably inferred from the scene he had just witnessed that St. Paul was the impostor in the hands of his enraged dupes. But the Apostle answered, not without some natural pride, that he was a Jew by race and a Tarsian by birth, and consequently a citizen of no insignificant city (p. 68) ; and with great courage and with a desire to conciliate his fellow-countrymen, he begged the tribune's permission to address the people. The officer granted him leave ; so standing on the stairs, he faced the surging crowd below, and having by a gesture gained silence, he tried to vindicate his conduct, speaking to them in Aramaic,[3] a fact which helped to secure him for a time a quiet hearing.

Though St. Paul had not been guilty of taking Trophimus beyond the barrier separating the court which the Gentiles might enter from that which they might not, yet he was conscious that he had denied that the institutions distinctive of his race were essential to participation in the Messianic Kingdom. It was, therefore, his object to show that it was only through Divine direction that he had preached to the Gentiles and presented to them the good news of the Kingdom in a form acceptable to them, and he sought to prove this by recounting the circumstances of his conversion and certain incidents that followed it. Consequently, his speech (which St. Luke probably heard and has reproduced in Greek) repeats to a large extent matters already related in *Acts* (see ix. 1–30). There are, however, various differences between the two narratives (p. 514) ; and these, added to the evidence supplied by similar divergences between several parallel passages in the Old Testament serve to illustrate the comparatively slight interest that the Biblical writers took in historic precision and consistency.

In the speech stress was laid upon a number of facts all indicating that it was not through any predisposition on the part of St. Paul himself that he had preached to the Gentiles. (1) He was a Jew by race and a Jew by

[1] With *Acts* xxi. 36 cf. *Lk.* xxiii. 18.

[2] See Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, 6, *B. J.* ii. 13, 5, cf. p. 58.

[3] St. Paul would be acquainted with this in consequence of his early education (see 2 *Cor.* xi. 22, *Phil.* iii. 5).

training, having been taught by Gamaliel, one of the most famous Scribes of the time (p. 501). The genuineness of his zeal for the Law (cf. *Gal.* i. 14) which had been implanted in him by heredity and education he had manifested by persecuting the Christians, as the High Priest and Elders could themselves testify, since they had authorized him to bring to Jerusalem from Damascus such Jews as had accepted the Christian faith. (2) On his way to Damascus he had heard at noontide, One speaking to him from the midst of a blaze of Divine glory, Who had asked why he persecuted Him in the persons of His followers, and declared Himself to be Jesus of Nazareth. The Speaker then bade him go to Damascus, where he would be instructed in what was required of him, and he obeyed, going thither blinded by the supernatural light which he had seen. (3) At that city a certain man called Ananias, himself a Jew and a devout adherent of the Law, had restored to him his sight and had declared that what had happened to him was of Divine arrangement, for it was the God of Israel who had appointed him to know His purpose, and to see and hear the Righteous One (cf. *Acts* iii. 14, and see p. 496); that he was to bear witness to all the world of his experience; and that he should at once be baptized for the cleansing of his sins, and invoke the name of Him whom he had seen (thereby acknowledging Him as Lord). (4) At a later date (St. Paul here omits all reference to the interval spent in Arabia (*Gal.* i. 17) and his subsequent activity at Damascus (*Acts* ix. 19–22)), the same Heavenly Figure that had previously appeared to him near Damascus had directed him when in a trance at Jerusalem to leave the city because its people would not receive his testimony; and that when he represented that their attitude was not unnatural after the part he had taken in persecuting Christian believers, and in abetting the murder of Stephen, he was told that he was to be sent unto the Gentiles. (This last account diverges from that contained in *Acts* ix. 30, where it is represented that the Christians at Jerusalem, to save him from an attempt by the Jews to kill him, sent him away first to Cæsarea and then to Tarsus; and the divergence may be explained by the assumption that St. Luke describes the external facts of the occasion in question, whilst St. Paul in this speech traces to the overruling of Christ the course of events which ultimately ended in his mission to the Gentiles.)

Up to this point the people had listened patiently to the Apostle's self-defence; but as soon as they heard him mention the Gentiles they raised a clamour for his death. The tumult grew so threatening that the Roman officer ordered him to be brought at once into the castle; and, as he had been unable to understand the Apostle's Aramaic speech, he directed that he should be interrogated under torture (on the assumption that he was a foreigner, if not a slave) in order to extract from him the nature of the charge against him. But as the soldiers were stretching him forward with thongs to a post, preparatory to scourging him, he asked the centurion in charge whether it was lawful for him to scourge a Roman, and that, too, untried.[1] The illegality of such treatment was notorious,

[1] In *Acts* xxii. 25 ἀκατάκριτος seems to be used for ἄκριτος.

so that the centurion at once informed his superior officer of the statement made by the prisoner. The tribune questioned St. Paul whether it was true, and on his answering in the affirmative, he could not repress his surprise,[1] saying that he himself had paid a large sum for his Roman citizenship, and implying doubt whether the prisoner (whose clothes may have been tattered in consequence of his maltreatment by the mob) could really have been in a position to do the same. In the reign of Claudius the Roman franchise had been freely sold (Dio Cass. LX. 17), and the tribune's name of Claudius suggests that it was under that Emperor that he had become possessed of it. Paul's citizenship, however, went further back than his questioner's; and he answered that he was free-born. Scourging was not to be thought of after this (p. 72). He was at once loosed from the thongs, and the mere fact that he had been bound for the purpose of undergoing this torture rendered the tribune apprehensive of the consequences.

As the Roman was thus afraid to extort information from his prisoner in the way he intended, he determined to bring him before the Sanhedrin (p. 100), not for decisive trial but for prior examination; and the next day, summoning that body, he placed Paul before it. The president was the High Priest Ananias, son of Nebedeus, who had been appointed in A.D. 47 by Herod, King of Chalcis. A very compressed report of the proceedings before the Sanhedrin is furnished by St. Luke, for the charge laid against the Apostle by his accusers is omitted by the historian, who begins his account with the words with which St. Paul opened his defence. But the accused had no sooner stated that he had conducted himself hitherto with the full approval of his conscience (meaning, probably, that he had been faithful to the institutions and the spirit of Judaism as he had understood them) than the High Priest ordered him to be smitten on the mouth. St. Paul, after having protested against illegal treatment by a Roman official, was not disposed to submit to such from a Jewish court. Turning to Ananias he said hotly, "God will smite thee, thou whitewashed wall,"[2] and asked with what face he, when trying another according to the Law, could himself break the Law. The bystanders angrily told him that the person he was reviling was God's High Priest; and St. Paul, in reply, said that he did not know that he was the High Priest, and himself quoted the passage in *Ex.* xxii. 28, which prohibits the reviling of God's representative. It is difficult to think that St. Paul was really ignorant of the rank of the man who was responsible for maltreating him, for this was probably indicated by his position and dress. Irony, however, was not alien to St. Paul (see 1 *Cor.* iv. 8, 10, viii. 1), and he might well mean that such unpriestly conduct effectively disguised from him the High Priest's dignity. And, having shortly before turned to account in his need his Roman citizenship, he now took advantage of the composition of the court to escape, if possible, an unfavourable decision.

[1] In *Acts* xxii. 28 the Eg. boh. version makes the tribune say. *How easily thou callest thyself a Roman citizen.*

[2] During the siege of Jerusalem Ananias was caught in an aqueduct, where he had concealed himself from the partisans of Menahem, and slain (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 17, 9).

It contained members of both the Sadducees and the Pharisees, sects sundered from one another by deep religious cleavages (p. 101), and St. Paul, observing the fact, exclaimed that he was a Pharisee by training and descent, and that he was being examined in connexion with the hope of a resurrection of dead men.[1] It might have been thought that the Pharisees would have been too intent upon promoting the punishment of one whom they regarded as a renegade to be led away by such a tactical device ; but to a party appeal the response is often speedy. The Apostle's expectation of creating a division among his judges was not disappointed. On such an issue as that which he raised the Pharisees at once took his part. As he had defended his conduct in preaching to the Gentiles by pleading the directions of a superhuman Personality who had appeared to him from heaven, they were willing to accept his defence, and declared him innocent of wrong, and if a spirit or an angel had really spoken to him ——? The aposiopesis meant, as plainly as any words, that they were not prepared to fight against heaven. The dissensions that ensued caused the Roman tribune to fear for Paul's safety amid the contending sects, and he, therefore, had him removed back to the castle. On the following night, the historian relates that the Lord appeared to the Apostle, and announced that he was to bear witness to Him at Rome as he had already done at Jerusalem (cf. p. 106 f.).

The circumstance that their intended victim was thus snatched from their grasp so exasperated a number of the Jews that more than forty of them bound themselves under a curse that they would not touch food until they had compassed his death. Their plan was that the chief members of the Sanhedrin (to whom they communicated their design) should apply to the Roman tribune for a further inquiry into St. Paul's case,[2] and that they themselves should waylay and assassinate the prisoner as he was being brought down for examination. The Apostle's conversion to Christianity does not appear to have caused a permanent breach between him and his family ; and his nephew who was in Jerusalem at the time, having overheard the contrivance of the plot, at once proceeded to the castle, where the Apostle, though chained to a soldier (cf. xxviii. 16), was easily accessible to any who wished to visit him, and informed him of what he had learnt. St. Paul thereupon asked a centurion within reach to take his informant to his superior officer, since he had an important communication to make to him. Lysias listened to the young man's report and his urgent appeal that he would not give way to the request of the conspirators ; and being naturally unwilling to see a Roman citizen fall a victim to Jewish fanaticism, he ordered the matter to be kept secret, and immediately took precautions to defeat the design.[3] He directed

[1] In *Acts* xxiii. 6 *περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀναστάσεως* seems to be a hendiadys. Syr. pesh. omits *καί*.

[2] In *Acts* xxiii. 20, though most uncials (ℵ A B E) have *μέλλων* (referring to Lysias) the true reading may be *μέλλοντες* (found in the Latin and some of the Syriac versions) or *μέλλον*, referring respectively to *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* and *τὸ συνέδριον* (cf. *v.* 15).

[3] In *Acts* xxiii. 24 the cursive 614, an Old Lat. codex (*gig.*) and some other authorities after *πρὸς Φήλικα τὸν ἡγεμόνα* add (as an explanation of Lysias' action) *ἐφοβήθη γὰρ μήποτε ἁρπάσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτείνωσιν, καὶ αὐτὸς μεταξὺ ἔγκλημα ἔχῃ*

two of his centurions to get together, by the third hour after sunset, a force of no less than 470 men (a surprisingly large body), consisting of heavy-armed infantry (200), cavalry (70), and a special class of light-armed troops [1] (200) termed *δεξιολάβοι*, to provide horses for the prisoner and his attendants (probably St. Luke and Aristarchus, see Acts xxvii. 1, 2), and to convey them safely to Cæsarea, where Antonius Felix, the procurator of Judæa (p. 57), was residing. He forwarded with them a letter partly to explain to his superior his reasons for sending St. Paul to him, and partly to specify the nature of the charge against him (so that the letter was equivalent to the usual *elogium* or abstract of a prisoner's offence, which went with him to the magistrates who were to try him). The original was written in Latin, and as St. Luke is not likely to have seen it, the Greek version of it which he supplies must express his own idea of its contents (which was probably not seriously divergent from the truth). In it Lysias is represented as explaining that he had rescued the prisoner from a Jewish mob after he had learnt that he was a Roman (though in reality this fact had only come out when he himself was on the point of scourging him, p. 575), had brought him before the Jewish Sanhedrin in order to ascertain the accusation against him, had discovered that it turned upon disputed interpretations of the Jewish Law (a term which could be applied to the Hebrew Scriptures as a whole, p. 98), and did not involve any criminal offence; but, as he had learnt of a plot against him, he sent him to the procurator, before whom he had directed the accusers to bring their case.

The march of between 60 and 70 miles from Jerusalem to Cæsarea was accomplished in two stages, the troops halting at Antipatris (p. 7) 35 or 40 miles away. Here the infantry, thought to be needed only as long as the force was in the neighbourhood of the Jewish capital, returned, whilst the troopers proceeded another 30 miles to Cæsarea with their prisoner. Felix, having read the letter brought from Lysias, asked St. Paul of what province he was, in order to assure himself that he came under his jurisdiction; and having been informed that he belonged to Cilicia, which was subject to Syria (p. 68), he arranged to hear the case as soon as the accusers arrived, and ordered him meanwhile to be kept in custody in the *Prætorium*, or Government House, which had once been the palace of Herod (p. 47).

Five days after St. Paul's arrival at Cæsarea, the High Priest Ananias and several elders representing the Sanhedrin reached Cæsarea, accompanied by a certain Tertullus,[2] probably a Roman *causidicus*, or pleader, whom, as better acquainted than themselves with the usages of the Roman law-courts, they brought with them as counsel for the prosecution; and

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ὡς ἀργύριον εἰληφώς. The charge of having received bribes in order to connive at deeds of violence had been brought against Ventidius Cumanus, procurator of Judæa between 48 and 52 (see p. 57).

[1] This word is translated in the Vulgate by *lancearii*: the Alexandrian MS. reads *δεξιοβόλους*. See p. 73.

[2] The name is a diminutive of *Tertius*; cf. *Lucullus* and *Lucius*, *Marullus* and *Marius*, *Catullus* and *Catius*.

they presented before the procurator their case against St. Paul. The speech of Tertullus must have been delivered in Latin, and St. Luke was probably there and heard it; at any rate he has skilfully reproduced in brief the purport of such an oration as would be delivered under the like circumstances. In the best manuscripts the summary is remarkably concise; but some textual authorities have a rather more extensive version [1] which is here followed. The speaker began with compliments (the usual *captatio benevolentiæ* of a Latin orator) calculated to prepossess Felix in favour of the prosecutors, alluding to the tranquillity secured by his administration and the reforms he had introduced (contrast p. 57); and then proceeded to complain that the prisoner (*a*) was an instigator of insurrection among the Jews generally; (*b*) was a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes; (*c*) had attempted to profane the Temple. The man (he said) had been seized and would have been tried by the Jews, but the tribune Lysias had taken him out of their hands by main force, and had commanded his accusers to attend before the procurator, who would be able to form a judgment about the truth of their accusations by examining Lysias himself. After the conclusion of Tertullus' speech, asseveration of the truth of his statements came also from the Jews who appeared with him. The charges thus advanced against St. Paul were all serious. The first represented him as an habitual fomenter of treason; the second asserted that he was a leader of a Jewish sect which the Jews disowned, and consequently had no claim to the toleration which they enjoyed (p. 79); and the third accused him of attempting to ignore the prohibition (sanctioned by the Romans) excluding all Gentiles from the inner courts of the Temple (p. 90). The speech of Tertullus glossed over the attempt to lynch St. Paul without a trial, and implied that Lysias had interfered with the exercise by the Jewish authorities of powers allowed by the Emperor (p. 100).

In answer to the charges brought by his accusers Paul was called upon by Felix to rebut them, if possible; and he replied to them in order. After expressing satisfaction that he had to appear before so experienced a judge (Felix had probably been procurator of Judæa for four years, p. 347), he first repelled the accusation of creating a sedition by stating that it was less than twelve days [2] since he had arrived at Jerusalem (which was a short period for treasonable machinations, inasmuch as for several days he had been in custody), and denying that he had been found disputing in the synagogues or collecting a concourse in the city. Next, as regards the imputation that he belonged to the sect of the Nazarenes, he admitted that he followed a Rule of life (cf. *Acts* ix. 2, xxii. 4) which his opponents thus described, but denied the implication that such a Rule was incon-

[1] In *Acts* xxiv. 6–8 the passage noted in the R.V. mg. is contained in the uncial E, the cursive 614, Lat. vet. (*gig.*), Syr. (pesh. hl.), Eth.; but omitted by ℵ A B H L P, Lat. (vulg.), Eg. The longer text makes the sentence (*v.* 8) παρ' οὗ δυνήσῃ, etc., which will then refer to Lysias, not St. Paul, much more intelligible; cf. *v.* 22.

[2] In *Acts* xxiv. 11 the *twelve days* named appear to be the sum of the *seven days* of xxi. 27 and the *five days* of xxiv. 1, these last being reckoned from St. Paul's departure from Jerusalem to his trial before Felix

sistent with the Jewish faith or practice, since he accepted, just as they did, the teaching of the Law and the Prophets, and expected, as they did, a resurrection of both the righteous and the unrighteous ; and in consequence he trained himself to avoid any conscious offence towards either God or man. Thirdly, in respect of the charge that he had profaned the Temple, he had come to Jerusalem after an absence of many years to bring alms to his countrymen, and it was whilst he was presenting certain offerings in the Temple (p. 573) without disorder that they found him there. Those who alleged the opposite—certain Jews from Asia—should have attended to prove it, or else they who were in the court should show what offence they had found him guilty of, unless it was the expression of his belief in the resurrection of the dead.

In spite of the corroboration given to the statements of Tertullus by the deputation from the Sanhedrin, it was impossible for the procurator to give his decision at once. The letter received from Lysias made it plain that in the tribune's opinion the prisoner had not been guilty of treason or sedition ; but it was possible that by his evidence the other charges might be established. Felix therefore adjourned the case, until the arrival of Lysias at Cæsarea, by pronouncing the usual formula *Amplius* (sc. *cognoscendum*). He no doubt shrewdly suspected what the motives were which animated the accusers in bringing forward the case, since the historian represents that he was well acquainted with the principles of the Christians (he had been for some years in the country) ; and it was probably this knowledge that convinced him that Lysias was right in judging St. Paul to be innocent of any political offence. Accordingly, though he retained him in custody, he allowed him as much indulgence as possible, the prisoner being chained to a soldier who guarded him, but permitted to receive attention and care from his friends.

The contemplated second hearing of St. Paul's case before Felix never occurred. Lysias did not attend ; and since it was clear to the Jews that without his testimony they could not succeed in obtaining a conviction and that, even if he were willing to give evidence, it might not be favourable to them, they, for the time, took no steps to pursue the matter further. If they had failed to destroy the man they hated, they had, at any rate, secured his incarceration. On the other hand, the procurator was sufficiently indifferent to the claims of justice to allow the accused to remain in captivity without further trial. He was not, however, without interest in his prisoner ; which was increased by the fact that Drusilla (the third daughter of Agrippa I), who now passed as his third wife (p. 57), was a Jewess, and was perhaps curious to know something about St. Paul. Accordingly the two came to the palace of Herod where St. Paul was confined, and summoning him before them, heard him discourse about his faith in Christ. The Apostle must have known the relations subsisting between his two hearers, and was not likely to let slip an opportunity for trying to awaken Felix to a sense of the fundamental principles of religion—righteousness, self-control, and responsibility to a future Judge. His words alarmed Felix, but do not seem to have produced in him any real reformation, for he hoped that his captive would offer him a bribe to secure

his release; and in order to encourage him to do so, he had frequent interviews with him. His expectations of receiving money from St. Paul and of hearing the evidence of Lysias were both disappointed; and when he was removed from his office two years later (A.D. 58), the Apostle was still in prison.

The recall of Felix followed upon some violent disputes at Cæsarea, between the Jewish and the Syrian inhabitants of the city, respecting equality of political rights (*ἰσοπολιτεία*), the Jews claiming precedence. On the occasion of a fight between the two parties, Felix had let loose upon the Jews his soldiers, who killed many and pillaged their houses.[1] In consequence, he had reason to fear Jewish complaints at Rome about his conduct (complaints which were actually made, and almost resulted in his punishment); so that when he was displaced from his procuratorship in 58, it was from a desire to conciliate those whom he had offended that he left St. Paul in prison.[2] He was succeeded by Porcius Festus, and it was during the latter's period of office that St. Paul's captivity at Cæsarea came to an end, though it was followed elsewhere by another term of imprisonment equally long.

§ 11. *Appeal to Cæsar and Voyage to Italy*

The appearance of a new procurator afforded to the Jews the prospect of carrying to a successful issue their design of destroying St. Paul. Ananias, the chief priest, had been deposed by Agrippa II and succeeded by Ishmael; but there was no change in the malevolence of the Sanhedrin. Accordingly, when Festus, two days after his arrival at Cæsarea, went up to Jerusalem, the principal members of that body petitioned him to bring St. Paul to trial before them at the Jewish capital, intending to effect his assassination on the road. The procurator, however, since the prisoner was at Cæsarea and he himself was shortly returning thither, saw no reason for the transfer; and directed that the more influential individuals among them should attend there and conduct the prosecution before him.

After an interval of little more than a week, Festus returned to Cæsarea; and next day he took his seat on the tribunal surrounded by his legal assessors (*consiliarii*, cf. Suet. *Tib.* 55), and ordered the trial to be begun. The charges were naturally a repetition of those previously alleged (p. 579). The accusation of treason against the Emperor was doubtless based on St. Paul's preaching of Jesus as the Messiah, Who, risen from the dead, was to come again to inaugurate the Kingdom of God (cf. *Acts* xxv. 19); for such could easily be distorted into a design to set up a rival emperor. The prisoner again denied that he had been guilty of any offence against the Mosaic Law, against the Temple, or against the state. The witnesses

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[1] Jos. *Ant.* xx. 5, 17.

[2] On the other hand another motive is suggested by an interesting variant reading in *Acts* xxiv., where in place of *v.* 27[b] the cursive 64 and the Harkleian Syriac mg. have *τὸν δὲ Παῦλον εἴασεν ἐν τηρήσει διὰ Δρούσιλλαν.* Drusilla's feelings towards the Apostle probably resembled those of Herodias (whose conduct she had closely reproduced) towards John the Baptist.

that had deposed to his profanation of the Temple (*Acts* xxi. 27, 28) were seemingly not present; but Festus, as an official who had only just entered upon his office, was desirous of conciliating the disaffected race whom it was his lot to rule, if he could do so without injustice; and the circumstance that the charges concerned not only disloyal intrigues but religious dissensions, with which he was unacquainted, now disposed him to accede to the Jews' request to have St. Paul tried before the Sanhedrin (with himself presiding), if the prisoner consented. This, however, the Apostle refused to do. He saw that the procurator recognized that he had committed no crime against the state; and he was not willing to be sacrificed to the religious animosity of the Sadducees. He was a Roman citizen, and had a right to be tried by the Emperor. That right he now claimed by saying *Cæsarem appello*, "I appeal unto Cæsar." The reason why he took this course is not quite clear. He might have claimed to be tried at Cæsarea before Festus himself, where he would be more sure of a fair trial than at Jerusalem before the Sanhedrin. Probably he feared that the occasions on which disturbances had taken place about him were capable of being so misrepresented that an acquittal in the procurator's court was far from certain, and it would be better to have his case tried at Rome, whither his enemies might not be prepared to follow him.[1] The appeal having been made, the procurator's legal advisers were consulted; and when they decided that the appeal was in order, Festus, who was a man of higher character than Felix, at once allowed it.

Shortly after this decision, the new procurator received a state visit from Herod Agrippa II, king of Ituræa, Trachonitis and Abilene (p. 52), who was accompanied by his sister Bernice[2] (or Pherenice), the eldest of Agrippa I's three daughters, and widow of Herod, king of Chalcis (p. 69). As the two visitors stayed at Cæsarea for some time, and as Agrippa II, though educated at Rome and thoroughly Gentile in sympathies, was nevertheless interested in Jewish questions, Festus, who had much less familiarity with the religious disputes of the Jews than his predecessor Felix, took the opportunity of consulting him about St. Paul, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the issue between him and his accusers, with a view to sending a report to the Emperor. The account which St. Luke gives of the private interview between him and his guest (*Acts* xxv. 14–22) must be constructed out of inferences deduced from the preceding trial (xxv. 6–12) and from the subsequent public "hearing" of St. Paul at which the historian may have been present. It seems possible that in representing the procurator as declaring that the Jews had asked for sentence to be pronounced upon Paul without further trial (contrast *Acts* xxv. 3) and that he had replied that it was not the Roman custom to surrender any man without giving him an opportunity of self-defence, St. Luke has aimed at accentuating the difference between Jewish and Roman ideas of justice. The narrative goes on to state that, after the

[1] Cf. McGiffert, *Apost. Age*, p. 354 note.

[2] The relations between her and Agrippa were the subject of scandal (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7, 3).

procurator had related to Agrippa the course of the trial held at Jerusalem, and St. Paul's appeal to the Emperor (here designated *His Majesty* [1]), the king expressed a wish to hear the prisoner. Festus was willing to gratify him by holding an informal investigation of St. Paul's case before him; and on the following day an assembly was held in the audience-chamber of the governor, to which Agrippa and Bernice came in state, and which was attended by the officers of the Roman garrison and the principal civilians, perhaps as the procurator's assessors (cf. *Acts* xxv. 12). Probably Festus assigned to the king the seat of honour, and allowed him formally to preside.

When St. Paul was brought in, still fettered to the soldier who guarded him, Festus addressed the gathering, stating that both at Jerusalem and at Cæsarea the Jews had preferred capital charges against the prisoner, but that as he himself had failed to discover that he had committed any offence meriting death, and as the accused had appealed to His Majesty, he had determined to send him to Rome for trial. But since he was perplexed as to the nature of the report which would have to go with the prisoner to the Sovereign,[2] he had had him produced before the king and the rest of the distinguished company there assembled, in order that he might be able to explain the accusations advanced against him.

Agrippa was well acquainted with Jewish religious beliefs; and he thought that the best way of discovering how far Paul differed from the majority of his countrymen was to allow him to give an account of his opinions. The Apostle was not, of course, on his trial, and a legal defence of his conduct was not required until he appeared before the Emperor's court. But he was always ready to make known his convictions, and he was not likely to miss the opportunity of explaining the Christian faith to an influential audience; so he at once took advantage of the permission afforded him. The discourse which he proceeded to deliver followed, in general, the lines of the speech addressed to the Jewish populace from the steps of the castle of Antonia (p. 574), but since, unlike the latter, it was not interrupted, the speaker was able to enlarge upon the fact that the Gospel, of which he was a preacher, was intended for the Gentiles as well as for the Jews.

After a conciliatory preface in which he expressed his satisfaction at defending himself in the presence of one who was versed in Jewish practices and doctrines, he first declared that the Jews were fully acquainted with his mode of life both at his native Tarsus and at Jerusalem. Brought up as a strict Pharisee, he shared the national hope based upon the promises of God. It was upon the way in which its realization was to be attained that the accusations against him hinged. But at this point (if the speech is correctly reproduced) St. Paul left a gap in his argument, and instead of

[1] The title *Augustus*, represented in Greek by Σεβαστός, was synonymous with *Sanctus*, and was originally applied to sacred buildings, rites, etc. (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* i. 609). It was bestowed on Octavianus by the Senate in 27 B.C., and was subsequently distinctive of the *Princeps* (or Head of the State).

[2] The Greek is ὁ Κύριος, the Lat. *Dominus* (Suet. *Domit.* 13). A better Greek equivalent for *Dominus* would be Δεσπότης.

going on to explain, as might have been expected, the different ideas entertained by his countrymen and himself about the fulfilment of the Divine promises (the Jews looking for a conquering Messiah and for participation in the Messianic Kingdom through observance of the Law, whilst he believed in a suffering Messiah Who had died and had risen from the dead, and looked for entrance into the Kingdom through faith) he abruptly asked his hearers why it was deemed incredible that God should raise the dead. Then resuming his account of his past life, he described his activity in persecuting the followers of Jesus of Nazareth, and recounted anew his experience on the road to Damascus, though departing in details from the recital in *Acts* xxii. 4–21 as well as from St. Luke's narrative in ix. 1–19 (p. 514). He then related how he had obeyed the directions he had received, and had preached first at Damascus, then at Jerusalem and throughout Judæa (the last statement conflicting with *Gal.* i. 22, see pp. 245–6), and finally to the Gentiles. Because he had thus preached to the Gentiles, his life had been attempted, though unsuccessfully, by the Jews, notwithstanding that he had only taught that the predictions in the Law and the Prophets had come to pass, if, as he contended, the Messiah was really liable to suffering (cf. *Lk.* xxiv. 26), and if He, as the first to be raised from the dead, was to bring spiritual illumination to Israel and to the Gentiles.[1]

As the Apostle drew to the climax and close of his speech, he spoke with heightened enthusiasm. To a Roman like Festus, whose mind was probably of a severely practical bent, with small interest in religion or philosophy, the idea of a resurrection from the dead was doubtless strange and unintelligible, and the fervour with which his prisoner spoke caused him to think his mind unhinged. He noticed the references to the Jewish Scriptures, and suspected that St. Paul's study of them had impaired his sanity; and so raising his voice, he declared that Paul's great learning was driving him mad. But St. Paul replied with calmness and courtesy that there was nothing mad in what he had said, for king Agrippa could testify that he had spoken of occurrences that were notorious. Then he directly asked Agrippa whether he believed the prophets, as indeed he was persuaded he did. But Agrippa was not to be betrayed into saying anything about the new sect which might compromise him with the Jews; and he parried the question with the bantering remark that Paul was persuading himself that with a small effort he had made him a Christian.[2] The Apostle rejoined with great earnestness that whether it cost him a

[1] In *Acts* xxvi. 23, *εἰ παθητὸς ὁ Χριστὸς, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νέκρων* ("first from among a resurrection of dead men") *φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν*, etc., is very difficult to construe with *v.* 22; the construction would be much easier if *v.* 8 (*τί ἄπιστον κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν εἰ ὁ θεὸς νέκρους ἐγείρει*;), which is very awkward in its present context, were placed after *v.* 22 and continued by *v.* 23.

[2] In Acts xxvi. 28 it seems impossible to extract sense out of the reading of ℵ B, *ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι*, unless *Χριστιανὸν ποιεῖν* is treated as a Latinism (= *Christianum agere*, "to play the Christian"). The reading of E and of the majority of manuscripts . . . *με πείθεις . . . γενέσθαι* looks like a correction. A has *ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθῃ Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι*, which, in view of *πείθομαι* in *v.* 26, appears to deserve confidence, and is adopted above.

small effort or great he would to God that not the king only but all his hearers might become such as he, save for the chains he was wearing.

With this the assembly broke up. St. Paul was taken back to his quarters, whilst Agrippa, Festus, Bernice, and the rest of the assessors retired to confer together. They agreed that there was nothing in the prisoner's conduct to render him deserving of death or imprisonment; and Agrippa, as having presided over the informal investigation just held, gave to the procurator his considered conclusion that the accused might have been discharged, had he not appealed to the Emperor. In putting on record this decision, St. Luke brings to a termination one of the objects which he had in view in composing *Acts*. It was amongst his purposes to illustrate how St. Paul, as a representative Christian, though he was calumniated and persecuted by the Jews, was yet uncondemned by a succession of judges who heard his self-defence.

In consequence of St. Paul's appeal to the Emperor it was decided that he ought to be conveyed to Italy for trial, and the Apostle and certain other prisoners were placed in the charge of a centurion named Julius, belonging to a cohort called the "Augustan (or 'His Majesty's') cohort" (*σπεῖρα Σεβαστή*). It seems best to explain the title in this way, for if the cohort in question got its name from being one of the five stationed at Cæsarea or Samaria (Sebaste), it would, if called after the latter city, have been styled *σπεῖρα Σεβαστηνή*. It has been conjectured that this cohort belonged to a body of legionaries employed on the lines of communication between Rome and the provinces and engaged in the transport of supplies to the armies (and hence called *frumentarii*), in carrying dispatches, and in escorting prisoners. Honorary titles, indeed, such as *Σεβαστή* would be, though conferred upon legions (p. 73), do not appear to have been commonly borne by cohorts. Nevertheless in an inscription from Berytus a certain Quinctius Secundus "who took the census of the city of Apamea at the command of Quirinius" (cf. p. 55) styles himself "a prefect of the first Augustan cohort,[1]" so that if this evidence is trustworthy the occasional use of the epithet "Augustan" in connexion with a cohort seems to be established. To convey the prisoners to Rome the centurion embarked in a ship of Adramyttium (in Mysia), which, though not bound for Italy but only to certain places on the coast of the province of Asia, could take them to a port where another ship, sailing for Italy, might be found. Among those who accompanied St. Paul on the voyage were the Thessalonian Aristarchus (*Acts* xx. 4) and St. Luke. The former may have been a prisoner (cf. *Col.* iv. 10), arrested with the Apostle at Jerusalem. The second was perhaps allowed to attend St. Paul in the capacity of his physician, or even as his servant, for Pliny (*Epist.* iii. 16) mentions that in the reign of Claudius a certain ex-consul, Pætus, when brought as a prisoner from Illyricum to Rome, was attended by several slaves, whose duties his wife Arria was ready to discharge, if permitted to accompany him.[2]

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[1] The inscription is cited in Rackham, *Acts*, p. 497. The epithet was also applied to *alæ*, an *ala* being called in an inscription *alu Aug. ob virtutem appellata.*

[2] See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 316.

The ship left Cæsarea probably in September (cf. *Acts* xxvii. 9). Her first port of call was Sidon, where St. Paul had friends, whom the centurion allowed him to visit and whose attentions would be grateful. She was next bound for Myra in Lycia, so that a straight course would have taken her to the south and west of Cyprus. But at this period of the year the prevailing winds were westerly, so that the vessel had to sail east of that island, keeping under its lee. According to some textual authorities in *Acts* xxvii. 5, it took fifteen days to cross the Cilician gulf between Cyprus and the mainland. In consequence of the unfavourable conditions, it was also necessary to hug the Cilician and Pamphylian coast in order to catch any land breezes that might help her on her way. At Myra, Julius found a ship bound from Alexandria with corn for Italy, and to this he transferred his prisoners, who, with the guards and sailors, made up a total of (probably) 276 persons on board (cf. p. 588). The winds continued baffling, so that it took many days of coasting to arrive off Cnidus, the most westerly extremity of Caria. To cross from thence the open sea direct to Malea, the southernmost point of the Peloponnese, was impossible in the teeth of the wind; so the ship, steering south, rounded Cape Salmōne (north-east of Crete), and then sailed under the lee of the island, reaching with difficulty a harbour called "Fair Havens," a small bay on the south coast, east of the promontory of Lisses, near which was a town called Lasea. By this time October must have begun, for the Day of Atonement, the 10th of Tishri (which fell at the end of September or the beginning of October) was past, and navigation (which closed on November 10th) was already becoming dangerous. A consultation was accordingly held by the officers of the ship; and St. Paul, in consequence of his importance (as indicated by the favour shown him by distinguished people like Felix, Festus, and Agrippa) and perhaps of his experience as a traveller by sea as well as by land, was also asked for his opinion. He pointed out the risk not only to the ship and her freight, but also to the lives of those on board, if the voyage were continued. But the centurion, with whom, as an officer in the imperial army, the decision rested, was guided by the advice of the pilot and the shipmaster, and resolved to proceed. The harbour "Fair Havens," in spite of its name, was ill-suited for wintering in; so it was deemed advisable to try to make for another, about 40 miles farther west, called Phœnix. This was a small bay, now called Loutro, situated not far from the town of Lappa. It lay on the eastern side of a narrow peninsula projecting from the island southward, and in it ships could remain securely sheltered from the prevailing winds during the winter months. On the west of the peninsula is another bay, now called Phineka. By St. Luke the harbour of Phœnix is described as facing south-west and north-west (*κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον*), whereas Loutro looks eastward. It has been suggested, indeed, that Phineka is Phœnix (the name of which it clearly preserves), for it fronts to the west or south-west.[1] But a harbour *facing* these quarters of the compass would be a very exposed anchorage for a ship when west winds were blowing, and

[1] See Page, *Acts*, p. 256.

*** *To illustrate St. Paul's voyage to Italy.*

probably Loutro was the harbour in which it was proposed to pass the winter. As St. Luke never saw the place, he may have misunderstood some expressions used in connexion with it by the sailors, who perhaps said that it could be reached from Fair Havens by *sailing* first south-west (to double the promontory of Lisses) and then north-west, the direction in which Loutro lies, when the promontory is passed. With the intention, then, of gaining Phœnix, the seamen took advantage of a gentle southerly breeze to try to weather the intervening cape by keeping close to the shore. But they failed in their purpose, since a violent squall from the east-north-east (*Euraquilo*) suddenly rushed down from Mount Ida and caught the vessel, so that she could not double the point, and the crew had to let her run before the gale. Getting under the lee (*i.e.* west) of the little island of Cauda or Clauda (the modern Gozzo), they were able, though with difficulty, to haul in the boat (St. Luke helping); and then inasmuch as the cargo of wheat was likely to swell in consequence of the seas that were shipped, and the hull to be strained through the pressure of the wind on the mast and its sail, they had to "frap" the vessel by passing ropes under the keel and tightening them with a windlass in order to prevent the planks from starting.

As the wind continued to blow furiously there was danger lest the ship might be carried on to one or other of the Syrtes, the great sandbanks along the north coast of Africa, so that it became necessary to lower the mainsail (together with the yard to which it was attached) and so check the ship's way. There is, however, some uncertainty as to the meaning in *Acts* xxvii. 17 of χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος, for though it seems possible to take τὸ σκεῦος to mean the *mainsail* (cf. *Acts* x. 11), it has been interpreted to denote a sea-anchor or some other heavy article, which, attached to a cable, was dropped into the sea from the stern and towed behind to reduce the ship's speed.[1] As the vessel laboured heavily, on the next day they proceeded to lighten her by throwing overboard some of the cargo, and on the day following even the ship's fittings, which were perhaps fastened along the taffrail. And since the sky was too obscured by the clouds for their position to be ascertained from sun or stars, and the storm did not abate, the crew began at last to abandon all hope of safety. As their fears took away all appetite for food, there was some risk of their becoming too weak to save their lives, if a chance of doing so should present itself; so St. Paul came forward at this critical juncture to encourage and advise them. After having reminded them of the counsel he had given at Fair Havens, he conveyed to them a Divine assurance (graphically represented as imparted to him by an angel)[2] that he was destined to stand before the tribunal of the Emperor, and that not only his own life, but those of his fellow-voyagers would be preserved, though the vessel would be wrecked on an island. On the fourteenth night after leaving Fair Havens, as the ship continued to drift across that part of the Mediterranean stretching between Greece and Sicily, which St. Luke calls the *Adrias*, but

[1] See Blass, *Acta Apostolorum* (1895), p. 277.

[2] For an inward intuition similarly communicated cf. *Acts* viii. 26.

which was more commonly styled the Ionian Sea, about midnight the sailors suspected (probably from the sound of breakers [1]) the nearness of land ; and on sounding twice in succession they found the water shoaling. Fearing that they might, under these circumstances, run aground on a reef, they cast out four anchors from the stern and waited for daylight. The sailors lowered the boat under pretence of casting additional anchors from the bow also, to enable the vessel to ride the more steadily, but really in order to escape, believing she would founder ; but at the suggestion of St. Paul, who declared that the only hope of safety lay in remaining on board, the soldiers cut the ropes, so that the boat floated away. Whilst day was dawning the Apostle urged them all to take food, which they greatly needed ; and himself set the example by breaking, with thanksgiving, a loaf, of which he ate and distributed the rest to his companions.[2] After they had been refreshed, the crew proceeded to lighten the ship still further by casting more of the wheat into the sea (cf. *Acts* xxvii. 38 with *v.* 18). When it became light, they saw land close to them, but did not recognize it. Noticing a bay with a shelving beach, they decided to try to run the ship aground upon it ; and with this object they slipped the anchor cables (leaving the anchors in the sea), loosed the rudder-bands which lashed to the sides of the vessel the steering paddles (p. 76) when they were not needed, and hoisted the foresail in order to get way on the ship. But before going far, she struck on a ridge of sand or mud below, or just rising above, the surface of the sea, with deep water on either side, so that whilst the bow remained immovable, the stern began to break up through the strain caused by the heavy sea that was running. The soldiers, knowing themselves to be responsible for the safe custody of the prisoners, wanted to kill them to prevent them from attempting to escape. But the centurion, wishing to preserve St. Paul, interfered, and directed that those who could swim should by that means reach the land, whilst the rest should support themselves on planks or broken timbers ; and eventually in these various ways all on board, numbering, as has been said, probably 276 souls,[3] succeeded in getting safe to shore.

The shipwrecked crew discovered that the name of the island was Melita. Its identity has been disputed, since there are two islands bearing names which resemble the Greek *Μελίτη*, namely Melida in the Adriatic, near to the coast of Illyria, and Malta, in the Mediterranean, 60 miles south of Sicily. The principal reason for identifying the scene of the shipwreck with the former is its situation in the Adriatic, which is supposed to be denoted by St. Luke's term *Adrias*. This, however, though derived from the Italian town of Atria (near to the mouth of the Padus) and originally applied to the northern half of the modern Adriatic, was later (in the second century A.D.) used to describe that part of the Mediterranean

[1] In *Acts* xxvii. 27 ℵ A C H L read *προσάγειν* (or *προσαγαγεῖν*) *τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν*, but B has *προσαχεῖν* and the Old Lat. (*h.*) *resonare.*

[2] In *Acts* xxvii. 35 after *ἐσθίειν* the cursive 614 and the Syr. (hl.) and Eg. (sah.) versions add *ἐπιδιδοὺς καὶ ἡμῖν.*

[3] In *Acts* xxvii. 37 most MSS. have *διακόσια ἑβδομήκοντα ἕξ*, but B and Eg. (sah.) read *ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα ἕξ* (cf. p. 138).

(outside the Adriatic) which was more commonly known as the Ionian or Sicilian sea; and this extended use may well have begun to prevail when St. Luke wrote. If so, the position of Malta, which would lie in the course of a ship driven by a gale from the east, and the local tradition in the island, where a bay on the north-east coast is called St. Paul's Bay, render it probable that it was here that the shipwreck occurred. The conclusion is further confirmed by the circumstance that a corn ship from Alexandria wintered here (*Acts* xxviii. 11), for the island is in the track of traders between Egypt and the west coast of Italy. Moreover, St. Luke's account can be readily explained from the conditions at St. Paul's Bay. On the northern side of the entrance there is a small islet, known as Salmonetta or Salmun; and if a spit of land, washed by the sea on either side, then joined the islet and the shore, it would correspond to the *τόπος διθάλασσος* mentioned in *Acts* xxvii. 41. For the vessel to clear the promontory of Koura Head (forming the southern side of the entrance) and to take ground between Salmonetta and the mainland, it is only necessary to assume that the wind, which had previously been east-north-east, had veered to east-south-east. It is true that the local tradition connects the scene of the wreck with a spot on the south shore of the bay, to which the ship might have been forced by an east-north-east wind, but modern investigators seem to agree that the details of the narrative are best satisfied by the site described above.[1]

The earliest inhabitants of Malta (the area of which is small, its length being 17 miles and its breadth about 9) are said to have been Phœnicians (Diod. v. 12); and though the island had afterwards been colonized by the Greeks, probably the original stock was predominant (especially as at a still later date it passed into the possession of Carthage, the chief colony of the Phœnicians of Tyre); and St. Luke calls them *βάρβαροι*,. They treated the shipwrecked crew with kindness, providing them with fire (for doubtless the late autumn was cold and rainy) and probably with food also. St. Paul took part in the collecting of fuel, and when he laid the faggots on the fire, a small snake, which was taken to be a viper, was roused to activity by the heat, and fastened on his hand. The natives standing round at once thought that the death which he had escaped at sea he had now incurred on shore; and that it was inflicted upon him by the goddess of Justice for some heinous crime. But as no evil consequences ensued from the bite, they shortly changed their minds and concluded that one who was immune to snake-poison could only be a god (cf. *Acts* xiv. 11). The fact that vipers do not now occur in Malta has been urged against the identification of the scene of the shipwreck with that island, or even against the whole story. But vipers, though not found there now, may have existed in earlier times (like wolves in England); or the snake may have been really non-poisonous, but popularly thought to be venomous (as so many harmless creatures are). There are said to be in Malta two snakes of the family *Coronella*, lacking poison fangs, one of which is like a viper in colouring.[2]

[1] See Hastings, *D.B.* iii. pp. 336–7.
[2] Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, pp. 64.

Near the place where the landing from the wreck was effected there were the estates of a certain Roman called Popilius or Publius,[1] who is styled by St. Luke the *Primus* (*ὁ Πρῶτος*) of the island. The title seems to be official rather than a mere honorary epithet, for it occurs in two inscriptions[2]; but its real significance is obscure, and at one time under the Empire the island was governed by a procurator.[3] If Popilius was a Roman official, it was natural that he should entertain Julius, a military officer; and he would doubtless extend his invitation to the centurion's distinguished prisoner and his friend and physician Luke. Circumstances enabled the kind attention to be almost at once repaid, for the father of their host was ill with fever and dysentery, and to the sufferer the Apostle brought relief. St. Paul's gift of healing had doubtless become known through Aristarchus and Luke, and his reputation for more than ordinary powers must have been enhanced by the incident of the snake. The hope which information about his son's guest probably created in the sick man must of itself have helped him to resist the malady which had attacked him; and when the Apostle, coming to him, prayed and laid his hands upon him (cf. *Acts* ix. 17), he recovered. This cure was the first of many, for other persons in the island who were suffering from various diseases received relief, some cures perhaps being effected by Luke's skill as a physician (for he participated in the honours bestowed by the people upon their benefactor), but others being instances of faith-healing.

The party spent the winter in the island, staying there three months after their arrival (probably about the middle of November), and when they left, those whom they had benefited were led by gratitude to put on board the ship that conveyed them away the things which they needed for the voyage. Navigation reopened on March 11th; and as another corn-ship, called the *Dioscuri* (whose effigies formed the figurehead of the vessel (p. 76), and bound from Alexandria to Rome, had wintered at the island, they embarked upon her. The ship touched at Syracuse on the east coast of Sicily, some 90 miles distant, stopping three days there; and then as the wind was not favourable for a straight run, they had to tack[4] to reach Rhegium (*Reggio*) on the Italian side of the straits of Messina, 60 or 70 miles from Syracuse. After a day spent there, the wind shifted to the south, so that Puteoli (or Dicæarchia), 200 miles or more from Rhegium, was gained by the next day. Puteoli (*Puzzioli*), though 120 or 130 miles from Rome, now served, at least for travellers, as its port, since entrance to Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber was impeded by silt. Christianity had already spread to it, and the body of Christians there entreated St. Paul and

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[1] *Popilius* is a Roman cognomen, *Publius* is a prænomen; and though Πόπλιος is the usual equivalent of *Publius*, a Roman of rank would be most likely designated by his cognomen; cf. *Felix*, *Festus*, etc.

[2] One is in Latin *Meli*[*tensium*] *primus omni*[*um*]; the other is in Greek, Λούκιος Κλαυδίου υἱὸς ... Προύδηνς ἱππεὺς Ρωμαίων πρῶτος Μελεταίων καὶ πατρῶν.

[3] An inscription (quoted by Rackham, *Acts*, p. 493) has *Chrestion, a freedman of Augustus, procurator of the islands of Melita and Gaulos.*

[4] In *Acts* xxviii. 13 the reading of most MSS. περιελθόντες yields the best sense; that of ℵ B περιελόντες, "having detached" the anchor cables (cf. xxvii. 40), seems a superfluous observation, and τὰς ἀγκύρας would scarcely be omitted.

his two companions to stay with them a week, Julius seemingly allowing them to do so under guard. From Puteoli there ran a road (the *via Campana*) to Capua, where the travellers could get on to the *via Appia*, which was the main highway between Rome and Brundisium for the east (p. 75). Then they passed successively through Appii Forum and Tres Tabernæ, both near the Pomptine marshes, about 45 and 35 miles from Rome respectively, where they were met by parties of fellow-Christians, who, having heard of their arrival, had come to pay them a tribute of respect. The meeting was very welcome to St. Paul, who at the sight of friends thanked God and took courage.

Travellers along the Appian way entered the walls of Rome by the *Porta Capena*. As soon as the capital was reached, Julius handed over his prisoners to the commander of the force to which he belonged. This officer is described by a number of manuscripts ($H_3L_2P_2$, etc.) in *Acts* xxviii. 16 as *ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης*, and it has generally been thought that he was the commander of the Prætorian guards (p. 73), whose camp was outside the *Porta Viminalis*, and who as a body could be designated as *prætorium*, the term used in *Phil.* i. 13.[1] But if the conjecture is correct that the guards who conveyed Paul to Rome were drawn from the *Frumentarii* (p. 585), it would be to the principal officer of this force (which had its camp on the Cælian hill) to whom the prisoners would be transferred (*Acts* xxviii. 16 mg.). That this was the case is implied by the reading of one of the MSS. (*gig.*) of the Old Latin version which renders *τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ* by *principi peregrinorum*, the *Frumentarii* being also known as *Peregrini*. In any case the officer, whoever he was, who had henceforward the responsibility of keeping St. Paul in custody against the time of his trial, allowed him to reside by himself in a lodging outside the camp,[2] with a soldier who guarded him.

At Rome there was a very large Jewish community (p. 78), and St. Paul was naturally anxious to ascertain their feelings towards both the Christian faith and himself. Accordingly three days after his arrival he invited to his lodging the leading Jews from the various synagogues, with a view to explaining both the reason for his appeal to the Emperor and the consistency of his Christianity with the ancestral faith of his race. He declared that, though he had been disloyal neither to the Jewish people nor to the Jewish religion, he had been delivered as a prisoner into the hands of the Romans ; and that though the Romans after inquiry had been ready to acquit him, the Jews had opposed it, and he had been compelled to appeal to the Emperor, not in order to accuse his countrymen, but to save his own life.[3] The cause of the Jews' animosity and of his imprisonment was really the religious hope which both they and he alike cherished, but which both interpreted differently ; and it was in order to set forth to them his convictions about it that he had sought an interview with them. In reply the Jewish representatives said that they had not received any

[1] See Lightfoot, *Phil.* pp. 101–2.

[2] Added in *Acts* xxviii. 16 by the cursive MS. 614 and the Stockholm MS. (*gig.*) of the Old Lat.

[3] This is added by a few authorities in *Acts* xxviii. 19.

unfavourable report about St. Paul from Jerusalem either by letter or by word of mouth; but as regards the Christian sect, they knew that everywhere it was the subject of adverse comment. Still they wished to arrive at an equitable decision concerning it, and desired to gain from him information about it. In view of the facts that there existed at Rome a Christian Church numerous enough to have made it worth while for St. Paul to write a long letter to it (p. 279), and that disturbances caused by disputes about Christ may have occasioned the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in the reign of Claudius (p. 554), the ignorance concerning Christianity here professed by the Jews of Rome is rather perplexing [1]; but if the report of their words is accurate, it may perhaps be assumed that they wished to pose as impartial judges of St. Paul's case, whilst desirous of concealing the progress which Christianity had already made in the Roman capital.

Arrangements were accordingly made for a meeting on an appointed day, and a large gathering assembled at St. Paul's lodging. To it he set forth his conception of the Kingdom of God, as he had come to entertain it under the influence of his belief that Jesus was the destined Messiah, pre-announced in the Law and the Prophets. But to the idea that Jesus, known to have been put to an ignominious death at the instigation of the authorities of their nation, was nevertheless the Son of God and the King of Israel, and that the salvation of which it was claimed that He was the source was independent of the Law, the keeping of which was the absorbing interest of their lives, the majority of the Jews manifested an invincible repugnance. Though the Apostle won some to his views, upon others he made no impression, and before the assembly dispersed he pointed out how aptly the Holy Spirit, through the prophet Isaiah (vi. 9 f.) [2] had spoken to their ancestors, whose true descendants they showed themselves to be, affirming that the wilful closing of their minds to the truth would in the end render them impervious to it. But the gracious purpose of God was not destined to be baffled; the salvation which the Jews refused would be offered to and be accepted by the Gentiles. These concluding words of the Apostle's speech are not very relevant to the situation, since (as has been seen) there was already existing in Rome a Christian Church; so that they should perhaps be taken to represent not so much what St. Paul said on this occasion as St. Luke's final statement of the reason why the Christian Church, though originally of Jewish origin, had, by his time, become predominantly Gentile.

With this unsuccessful appeal made to the Jewish community at Rome the account of the early Church contained in *Acts* closes. It marks the completion of another of the purposes which St. Luke had in view in writing the second of his two works. It was part of his design to illustrate how untiringly St. Paul sought to commend the Christian faith to God's chosen people, and how it was only after their repudiation of the Gospel that it was offered to the Gentiles. The antagonism to it manifested at Pisidian Antioch (*Acts* xiii. 45), at Corinth (xviii. 6) and at Ephesus (xix. 9),

[1] Contrast *Acts* xvii. 6, xxiv. 5, and cf. McGiffert, *Apost. Age*, p. 362.
[2] The same passage is quoted in *Mk.* iv. 12, *Mt.* xiii. 14–15, *Joh.* xii. 40, *Rom.* xi. 8.

was finally repeated at Rome, and demonstrated that henceforward between the Jewish synagogue and the Christian Church there would be severance.

The trial of St. Paul was postponed for at least two years. During this interval he lived, under guard, in a house which he rented, welcoming those who cared to converse with him, and expounding to them the Kingdom of God and the relation to it of Jesus Christ. In this work he met with no hindrance. Even some members of the Emperor's court (perhaps minor officials) became Christians (*Phil.* iv. 22). Moreover, he was not the only Christian worker in the city, where his example encouraged others. His activity even stimulated some who were not very sympathetic towards him to emulate or to surpass him in zeal (*Phil.* i. 15), such rivals being probably members of the Jewish section of the Church, who were perhaps envious of the growing numbers of Gentile Christians.[1] But whatever their motives may have been, their efforts only caused St. Paul to rejoice greatly that the name of Christ was being more and more widely made known among the citizens of the capital. St. Luke in bringing *Acts* to an end by describing the absence of any impediment to St. Paul's proclamation of the Gospel at Rome was clearly wishful to emphasize the toleration extended to Christianity by the imperial authorities up to the close of the period covered by his history. The book of *Acts* being probably written after a great change had taken place in the attitude of the Roman government towards the Christians (p. 240), it was natural for its writer to contrast with the injustice and cruelty of the Rome of his later years (spent under Domitian (81–96)), the reasonableness and fairness of the same great power in his earlier days, prior to A.D. 64.

Why the Jews at Jerusalem were so dilatory in pressing their suit against St. Paul at Rome is far from clear. That the Roman Jews had heard nothing to St. Paul's prejudice before his arrival at the capital is not unintelligible, since the Apostle's appeal to the Emperor may have taken his opponents by surprise; and in any case during the winter the usual communications between the east and the west must have been interrupted. But it might have been expected that in the course of the following summer the prosecution would have been resumed with vigour. Possibly the long delay is to be accounted for by the accusers' desire to wait until they could obtain the countenance of some individual powerful enough with the Emperor to ensure the conviction of the prisoner. Their experience of Felix and Festus had not been encouraging; and they may have anticipated defeat unless they could secure the assistance of one who was in a position to exert influence at the Imperial Court.[2]

During the two years of his imprisonment at Rome (59–61), St. Paul wrote four letters that have been preserved in full, namely *Colossians*, *Philemon*, *Ephesians*, and *Philippians*, probably in this order (p. 295), and a fifth (later than *Philippians*), part of which may be embodied in 2 *Tim.* iv., 6–18 (see p. 303). From the Church at Philippi he received help

[1] The same are described most contemptuously in *Phil.* iii. 2.

[2] Nero's mistress Poppæa was a Jewish proselyte.

through Epaphroditus (*Phil.* iv. 18), as he had done previously at other places (p. 548); and his affection for his converts there was so great that he accepted their bounty without hesitation. The loneliness of his captivity, which, notwithstanding his opportunities for missionary labour, must have been trying, was relieved by personal intercourse with several friends. Aristarchus and Epaphras seem to have been his fellow-prisoners (*Col.* iv. 10, *Phm.* 23). Others who were at Rome for shorter or longer periods, and some of whom conveyed the letters mentioned above to their destination, were Timothy, Tychicus, Mark, Demas, Jesus Justus, Onesimus, Onesiphorus and Luke. If 2 *Tim.* really includes portions of a letter written during the years 59–61, two more can be added, Titus and Crescens. When St. Paul's trial came on, Demas and perhaps Titus and Crescens abandoned him, leaving Rome for other places; and of those who were at the capital at the time Luke alone proved staunch to the last (2 *Tim.* iv. 10).

The Apostle at one period in his captivity was very hopeful of acquittal (*Phil.* ii. 24, *Phm.* 22). His case, when brought up for decision, was probably heard not by the Emperor himself but by some subordinates, acting as his representatives, who were perhaps chosen from the officers of the prætorian guard (*præfecti prætorii*, p. 73) and are denoted by the term τὸ πραιτώριον in *Phil.* i. 13. To those who tried him the Apostle had an opportunity of showing that he was a prisoner for the sake of the Christian faith and of exhibiting the fortitude which it inspired in him. The accusation preferred against him which by the Romans would be considered most serious was not that of being a Christian (for if Christianity had been accounted a crime at this date, not St. Paul alone but others would have been involved), but of being a danger to the peace of the Empire, in consequence of the disturbances that attended his activity in various places. This was one of the charges brought against him by the Jews (*Acts* xxvi. 5); and evidence in support of it could be produced from many localities (Pisidian Antioch, Lystra, Philippi, Thessalonica, Beroea, Corinth, Ephesus, and Jerusalem). The trial seems to have occupied two hearings (2 *Tim.* iv. 16); whether it resulted favourably or unfavourably is disputed. If, as appears most probable, it ended in his condemnation, his conviction would be followed by his execution. Since he was a Roman citizen, he was exempt from the more barbarous punishments often inflicted upon such as had no civic rights; and he was presumably beheaded. The traditional site of his death is now occupied by the Abbey of Tre Fontane, three miles from Rome on the road to Ostia (Eus. *H.E.* ii. 25).

Those who believe that the Apostle was acquitted, or that the charge against him was held to be not proven, and who think that the Pastoral Epistles are genuine in their entirety and written after his release, can, from the allusions in these letters, construct a conjectural outline of his movements after leaving Rome. As he contemplated, when writing to the Romans, a journey to Spain (*Rom.* xv. 28), he may have travelled thither from Italy, and the Muratorian Canon represents him as doing so, its statements being held to be confirmed by Clement of Rome, who describes the Apostle as having preached righteousness to the whole world

and reached the end of the west (*τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*).[1] Later, he returned to the east (having intended to do so when the Epistle to the *Philippians* was written (*Phil.* i. 27, ii. 24)); proceeded to Ephesus; and from thence departed for Macedonia by way of Troas, leaving Timothy behind at Ephesus, and sending 1 *Timothy* to him there. Possibly from Macedonia he went back to Ephesus, and thence sailed to Crete, where he left Titus in charge, whilst he himself once more returned to Ephesus and wrote to Titus the Epistle bearing his name. He even planned to go to Nicopolis in distant Epirus (*Tit.* iii. 12). But in 64 occurred the fire at Rome, responsibility for which Nero fastened on the Christians. The consequent persecution which started in the capital would give scope for any dormant hostility felt towards them to become active elsewhere; and St. Paul was amongst those arrested (perhaps at Miletus), and was sent to Rome by way of Corinth for trial. From Rome he wrote 2 *Timothy*. About the circumstances of his second trial as little is known as about those of his first, though the few details mentioned in 2 *Tim.* (if this was composed during a second captivity in 64) can be employed to illustrate it, instead of being applied to the trial in 61. On the assumption that the Apostle, released in 61, lived to be imprisoned and tried again, the year 64 seems the most probable date of his execution, though Eusebius assigns his death to the thirteenth year of Nero, *i.e.* A.D. 67. According to Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, St. Paul and St. Peter were executed about the same time (Eus. *H.E.* ii. 25).

The fact that so much more is known about St. Paul[2] than about the rest of the Apostles justifies a few words of comment upon his life and labours. By none was greater work accomplished for Christianity. His ambitions were remarkable (cf. *Rom.* i. 14, 15, xv. 24); but the sagacious methods by which he pursued them and his success in realizing them were almost equally remarkable. His aim was the diffusion of the Christian faith through the Roman Empire, and if he really effected his design of penetrating into Spain, he may be said to have carried the Gospel of Christ almost from one end of the Empire to the other. In any case, he spread the knowledge of it through four provinces in Asia, and two of the most important provinces in Europe. This was one of his great achievements; and he thereby had a prominent share in transferring a religious movement from the region of its birth, whence it eventually almost disappeared, to another where it took firm root, and whence it has been disseminated across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. And a second achievement, which was of equal importance, and upon which the permanent success of the first depended, was the emancipation of Christianity from the fetters of the Jewish Law. This was the more noteworthy because it involved a departure not only from the attitude towards Judaism taken up at first by the personal disciples of Jesus, but from the precedent set by our Lord

[1] Probably Clement's statement is only an inference from *Rom.* xv. 28, and does not preserve any independent tradition.

[2] Of the great personalities of antiquity the two best known are Cicero and St. Paul (Inge, *Outspoken Essays*, p. 205).

Himself. Yet the step taken by St. Paul was crucial in the history of Christianity. Without his insight and courage in contending for the exemption of the Gentiles from the distinctive requirements of Judaism, the Christian Church might have survived only as a Jewish sect or perished altogether. He started it upon a separate career; and it was owing to his exertions that it became independent of the organization within which it originated, and was enabled to pursue a course of continuous expansion among the Gentile races of the western world. Whether or to what extent these great services have been qualified by the influence exerted by various aspects of his theology this is not the place to determine. Certainly there were elements in it tending to blunt the keen edge of Jesus' declarations about the real conditions of salvation.

X

THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

IT does not fall within the scope of this volume to give a comprehensive account of the Theology of the New Testament, nevertheless even a New Testament *History* may reasonably be expected to trace briefly the historical development of the theological ideas found in its constituent writings. The chronological succession, indeed, in which the New Testament books were composed is not quite identical with the natural succession of the theological conceptions in them; for the Synoptic Gospels, *Acts*, and *Revelation* are probably later than most of the Epistles. But the Synoptic Gospels and *Acts* rest upon sources (oral narratives, if not documents) which are anterior in date to the Epistles, whilst the theology of *Revelation* is of an obviously early type. Chronology is therefore not seriously violated if, for the purpose of sketching the historic growth of the Theology of the New Testament, a beginning is made with the earliest of the Synoptic Gospels and the document symbolized by *Q* (since these are the best authorities for the Teaching of Jesus); if, next, there are considered the early chapters of *Acts* and some of the Catholic Epistles, as representative of the Primitive Church; if the book of *Revelation* is treated after these; and if this is followed in order by the Pauline Epistles, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and the Johannine writings.

(*a*) *The Teaching of Jesus according to the Earliest Sources*

For our Lord's teaching about God, about the future, and about His own mission and Person, the primary authorities are St. Mark's Gospel and *Q*. It cannot, indeed, be assumed that every statement even in *Mk.*, which is represented as proceeding from our Saviour really does so. For since the Gospel was probably separated by a whole generation from the lifetime of Him Whose words are recorded, and since during that generation the Christian community to which the writer belonged had passed through many experiences, it is not unlikely that these experiences are reflected in his report of the age preceding, the origin and currency of various beliefs and practices of the Church being antedated. And since in the early Church there were one or two personalities of outstanding distinction who were sure to impress deeply men of slighter individuality with whom they came in contact, and since St. Mark, at more than one period, was a

companion of St. Paul, it may be suspected that his work is not altogether free from Pauline ideas and phraseology. Still, the discoverable traces of such influence are not numerous, and do not seriously affect the confidence which can be reposed in the Second Gospel as affording, so far as it goes, a faithful testimony to our Lord's utterances. The contents of *Mk.* can be supplemented by most valuable materials from *Q*, the author of which seems to have especially aimed at reproducing our Lord's sayings, more particularly those of a terse and aphoristic character.

But though *Mk.* and *Q* are our most authoritative sources, it would be unreasonable to exclude from the list of trustworthy *data* everything that appears only in *Mt.* or in *Lk.* For it is intrinsically probable that many statements occurring in only one of these two Gospels may really come from Jesus; and though it may be difficult to reach a confident decision about such, yet two criteria are helpful. One is the tenor of a saying, for if this implies a condition or standpoint which eventually ceased to obtain in the Church, it is not likely to have been invented. The other is the form in which a saying is cast: parables, for instance, scarcely occur in the New Testament outside the Synoptic Gospels, so that the genuineness of those which rest upon the testimony of no more than one Gospel need not be questioned.

Before an attempt is made to describe even briefly the substance of Jesus' teaching it is desirable to note certain features marking the language in which it was conveyed and which is liable to be a source of misunderstanding.

(*a*) Since our Lord, in His discourses, aimed at impressing upon His hearers the vital importance of the issues which He placed before them, His commands and statements were often of a sweeping and unqualified character (*Mt.* vii. 1 = *Lk.* vi. 37, *Mt.* vii. 7, 8 = *Lk.* xi. 9, 10, *Mk.* xi. 24). He presented alternatives in vivid contrast; emphasized now one, now another, line of conduct, as varying conditions demanded; depicted classes of people in strong colours; pronounced summary judgments; and did not refrain from the use of irony (*Mk.* vii. 9, cf. *Mt.* xxiii. 32). For the guidance of men's actions He did not legislate or impose rules, but affirmed principles; and even these He did not always present in an abstract form, but substituted concrete illustrations of them (*Mk.* ix. 41, *Mt.* v. 39–40 = *Lk.* vi. 29–30) which furnish instruction but not definite regulations for other cases. In consequence, there occasionally appear in what He said verbal discrepancies; and His injunctions do not always admit of being literally obeyed, independently of circumstances.

(*b*) Like the Hebrew prophets our Lord constantly used figurative language to express His thoughts arrestingly [1]; but His metaphors were liable to be misapprehended, and as the Evangelists' own narratives show, sometimes were misapprehended even by the Apostles.[2] A proneness to put a literal construction upon figures of speech is confined to no class or

[1] See *Mk.* x. 25, xi. 23, xii. 40, *Mt.* vii. 3–5 (= *Lk.* vi. 41, 42), xxiii. 24, *Lk.* xix. 40, xxi. 18 (cf. 1 *Sam.* xiv. 45, 2 *Sam.* xiv. 11).

[2] See *Mk.* viii. 14–21.

period; and accordingly "the abuse of metaphor has been one of the standing errors in theology."

(*c*) Confirmation of His convictions about Himself and His mission He sought for in the Hebrew Scriptures, sometimes giving to their words an import other than that which was seemingly intended by the original writers; and in referring to the various books composing the Old Testament He shared the current views of their authorship,[1] from which the conclusions reached by modern investigators often diverge.

Jesus, in proclaiming the nearness of the Kingdom of God, could count upon His announcements being intelligible to His contemporaries. The actual expression "the kingdom of God" or "the kingdom of the heavens"[2] occurs nowhere in the Old Testament, but the nature of God's "sovereignty," exercised first over Israel and destined to be exercised finally over all the world, was a familiar idea to the Jews. The thought of Jehovah as Israel's King is found in 1 *Sam.* viii. 7, xii. 12—passages reflecting the ideas of a Deuteronomic writer (seventh century B.C.); and the complementary notion that the Israelites were Jehovah's subjects and servants finds frequent expression (*Lev.* xxv. 55, *Ez.* v. 11, etc.). Their service, indeed, was very imperfectly rendered; and it was recognized that not by the people universally, but only by a fraction of them was the Divine rule faithfully obeyed. Nevertheless Israel as a whole was distinguished from other communities by its knowledge of the one true God and by the possession of His written Laws, so that the Almighty could be represented as declaring that it should be for Him a kingdom of priests (*i.e.* agents to instruct all mankind in His requirements) and a holy nation (*Ex.* xix. 6); and in a measure it really became such. The experience of the Exile put an end to all formal disloyalty to Jehovah; whilst the diffusion of Jewish communities in many parts of the world (p. 77 f.) made numbers of Gentiles acquainted for the first time with a spiritual and monotheistic religion. Israel's subjection, however, to foreign powers for centuries after the Return from the Exile appeared to the faithful to be so incompatible with the privileged relations granted to the nation by God, that they anticipated that He must soon intervene to redeem them; and that by some decisive interposition He would deliver them from their oppressors and establish for ever His own sole and perfect rule, securing for them perpetual righteousness and peace.

Of the circumstances destined to mark God's intervention in the fortunes of His people, various ideas were entertained in different circles (p. 40 f.), and found expression in prophecies and apocalypses. Sometimes the Divine Kingdom was thought of as being established on earth, without any mention of the presence in it of a human king, representative of the Divine King (see *Dan.* vii. 18, 27). At other times it was hoped that God would raise up a sovereign of David's line, by whom all offenders would be extirpated from Israel, and all the heathen would be subdued (*Ps. Sol.* xvii. 23 f.). A third form which the hope of redemption assumed

[1] See *Mk.* i. 44 (referring to *Lev.* xiv. 2 f.), xii. 36 (referring to *Ps.* cx.).

[2] For such substitution from motives of reverence, see p. 20. For "heavens" cf. *Dan.* iv. 26.

was that a Heavenly Man would descend from God, to hold for Him a universal judgment and to bring all mankind before His bar (*Enoch, Similitudes*). After the severance of the wicked from the righteous, and the consignment of the former to annihilation or to unending tortures, the latter were to enjoy endless felicity, either on a new earth or in heaven.

Of the expectations here enumerated the one with which that of Jesus accorded was the last. He looked for a universal judgment (over which He believed that He Himself would preside), to be followed by the entry of the righteous into the Kingdom of God. Of the nature of the Kingdom and the sphere where it was to be inaugurated He gave no account; and the fact that in speaking about it He used language which is largely metaphorical leaves His thoughts concerning it very obscure. When He spoke of many "reclining" (*i.e.* at a banquet) with the Hebrew patriarchs in the kingdom (*Mt.* viii. 11 = *Lk.* xiii. 28), He was clearly employing a figure of speech and not describing in matter-of-fact terms a scene that could only be enacted on a material, if a renovated, earth.[1] When, however, He told His Apostles that they should sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (*Mt.* xix. 28 = *Lk.* xxii. 30), it is not quite certain whether He thought of them as exercising authority upon earth or as descending with Him on the clouds as His assessors at the Judgment and afterwards returning to reign with Him in heaven. As will be seen, there prevailed subsequently in some quarters within the Christian Church the belief that there would be a reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years before the final consummation of the existing age and the beginning of the next (p. 61). But there is no clear hint of a Millennium in our Lord's references to the future; and what seems to throw most light upon His thoughts about the hereafter, and suggests that He regarded the conditions supervening upon the judgment as celestial and spiritual,[2] is His declaration that those who should attain to the resurrection from the dead would neither marry nor be given in marriage but be in heaven as angels (*Mk.* xii. 25). To be a denizen of the kingdom is represented as equivalent to the possession of life (*Mk.* ix. 43, 45, x. 30); but the idea of corporeal existence, if not excluded, is discountenanced rather than favoured.

The substance of our Lord's earliest utterances may be fittingly classed under the head of ESCHATOLOGY, for in them He announced the nearness of the kingdom and of the judgment preliminary to it; and explained the conditions governing human destinies in the approaching crisis. Of the actual time when the judgment would take place He disclaimed all knowledge (*Mk.* xiii. 32). Nevertheless, He anticipated its occurrence within the existing generation,[3] so that watchfulness was imperative, if men were not to be taken by surprise, like the servants of a householder whom their master on returning from a long absence found sleeping (*Mk.*

[1] Cf. *Mt.* xxii. 1–14 (Parable of the Marriage Feast), *Lk.* xiv. 15–24.

[2] In Hebrew thought, however, "Spirit" was conceived after a semi-physical fashion, as though it were a rarefied substance; and St. Paul could speak of a spiritual body; see p. 478.

[3] See *Mk.* ix. 1, xiii. 30.

xiii. 34–37).[1] They should not be misled by the lack of all outward signs of what was at hand. Events were moving towards an inevitable end, and God was only abiding the opportune moment for intervention, like a husbandman awaiting the right time for harvesting the grain already sown in the earth (*Mk.* iv. 26–29). Unseen forces were at work, destined to cause a momentous change in prevailing conditions, like leaven mixed with meal (*Mt.* xiii. 33 = *Lk.* xiii. 20–21). And the contrast between the small promise, which, at the time, there seemed to be, of such a reality as the kingdom of God and the impressive manifestation of it which would shortly be witnessed was compared to the contrast observable between a tiny mustard seed and the tall and spreading plant that springs from it (*Mk.* iv. 30–32).

Whether Jesus really gave to His disciples any indications whereby the approach of the final judgment could be inferred is doubtful. There is found in *Mk.* xiii. 5–29 an enumeration of various signs heralding the event, which is comprised within a discourse ascribed to our Lord. But such a recital of premonitory tokens would only have blunted His frequent counsels to His followers to keep watch, and there are internal reasons for suspecting that this passage does not really proceed from Him (p. 445).

The eschatological expectations entertained by our Lord, when considered in the light of experience and of modern conclusions respecting the earth and the system of which it forms part, appear to have comprised elements of temporary as well as of permanent value. It is possible, indeed, that His meaning was not clearly understood, and that His language has not been reported accurately; and that what He uniformly had in mind was an inward kingdom of pure motives, without any transformation of outward circumstances except such as might result from a change in the human spirit. Nevertheless, it is difficult to suppose that the expectation of the Lord's near return would have prevailed so widely in the primitive Church (*Jas.* v. 8, 1 *Pet.* iv. 7, 1 *Cor.* vii. 29, *Rom.* xiii. 11, *Rev.* i. 3) had there been no support for it in the actual teaching of Jesus Himself.[2] But if so, His anticipation that within a generation He would descend in visible state from heaven to judge the world has been proved by the subsequent lapse of nearly 2,000 years, within which no such event has occurred, to have been illusory. Great cataclysms both physical and political have, it is true, taken place in the course of those 2,000 years, which were veritable judgments from God; but none of them correspond to the form in which our Lord's predictions about the nature and the time of the End were couched. And the idea of a visible descent of a supreme Judge from heaven to earth clearly implies a pre-Copernican theory of the Universe, in which the globe was imagined to be a flat disc overarched by the sky as a solid vault, above which was the abode of God; and like that theory it is no longer tenable. With the substitution of a heliocentric theory of the solar system, and the disappearance of the conception of heaven as a locality above men's heads, the idea of Christ's

[1] Cf. also *Mt.* xxiv. 43–51 (= *Lk.* xii. 39–46) and *Mt.* xxv. 1–12 (The Ten Virgins).
[2] Cf. Hastings, *D.B.* ii. p. 635 (Sanday).

bodily Return from it (like that of His bodily Ascension to it) needs to be reformed. When the scenic and dramatic features in the traditional representation have been discarded, there remains as a permanent element in it the thought of a spiritual judgment, enacted we know not how, in which the conduct and motives of men, after death, will be scrutinized impartially and receive their due recompense. Ultimate arraignment before Divine Justice seems to be a vital factor in any theory of morals recognizing that the human conscience speaks with authority. Nor have Jesus' warnings about the shortness of the interval before that judgment, and the consequent need of watchfulness, lost their force. Though the continuance of the world is prolonged, the individual life is still short, and men's souls are often required of them suddenly and unexpectedly (cf. *Lk.* xii. 16–21), so that the error in our Lord's eschatological expectations is of slight importance.

Whilst Jesus said little about the details of the judgment and the kingdom, He spoke more fully concerning the conditions which men had to satisfy in order to sustain the one and gain the other. A main part of the burden of His preaching, like John's, was Repentance. There was, indeed, nothing novel in the declaration that such was needed. It was universally recognized that to the sins and follies of the people was due the delay in their deliverance from calamity; and it was currently said that if Israel would repent together for a whole day, the redemption by Messiah would come.[1] But Jesus' idea of the conduct pleasing to God was more exacting than that of His contemporaries, and the change of mind (*μετάνοια*) which He declared to be necessary was more comprehensive and complete. It was equivalent to entrance upon a new life marked by the docility, receptiveness, and humility characteristic of childhood (*Mk.* x. 15). In stimulating His hearers to amend their ways, Jesus had recourse to both warnings and encouragement. On the one hand, He admonished them that their destinies would be decided, and their admission into, or exclusion from, the kingdom determined, not by their professions but by their practice. They would be judged by their works, as trees by their fruits (*Mt.* vii. 18–27 = *Lk.* vi. 43–49); and the worth of their works would be estimated by the spirit which inspired them. The greatness of the exertions demanded was illustrated by the metaphor of a passage along a hampered road and through a narrow gate (*Mt.* vii. 13–14 = *Lk.* xiii. 23–24). The neglect of faculties and opportunities would result in their withdrawal; (*Mt.* xxv. 29 = *Lk.* xix. 26); and the scrutiny would be speedy, sudden, and searching (*Mt.* v. 25 = *Lk.* xii. 58, 59). The perishable treasure of earth must be forgone for the sake of enduring treasure in heaven[2]; but no half-hearted measures would avail; men could not serve both God and their own worldly interests. Riches, indeed, were calculated, save for God's grace, to render the salvation of their owners impossible. It was better for a man to sacrifice

[1] Schürer, *Hist. of the Jewish People*, II, ii. 163.

[2] Cf. the Parables of the Hidden Treasure and the Pearl of Great Price (*Mt.* xiii. 44–46).

any one of his physical members, however precious, than to imperil, through preserving it, the attainment of true life (*Mk.* ix. 43–48). On the other hand, God was both able and willing to help men in their endeavours towards such attainment. Petitions and appeals addressed to Him were answered (*Mt.* vii. 7–11 = *Lk.* xi. 9–13); prayer might even hasten the coming of His Kingdom, and so they were bidden to pray for it (*Mt.* vi. 10 = *Lk.* xi. 2)[1]; and He was ready to forgive their offences and shortcomings, if they, on their part, forgave those of their fellow-men (*Mt.* vi. 12, vii. 1, 2, xviii. 21, 22 = *Lk.* xi. 4, vi. 37, 38, xvi. 3, 4)[2]. He was unwilling that any should perish (*Mt.* xviii. 12–14 = *Lk.* xv. 4–7), for He was more tender and gracious than any human father (*Lk.* xv. 11–32); and they who subordinated all earthly considerations to the desire to reach His Kingdom would find, as birds and flowers could teach, all their necessities supplied by Him (*Mt.* vi. 8, 25–33 = *Lk.* xi. 9–13, xii. 22–34, *Mt.* x. 29–31 = *Lk.* xii. 6, 7). The Message about the Kingdom, giving rise to the impulse to seek it, proceeded from Him; and like a seed, if its growth was not prevented or counteracted by evil influences, it would produce in time due result (*Mk.* iv. 1–20).

It is sometimes represented that the stress laid by Jesus upon the fatherliness of God was a new feature in Jewish religious teaching, and indeed, constituted the heart of His own revelation about God. Yet in point of fact, in the Old Testament God is not seldom described as a Father to Israel, not only in virtue of His relation as Creator (3 *Is.* lxiv. 8, *Mal.* ii. 10) or as its Redeemer from bondage (*Dt.* xxxii. 6, *Hos.* xi. 1), but by reason of His pity, tenderness, and loving-kindness (see 3 *Is.* lxiii. 16, *Jer.* iii. 4, xxxi. 9, *Ps.* ciii. 13, and cf. *Mal.* iii. 17); and the title also occurs in the Apocrypha (*Wisd.* xiv. 3, *Ecclus.* xxiii. 1, 4, li. 10, *Tob.* xiii. 4). What Jesus really did was not to introduce a novel conception of God, but to make a not unfamiliar aspect of Him a more effective motive for influencing individual conduct. In current thought and practice God was principally viewed as the Father *of the nation* (though see *Wisd.* ii. 16), whilst the loving side of the Divine parenthood was obscured by a sense of God's transcendent dignity, creating a meticulous fear of infringing the honour due to Him (cf. *Mal.* i. 6); Jesus, however, sought to lead men to think of Him as of One in Whom every member of God's People might repose perfect confidence, just as a child trusts fully his earthly father. Yet there was no lack of sternness in our Lord's teaching about God. The measure which men meted to others would be returned to them (*Mt.* vii. 1, 2 = *Lk.* vi. 37, 38); the unforgiving would be unforgiven; and the reparation due to fellow-men but not rendered here, would hereafter be exacted by God to the uttermost (*Mk.* xi. 25 (cf. *Mt.* vi. 14, 15), *Mt.* v. 25, 26 (= *Lk.* xii. 58, 59)). The mercy which men desired from

[1] The shorter form of the Lord's Prayer found in *Lk.* must be more original than the longer in *Mt.*, for it is incredible that if the latter were the earlier version, it would have been reduced in compass. In *Mt.* the Doxology occurs only in the later uncials E G K L, etc., and in the Lat., the Syr. (cur. pesh. pal.), and some other versions.

[2] Cf. the Parable of the Two Debtors in *Mt.* xviii. 23–35.

God, and which He was prepared to show to them, was conditional upon their displaying like compassion to their fellows (*Mt.* xviii. 21–35). Jesus thus depicted God's love for mankind as having in view their moral perfection: in His thought human salvation meant redemption from *sin* and its replacement by righteousness and holiness.[1] The emphasis put by popular Christianity upon God's mercy, without any proportionate stress upon the stringent terms conditioning it, is a caricature of its Founder's attitude, Who insisted that only sin repented of and forsaken was pardonable, and the sincerity of the repentance and the reformation would be judged by One Who could read men's hearts. The Gehenna of fire of which He spoke (see *Mk.* ix. 43–48, *Mt.* x. 28 = *Lk.* xii. 5, and cf. *Lk.* xvi. 23 f.), even if only a metaphor, must have represented in His mind a terrible reality.

The profound confidence which our Lord placed in God's care for His creatures is one of two factors that must be taken into account in considering the aspect in which He viewed property and wealth. He could call upon men to lay aside anxiety about the morrow and its needs because He felt assured that God was fully acquainted with their necessities, and, if it was for their ultimate welfare, would satisfy them. It was, however, rendered clear both by other utterances of His (*e.g. Lk.* xvi. 20, *Mt.* viii. 34) and by His own actual experiences that God's servants cannot with perfect certainty and in all circumstances expect to be sustained or protected by Him in a world which He in part governs by physical laws and in part allows to be controlled by free human agents whose motives are often evil. God's love for the dutiful and trustful will be realized in the long run; but it may not be in this stage of existence, but only in the next. The other factor was the conviction which He entertained that the interval destined to elapse before the crisis which was to usher in the Divine Kingdom would be brief. It was natural that having this expectation He should regard the husbanding of possessions and the exercise of anxious forethought about them as superfluous in an age hastening to its end. The like anticipation was a motive that led His followers after His death to adopt for a while a voluntary form of communism (p. 499). But Jesus, in exhorting men to give and to lend to all who begged or borrowed, had no thought of promoting an economic revolution, or of advocating a uniform distribution of wealth (cf. *Lk.* xii. 13–15). The notion of transforming the circumstances of earthly life through a reconstruction of society must have been as far from His mind as was the notion of disturbing the existing political relations of Judæa and Rome (*Mk.* xii. 13–17). All such ideas, even if it is imaginable that they ever occurred to Him, were precluded by the shortness of the time for putting them into practice. But though He expected all earthly institutions to be replaced speedily by a Divine Kingdom supernaturally revealed, it is not true that Jesus' moral precepts *as a whole* were only adapted for the short interim that was expected to precede the end of the present age. He clearly thought of the Kingdom of God as a realm wherein the

[1] Cf. Stevens, *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, p. 36.

ruled would be like their Ruler, and where consequently good will and love would be universal, though the manifestation of such qualities would presumably take other forms than those peculiar to earthly conditions. The ethical principles which He enjoined He did not deem to be valid for a brief interval only; He believed them to be of absolute and permanent worth.[1]

The future felicity, the attainment of which was represented as dependent upon obedience, patience, and self-sacrifice in the present was variously represented in its relation to the conditions determining it, according to the particular thought which it was desired to emphasize.

(*a*) Sometimes in order to illustrate God's justice, it was made to appear as *recompense* for service rendered, the reward being graduated according to desert (*Mt.* xxv. 14–30, *Lk.* xix. 11–27).

(*b*) At other times in order to accentuate God's graciousness the recompense was depicted as given independently of what is in strictness due, and as bestowed by way of *bounty* (*Mt.* xx. 1–16).

(*c*) And again occasionally the result secured by the observance of the Divine commandments, and the sacrifice of everything impeding achievement of the desired end was described as *life* (*Mk.* ix. 43–47), man's true goal being the perfection which marks the living and eternal God Himself (cf. *Mt.* v. 48).

What was distinctive in Jesus' religious teaching viewed in detail will be best brought into relief by comparing it with the ideas and hopes prevailing among various sections of His contemporaries. In general, both national independence and the moral purification of Israel itself entered into the conception of salvation cherished by the religious classes. The section in which selfish and party considerations were uppermost was that of the Sadducees, who were chiefly interested in safeguarding the authority and privileges which they enjoyed through their possession of the priesthood, and who lacked the religious hope inspired by the belief (which they rejected) in a resurrection to another life after death (p. 101). With them our Lord came into collision through the stir which His Personality and teaching occasioned among the people, and which seemed to threaten their tenure of power by exciting the suspicions of the Romans. To another section, which, like the Sadducees, pursued political schemes, though with a different aim from theirs, no reference occurs in the New Testament, though it looks as if one of Jesus' disciples at one time belonged to it (*Mk.* iii. 18, cf. *Lk.* vi. 15). This was the party of the Zealots (p. 103), to whose fanatical and reckless patriotism, Jesus' idea about the Kingdom of God, and the means by which its advent was to be promoted, was altogether opposed. It is probable that He had their schemes in mind when He inculcated the principle of non-resistance to exactions and tyranny,[2] wishing men to understand that the establishment of the Kingdom could never be advanced by violent and bloody enterprises. With the views of the Pharisees, so far as these were indisposed

[1] Cf. Moffatt, *Theology of the Gospels*, p. 60.

[2] That the Fourth Evangelist did not think that Jesus meant the direction in *Mt.* v. 39 to be carried out quite literally appears from what he records in *Joh.* xviii. 22, 23.

to take up arms against Rome, trusted that God would rescue them from subjection by some supernatural act, and believed that they could best hasten His vindication of them by repentance for the past and a closer adherence to His Laws for the future, Jesus was in accord ; but at the same time, from their conception of the kind of conduct that would win, and of the nature of the sins that would forfeit, the Divine approval, His own convictions diverged widely.

Injustice is liable to be done to the religious sentiments of many Pharisees if the traits which evoked severe denunciation from Jesus are treated as being universal among them, and if spiritual elements are regarded as altogether absent. They professedly held that participation in the Kingdom of God was contingent upon faithful service ; and that obstinate sinners, even if of Jewish descent, would be excluded from it, whilst the righteous of other nations would have a place within it.[1] Nevertheless to the preaching of John the Baptist most of them turned a deaf ear (cf. *Lk.* vii. 30), through their confidence in the prerogatives of their race[2] ; whilst between them and Jesus there was even greater variance, hinging upon a different estimate of God's character.

In the view of the Pharisees at large all parts of the Law represented the mind of God, and equally demanded obedience.[3] The provisions relating to the various classes of sacrifices, to the kinds of food that might or might not be eaten, to the avoidance of ceremonial uncleanness, and to the measures to be undertaken if it were accidentally contracted, were of Divine origin no less than the commands enjoining moral duties. And since the written code was not sufficiently comprehensive and precise to settle all questions that might arise through the great variety of human circumstances, the commands of the Pentateuch had been supplemented by the oral traditions of the Scribes (p. 97), adhesion to which was considered to be a duty as binding as obedience to the Law itself. This anxious solicitude to carry out the Law to the letter, though it was compatible, in the finer characters, with true spirituality (cf. *Mk.* xii. 32–34), was liable to produce among persons of a more ordinary type, results of a very unsatisfactory kind. (*a*) It tended to destroy all sense of the intrinsic superiority of the ethical over the ceremonial regulations of the Law, and even to cause the subordination of the former to the latter when they came into collision, for it is so much easier to be careful about the formal rites of religion than to cultivate the social virtues or the graces of character. (*b*) It fostered the idea that so long as the outward conduct was beyond censure, the motive that prompted it was negligible. (*c*) The effort to obey a legal system must often have checked spontaneity of devotion, and impaired the idea which men were meant to have of God's nature. (*d*) It was apt to create in those who succeeded in keeping the ceremonial Law better than others a feeling of intense self-satisfaction and a profound contempt for their laxer countrymen (cf. *Lk.* xviii. 10).

[1] Montefiore, *Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 61, 62, 66.

[2] *Mt.* iii. 9 = *Lk.* iii. 8.

[3] Nevertheless the Talmud contains the statement—" What is hateful to thee do not to thy neighbour : that is the Law, all the rest is commentary."

(*e*) The reputation which accrued to the pious in proportion to their diligent practice of the Law was conducive to hypocrisy, since the less conscientious sought to gain a character for being religious by acts of formal devotion which were belied by the principles ruling their conduct in social relations.

Yet if religious duty really consists in the strict observance of a body of external regulations, of all of which God was the Author, there was nothing unreasonable in the endeavour to adjust discrepancies or explain obscurities by the deliberate conclusions reached by learned men; and Jesus, in describing the traditions of the Scribes as having only human authority, in contrast to the injunctions of the Law as being the Word of God (*Mk.* vii. 9–13), appears, on the surface, to be showing as much reverence as the Pharisees for the written code with a less practical realization of the difficulties of its interpretation. But in point of fact, our Lord penetrated beneath the letter of the Law to the principle underlying it. He regarded its collective enactments as designed to express the will of a Deity Whose supreme attributes were His justice and benevolence, and Who sought the true welfare of His creatures; so that conflicting regulations ought to be judged by reference to this principle. Imitation of the Divine goodness should accordingly be the rule for human conduct; and the truest way of honouring God was to serve mankind. This conviction that love and pity and impartial justice between individuals were characteristics of God thus became a touchstone for determining which of the commands of the Law was most important, whenever a collision occurred between them. Consequently the relief of human want or suffering, and the performance of duties to parents or dependants, took precedence over the discharge of ceremonial requirements, though these were to be observed when not overruled by higher considerations (*Mk.* i. 44, *Mt.* xxiii. 23 = *Lk.* xi. 42). Fundamentally, indeed, the commands of the Law were as permanent as heaven and earth (*Mt.* v. 18 [1] = *Lk.* xvi. 17); but since inward sincerity was essential to religion, conventional religious observances were better disregarded if the reality of the feeling they purported to express was absent (*Mk.* ii. 19, 20). Even social arrangements which had the explicit sanction of the Law, if they violated principles to which the facts of human nature bore witness, were open to criticism. The ideas governing our Lord's teaching, as compared with those to which the Scribes and Pharisees attached importance, were illustrated by the decisions He enunciated in the course of discussions concerning the Sabbath, defilement, fasting, vows, and divorce.

(*a*) Rest from work on the Sabbath was prescribed in the earliest code of the Pentateuch as well as in the latest (see *Ex.* xx. 8–11, xxiii. 12 (E), xxxiv. 21 (J), *Lev.* xxiii. 3 (P), and enforced by a narrative recounting how a man who gathered fuel on that day was put to death by Divine sanction (*Num.* xv. 32–36, see p. 386). Moreover, in later Jewish history the scrupulousness with which pious Jews observed the injunction was

[1] In view of the context it seems necessary to regard the words ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται as a gloss on "till heaven and earth pass away" (cf. McNeile, *St. Mt.* p. 59).

strikingly exemplified by an incident in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (p. 32). The prohibitions of Sabbath work contained in the Law had been elaborated by the Scribes; and though it does not appear that *necessary* labour on the Sabbath was forbidden (see *Lk.* xiii. 15), yet every concession was hampered by restrictions. By our Lord the obligation of the Sabbath rest, imposed as it was by a Law which He as well as they regarded as of Divine origin (*Mk.* vii. 13), was not denied; but when the Pharisees complained that His disciples were breaking the Sabbath by plucking ears of corn on that day, He refused to subordinate to the Scribes' interpretation of the commandment the duties of mercy and humanity; and was able to cite precedents which His opponents were forced to recognize (p. 386). He might, indeed, have appealed to the principle expressly represented as dictating the rule of the Sabbath rest in the earliest of the Pentateuchal codes, namely, that it was designed to secure repose and refreshment for all who laboured, and consequently ought in no way to be an impediment to the relief of human necessities (see *Ex.* xxiii. 12 (E); contrast xxxi. 12–17 (P)). But though He did not actually go behind the later precepts of the Law to the regulations of an earlier time which were marked by a different spirit, He affirmed the principle implicit in them, namely, that the Sabbath was intended to be a blessing and not a burden, by declaring that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. And later when He saw in the synagogue on the Sabbath a man with a withered hand, He did not, as He might have done, bid him come to Him on the next day (since the case was not urgent), but healed him on the spot. On neither occasion did He repeal the Law of the Sabbath [1]; but when the prophetic principle was at stake that God desired mercy and not sacrifice (*Hos.* vi. 2) our Lord did not hesitate to reassert it.

(*b*) A conspicuous feature of religious practice amongst the Jews was the habit of frequent ablutions both of the person and of utensils in order to remove causes of ceremonial defilement (*Mk.* vii. 3, 4). This usage had its origin in the belief, transmitted from primitive times, that various objects (such as a human corpse or the bodies of certain beasts and reptiles) were sources of mysterious danger which infected all persons and things that came in contact with them, and which could be communicated through touch by these to others (see *Num.* xix. 11, *Lev.* xi. 24 f.).[2] Where contamination was known to have been incurred, particular rites of purification were prescribed; but besides such occasional lustrations, regular washings were practised with a view to counteracting inadvertent defilement. The conception of uncleanness which such washings presupposed was essentially external, and to this our Lord's view of what constituted defilement was diametrically opposed. So when wonder was expressed that His disciples ate bread with "defiled" hands, He declared that real pollution came not from without but from within and had its seat in

[1] For instances in the earliest sources of Jesus' observance of the Law and His inculcation of obedience to it see *Mk.* i. 44, xiv. 12, *Mt.* v. 18 (= *Lk.* xvi. 17), xxiii. 23 (= *Lk.* xi. 42); cf. also *Mt.* xxiii. 2, 3, xvii. 27.

[2] See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 446 f.

the heart, whence evil thoughts had their origin. What caused a man to be defiled in the sight of God was nothing external which could be removed by outward purification, but an inward disposition of the will, deliberately harbouring the malign suggestions to which human nature was liable. The spirit of man (He implied) could only be polluted by spiritual foulness; and in the light of such a principle, contact with anything physical, clean or unclean, became religiously a matter of indifference (*Mk.* vii. 14–23).

(*c*) In the Mosaic Law a single annual fast was enjoined, namely on the Day of Atonement, to which at a later age others were added in commemoration of certain signal calamities sustained by the Jewish people (*Zech.* vii. 5, viii. 19); whilst in our Lord's time there were also two weekly fasts. The fact that there existed in the Law an explicit direction to fast on a particular occasion makes it difficult to suppose that our Lord was altogether opposed to fasting *by rule*. But the multiplication of fasts was based on the belief that self-mortification in itself gave satisfaction to God, and averted His wrath; and this tended to impair the sincerity of the religious life, wherein the external manifestation of joy or sorrow should correspond to the inward emotions. Hence Jesus defended His disciples for their non-observance of the fasts practised by the Pharisees and the followers of John the Baptist, on the ground that such were not in consonance with the sense of joyous satisfaction which His followers derived from His presence among them. Nevertheless Jesus recognized that religion appealed differently to various temperaments; and that the asceticism of John the Baptist, so far as it was a genuine token of humility and penitence, had, no less than His own less austere manner of life, its defence and justification (*Mt.* xi. 16–19 = *Lk.* vii. 31–35).

(*d*) The tendency of the Scribes to promote (as they imagined) the honour of God even at the cost of annulling and destroying the most solemn obligation subsisting between men led them to decide that if anyone vowed to God something which might otherwise have been applied to the relief or comfort of his nearest relations, the vow held good; and the mere fact that by a hasty word some property of value had been dedicated to sacred purposes, was held to prevent it from being used for any other. This ruling, which rated the formal service of God higher than the service rendered to Him through the discharge of family and other human obligations, was declared by our Lord to amount to the cancelling of a divine commandment by a human regulation. The teaching of the Scribes, though designed to conserve God's dignity, really derogated from it, since it subordinated the performance of a duty, having for a moral God a high value, to an offering which for Him could be of no intrinsic worth.

(*e*) A declaration respecting divorce was obtained from Jesus through an effort made by the Pharisees to induce Him to give a decision on a question which was debated between the supporters of two Rabbis, Hillel and Shammai. The Law enacted that adultery on the part of a woman should be punished by her execution, her paramour being put to death with her (*Dt.* xxii. 22, cf. *Lev.* xx. 10, *Joh.* viii. 5); and in such a

case the wronged husband was free to marry again. The Law also allowed a man to put away his wife " because he had found some unseemly thing in her," the divorced woman, and *a fortiori* the husband, being permitted to marry a second time (*Dt.* xxiv. 1, 2). There was thus no room for dispute that divorce was permitted by the Mosaic Law; but the Law did not explain what was meant by " some unseemly thing," which was interpreted by the disciples of Shammai to signify unchastity only, but by those of Hillel to cover trivial offences.[1] Jesus, in giving His decision, restricted divorce further than even the school of Shammai, and asserted that the right of divorce was only a concession to men's hardness of heart; according to the original purpose of God, as implied in *Gen.* ii. 27, marriage was indissoluble (*Mk.* x. 11, *Lk.* xvi. 18).

The principle affirmed by Jesus was reasserted by St. Paul as regards marriages where both parties were Christians, for he directed (and expressly affirmed that his direction was the Lord's) that a wife was not to depart from her husband (if she did, she was to remain unmarried or else be reconciled to him) and that a husband should not leave his wife (1 *Cor.* vii. 10, cf. *Rom.* vii. 2–3). But where one of the partners was an unbeliever, and left the other, the Apostle seems to have modified the comprehensive principle laid down by the Lord, and declared (1 *Cor.* vii. 15) that the believing partner was not under bondage in such cases (*i.e.* apparently was not bound to consider the union permanent, but was free to marry again). But even in respect of marriage subsisting between professing Christians, it might be contended, in view of our Lord's habit of making comprehensive statements requiring qualifications suggested by reflection and experience (p. 598), that His assertion of the indissolubility of marriage presented an ideal [2] which, in view of the actual conditions of life, could not be uniformly maintained; and that where departures from it were expedient, the circumstances in which they were admissible must be left (at least for Christians) to the Christian society to determine. This seems to be the explanation of the addition with which the First Evangelist (*Mt.* v. 32, xix. 9) qualifies the prohibition of divorce and remarriage in *Mk.* x. 11, the inserted clause " except for fornication " representing the judgment of the contemporary Church as to one, though the sole, ground upon which a marriage might be dissolved and seemingly remarriage sanctioned. If so, the Evangelist, or those whose opinions he expresses, held the same view as the school of Shammai. It is difficult to account quite satisfactorily for *Mt.'s* use of *παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας* and *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, where *μοιχείας* and *μοιχείᾳ* might be expected, but it seems more natural to assume that the term employed is meant to embrace post-nuptial, as well as pre-nuptial, unchastity than to confine it to the latter only (which cannot be supposed to be worse than the former), or to take it to mean prostitution in the strict sense (cf. *Hos.* ii. 5).[3]

This brief comparison will suffice to throw into relief the different way in which the contemporary leaders of religion and our Lord viewed religious problems, and to exemplify how remote the spirit of Jesus was from the rigid but casuistic legalism of the Pharisees.

It has been seen that in the early utterances of our Lord the Kingdom of God was a reality expected to be manifested *in the future*. This is clear not only from the announcement with which His ministry opened, that

[1] The supporters of Hillel included among adequate causes of divorce even such a trifle as burning the husband's food. (Driver, *Dt.* p. 270.)

[2] Cf. the idealistic, but generally impracticable, principles enunciated in *Mt.* v. 33–42, vii. 1.

[3] For discussions of the whole question, issuing in conflicting conclusions, see Charles, *The Teaching of the New Testament on Divorce*; Chase, *What did Christ teach about Divorce?*

the Kingdom was at hand (*ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*),[1] but also from the fact that men were bidden to pray for its coming (*Mt.* vi. 10 = *Lk.* xi. 2). In strictness, however, the term *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* means God's "reign" rather than God's "realm," so that a community yielding present obedience to God amidst an evil world would constitute a "Kingdom" of God. Such a Kingdom was, in idea, to be looked for in the Jewish people as a race, since they in a degree beyond the other nations of the earth were acquainted with the Divine requirements. The great majority of them, however, so far from receiving Jesus as a messenger from God, empowered to instruct them, forced Him to withdraw from their synagogues and sought His life. In these circumstances He began to despair of saving His countrymen as a whole; and it was in the small band of disciples, who within the racial Israel adhered to Him and accepted His teaching, that He saw the spiritual and essential Israel of God. This conception seems to be implied in the choice of *Twelve*, corresponding to the number of the Israelite tribes (cf. *Mt.* xix. 28 = *Lk.* xxii. 30), to be His intimate companions and missioners (*Mk.* iii. 14, vi. 30). The same idea underlies the term *ecclesia*, which, though within the Gospels it is only found in *Mt.* xvi. 18, xviii. 17, (see p. 612), yet from its currency amongst His followers, immediately after His death, would seem to have been employed by Him. The word occurs in the LXX as one of the renderings (the other being *Synagōge*) of the Hebrew terms *ʿēdāh* and *kāhāl*, both meaning "assembly," especially of the Israelite people; and since the assembly of Israel was represented as the Lord's assembly (*Dt.* xxiii. 2, *Mic.* ii. 5, cf. *Neh.* xiii. 1, *Ecclus.* xxiv. 2), it was probably in consequence of this that Jesus adopted it to denote the body of His followers. These, as already conforming to the laws of the future Kingdom, could be regarded as potentially included in it; indeed, since, so far as the influence of Jesus was manifest in an inward change of heart,[2] it was evident that the Kingdom of God in the sense of His acknowledged sovereignty was already present, at least within a narrow circle. Although it was not yet consummated as it was designed to be in the future, the first stages of its realization were actually accomplished. Its potency was active in Himself, and was manifested by His control over demon powers (*Mt.* xii. 28 = *Lk.* xi. 20). And if the Kingdom was regarded as having its visible inception on earth in the collective body of Jesus' disciples, it becomes intelligible how one as great as John the Baptist could be pronounced to be not, as yet, included within it.

Over this "Assembly of God" (cf. *Acts* xx. 28) the Apostles can have exercised no authority during their Master's lifetime on earth; they only enjoyed a closer intimacy with Him and the privilege of fuller instruction (*Mk.* iv. 10, 11, 34, vii. 17, x. 10) than the rest. They were, like Jesus Himself, preachers of repentance and healers of disease; and the name "Apostle" had reference to their being "sent forth" in these capacities

[1] For other passages implying that the kingdom was in the future see *Mt.* viii. 11 = *Lk.* xiii. 25, *Mk.* xiv. 25.

[2] Cf. *Lk.* xvii. 21. In the only other passage in the N. T. where *ἐντός* occurs, it means "within" and not "among" (see *Mt.* xxiii. 26), though it has the latter sense in various passages of classical authors.

(*ἐποίησεν δώδεκα . . . ἵνα ἀποστέλλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν*), the word being thus equivalent to "envoys" or "emissaries." Nevertheless, in the choice and appointment of these there was the germ of an organization which came into existence after Jesus' death; and even whilst Jesus lived the body of His followers entered upon its career as a *society*. Though still within the pale of Judaism, it was marked by attachment to One whom the religious leaders of the people rejected, and by the adoption of His rule of life. Inclusion in this Society (forming a sphere within which certain qualities of character, fitting men for admission into the consummated Kingdom, could develop) was probably accompanied by submission to the rite of Baptism. It is not actually stated in the earliest documents, *Mk.* and *Q*, that this was enjoined by Jesus upon His followers. But He Himself had been baptized by John; and, inasmuch as the tenor of His earliest preaching was the same as John's (cf. *Mk.* i. 15 with *Mt.* iii. 2), it seems most likely that He required of those whom He moved to repentance the same symbolical act of immersion in water (cf. *Mk.* i. 4, 5, 8). Indeed, the circumstance that after our Lord's death the Apostles regularly baptized those whom they won over to their own faith finds its natural explanation in the supposition that they had previously been accustomed to practise the rite by Jesus' own direction.[1] Whether any, and if so, what, form of words was used with it cannot be ascertained; but it seems most likely that baptism "into the name of Jesus" came into use *after*, rather than before, His death, for it implied an acknowledgment on the part of the baptized that they accepted Jesus as the Messiah of prophecy, and Jesus did not openly claim to be the Messiah until shortly before His death (see p. 616), and was finally demonstrated to be such (in the belief of His followers) only by His resurrection from the dead (cf. *Acts* ii. 32–36, *Rom.* i. 4).

The conclusion that Jesus probably used the term *ἐκκλησία* in connexion with the body of His followers is supported (as has been said) by the employment of it, after His death, by His Apostles; but that the actual utterances containing it which are found in *Mt.* xvi. 18, xviii. 17 are authentic is difficult to believe. In the case of the second passage its genuineness seems improbable in view of the authority implicitly ascribed to the *ἐκκλησία*; for the Christian brotherhood is not likely to have exercised such authority over its individual members so long as Christ was with it. The inference seems reasonable that the whole section (*Mt.* xviii. 15–20) "in its present form belongs to a date when the Church was already an organized Body."[2] This is confirmed by the language of *v.* 20, which clearly has in view Christ's *spiritual* Presence with His Church[3] (cf. 1 *Cor.* v. 4). The section *Mt.* xvi. 17–19 is even less likely to have proceeded from our Lord. It seems impossible to suppose that if a pre-eminent position among the Apostles had really been given to St. Peter by his Master as is here implied, there could have arisen between them later any dispute as to which of them was the greatest (*Mk.* ix. 34). The passage seems to reflect the position and leadership which St. Peter acquired amongst the disciples after the Crucifixion, by reason partly of his tendency to take the initiative (*Mk.* viii. 29, ix. 5, xi. 21, xiv. 29, cf. *Joh.* xviii. 10) and partly of his being the first to see the Risen Jesus (1 *Cor.* xv. 5) and the influence

[1] Cf. Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church*, pp. 39, 40.

[2] McNeile, *St. Matt.*, p. 266.

[3] This seems to negative the idea that our Lord by the *Ecclesia* in this passage meant the local *Jewish Ecclesia* to which both the offender and the offended belonged (Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 10).

which he in consequence probably exercised upon his companions (cf. *Lk.* xxii. 32); and, like *Mt.* xviii. 17, it points (*v.* 19) to a time when the Church was an organized community, wherein St. Peter, with the rest of the Apostles (cf. *Mt.* xviii. 18), was the dispenser of the spiritual blessings with which the Church was entrusted, determined who should be admitted into it, and decided what its members might or might not do.[1]

That Jesus adopted Baptism as a symbolic rite from the precedent set by John is probable, since His doing so accounts for the subsequent practice of the Early Church (*Acts* ii. 38); but the particular injunction ascribed to Him in *Mt.* xxviii. 19, that the Apostles should make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, is difficult to reconcile with the evidence of *Acts*. (*a*) It is impossible to think that if such a command had been given, there would have been any question about baptizing Gentiles (*Acts* x. 47), or that surprise could have been expressed that God had granted to the Gentiles repentance unto life (*Acts* xi. 18). (*b*) It is less easy to suppose that a command to baptize into the name of the Trinity was by the Early Church disregarded, and baptism into the name of Jesus (*Acts* viii. 16, xix. 5) substituted in its stead, than that the Trinitarian formula eventually in Church practice replaced the formula containing only the name of Jesus Christ.[2] A not improbable conclusion is that the present text of *Mt.* xxviii. 19 is designed to give the sanction of Christ to contemporary ecclesiastical usage; but since a number of passages in the historian Eusebius reproduce the verse in question in the form πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, it has been inferred by several scholars that this last was the original reading in *Mt.*,[3] though there are no variations in the existing MSS., and though in certain passages Eusebius quotes our Lord's command in the familiar form.

The earliest Synoptic accounts of our Lord's life thus make it clear that at first He conceived the Kingdom of God to include in general only His own countrymen.[4] Though quite early in His ministry it was evident that the Pharisees were hostile to Him, and, as being the most influential sect, were certain to carry numbers of the populace with them in their opposition to Him, yet He appears never to have preached outside His own land, and it was only from Jews that He constituted the society that was to be a training-school for the Kingdom of God.[5] That He contemplated that Gentiles would find a place in the Kingdom is, indeed, apparent from at least one passage in the earliest sources (see *Mt.* viii. 11, 12 = *Lk.* xiii. 28, 29). But in view of His declarations about the permanence of the obligation of the Law—see *Mt.* v. 18 (= *Lk.* xvi. 17) and cf. *Mt.* xxiii. 23 (= *Lk.* xi. 42)—it must be supposed that He looked forward to their inclusion as *proselytes of Judaism*, through acceptance of the Law (interpreted in the light of His own spiritual teaching). In one parable, it is true, *viz.* that of the Wicked Husbandmen (*Mk.* xii. 1–12), He appears, at first sight, to represent the Kingdom of God as destined to be *transferred* from the Jews to the Gentiles; but probably the predicted

[1] This is the sense of *Mt.* xvi. 19; the keys are those carried by the steward in the Divine household (cf. *Is.* xxii. 22, *Rev.* iii. 7) and are thus a figure for administrative authority; whilst "to bind" and "to loose" signify to forbid and to allow respectively and stand for the exercise of legislative authority.

[2] The *Teaching of the XII Apostles* has both βαπτίζειν εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος and β. εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου (ch. vii., ix.).

[3] Cf. Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I. pp. 335–7. On the other hand see *J.T.S.*, July, 1905, pp. 481–572.

[4] In the First Gospel Jesus is represented as expressly forbidding the Apostles to go either to the Samaritans or to the Gentiles (x. 5, cf. *v.* 23).

[5] In *Mt.* viii. 12 the Jews are "the sons of the kingdom," *i.e.* the original heirs. St. Paul calls Jesus a minister of (*i.e.* to) the Circumcision (*Rom.* xv. 8).

transfer is not from the *Jews* to the *Gentiles*, but from the *religious leaders* of the Jews to others of their compatriots whom they despised (see p. 438). The prediction in *Mk.* xiii. 10 that the Gospel was to be preached to "all the nations" occurs in a passage which probably comes from an independent Apocalypse reflecting conditions of the Apostolic age (p. 415 f.). Nevertheless, Jesus' discrimination between the values of the ceremonial and the moral Law really cut at the root of the distinction between Jew and Gentile, and paved the way for the recognition that God would judge each by an ethical standard, independently of the ritual provisions of the Mosaic Law.

It is now desirable to consider the Personality of Jesus, so far as it is revealed through His own teaching preserved in *Mk.* and *Q*, or, in other words, the CHRISTOLOGY of the earliest Gospel records. If, as seems probable, the narrative of the Baptism is based on intimations conveyed by Jesus Himself to His disciples, it is apparent that our Lord believed Himself to have been endued with the Divine Spirit prior to, and in preparation for, His ministry. And it was certainly through the Spirit of God that He shortly afterwards claimed to cast out demons, in contradiction to the assertion of the Scribes that He expelled them through the power of Beelzebul (or Satan). To a spirit from God was attributed by the Hebrews generally any extraordinary faculty, or even any unusual conduct (madness not excepted).[1] But what was pre-eminently regarded as marking the presence of the Divine Spirit was the endowment distinctive of the class of prophets, including not only those who were ecstatics (*Num.* xi. 25, 1 *Sam.* x. 10), but also those who, as religious teachers, reasoned with their countrymen in the name of God (2 *Is.* xlviii. 16, 3 *Is.* lxi. 1). There had appeared, however, no prophet for many generations until the emergence from the wilderness of John the Baptist; and it was as a prophet that Jesus also both described Himself and was described by the multitudes (*Mk.* vi. 4, 15, viii. 28, cf. *Mt.* xxi. 11, 46, *Lk.* vii. 6, xiii. 33, xxiv. 19).[2] But whilst Jesus spoke of Himself as a prophet, He had felt sure, ever since the occasion when He came to John and was baptized by him, that He was something more, that He stood in a closer relation to God, not only than ordinary men, but even than the inspired order of prophets—that He was, in fact, the Messiah, *ὁ Χριστός*, of whom these had spoken. So far as it is at all possible to penetrate into our Lord's self-consciousness, and to follow the development of His thoughts, an attempt has already been made to indicate the source of such a conclusion, which seems to have had its origin in a pre-eminent sense of Sonship (p. 366). There were, however, two conceptions of the Messiah. The one was that of a national sovereign of Davidic stock, with whom the title was usually, though not exclusively, associated. The other was that of a celestial Being who would descend from God to judge the world, and who, though for the most part

[1] See *Judges* xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14, *Ex.* xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31, 1 *Sam.* xvi. 14.

[2] So too in *Joh.* iv. 19, vi. 14 (*Acts* iii. 22, vii. 37). The usual title, however, by which He was addressed, or alluded to, by His immediate disciples and by others was the Aramaic *Rabbi*, or its Greek equivalents *διδάσκαλος* or *ἐπιστάτης* ("Teacher," cf. *Joh.* i. 38)—see *Mk.* iv. 38, v. 35, ix. 5, 17, x. 17, 20, 51, xi. 21, etc., *Lk.* ix. 33.

called in the Apocalyptic work (the *Similitudes of Enoch*) that predicted His coming, "the Son of man," was yet also designated God's "Anointed," or Messiah (see *Enoch* xlviii. 10). The difference between the two conceptions was wide, and it would appear that both occurred to Jesus' mind, and that it was only after an intense spiritual struggle that it became clear to Him what kind of destiny God had in store for Him.

The nature of this conflict is summarized under vivid symbolism in the story of the Temptation. After Jesus had overcome promptings to test the truth of His Divine Sonship by seeing whether He could work a miracle in relief of His own physical needs, or whether God would perform one for Him, if in reliance upon Divine protection He placed Himself in a position of peril, there presented itself to Him the rôle of the Messianic King, reducing to subjection the Gentile nations. When this suggestion was repelled by Him as another enticement from Satan, there remained the alternative that in God's design He was intended to discharge the function of the Son of man who should descend from heaven as the Judge of mankind. But in the prophecy describing such a Son of man there was no allusion to His prior appearance on earth, unaccompanied by the glory that was to mark His descent from the skies. It may be conjectured, then, that the disparity between His lowly estate in the present and the dignity that He anticipated would be His in the near future created in His mind some doubt, probably not about the truth of His conclusion, but about the issue of His earthly existence, if He were really the Messiah in person, but not yet in function; and so caused Him to withhold for some time His thoughts about Himself and His destiny even from His most intimate disciples. And though, in reply to the Baptist's inquiry "Art thou He that should come?" (*Mt.* xi. 2 f. = *Lk.* vii. 18 f.), He referred to His works as affording a clue which would enable John to answer his own question, yet in point of fact the response must have left the inquirer still in the dark as to who Jesus really was.

In view of Jesus' reticence about His being more than a prophet, and His repression of the demoniacs and other sufferers when they addressed Him as the Son of God (*Mk.* iii. 11, 12), a problem is occasioned by the fact that even in the earliest Gospel records, *Mk.* and *Q*, He is represented as using the Messianic title "Son of man" in connexion with Himself at a stage in His ministry when He appears to have been desirous of concealing from the world the truth about Himself. The passages in the Second Gospel and in *Q* where Jesus, either certainly or probably, before the avowal of His Messiahship to His Apostles at Cæsarea Philippi, styles Himself the "Son of man" are the following:—

Mk. ii. 10, 28.

Q—*Mt.* viii. 20 (= *Lk.* ix. 58), xi. 19 (= *Lk.* vii. 34), xii. 32 (= *Lk.* xii. 10), xii. 40 (= *Lk.* xi. 30).

It may also be noticed that in *Mk.* v. 19, He is represented as referring to Himself as the Lord (ὁ κύριος).

In the following parallel passages derived from *Q*, the title under discussion appears in only one of the Gospels:—

Mt. v. 11 ("for my sake") = *Lk.* vi. 22 ("for the Son of man's sake").

Mt. x. 32 ("me . . . I") = *Lk.* xii. 8 ("me . . . the Son of man").

Possibly the explanation of the early use of the name "Son of man" by Jesus in relation to Himself is that He knew acquaintance with the prophecies of Enoch to be so limited that this title did not really divulge His thoughts about His destiny; or that, if any should surmise what He meant, the surmise would seem too plainly

contradicted by His external circumstances to be seriously harboured (cf. p. 460). But there is also the possibility that the problem is really occasioned by the fact that the New Testament writers have carried back into the earlier ministry a phrase really only used by Jesus at a later period, and that in the passages cited above from *Mk.* and *Q*, "the Son of man" has replaced a different phrase. An examination of them shows that the sense is not injured by the substitution in some places of the pronoun "I" and in others of "man" (in the generic sense of the term). Thus :—

(*a*) In *Mk.* ii. 10 the objection of the Pharisees that none could forgive sins but God was a denial that a man could forgive sins unless he could produce proof that he was acting as God's representative. Such proof would be the working of a sign, this being evidence of prophetic authority (*Dt.* xviii. 22). Jesus accepted the implied challenge, and His words would have been in keeping with the situation if He had said, "But that ye may know that I have authority on earth to forgive sins."

(*b*) In *Mk.* ii. 28 the sense is improved if it is supposed that Jesus' words were "so that man is lord even of the Sabbath ; which (as is stated in the previous verse) was instituted for his advantage.[1]

(*c*) In *Mt.* viii. 20 (= *Lk.* ix. 58) the supposition that Jesus said "I" and not "the Son of man" leaves the meaning unaffected whilst rendering it more lucid.

(*d*) In *Mt.* xi. 19 (= *Lk.* vii. 34) the same supposition leaves the sense undisturbed.

(*e*) In *Mt.* xii. 32 (= *Lk.* xii. 10) it may be suspected that "the Son of man" has been mistakenly substituted for "a son of man" (= a man), which in *Q* was the equivalent of "the sons of men" (= men) in the parallel passage, *Mk.* iii. 26.

(*f*) The occasion of this saying (*Mt.* xii. 39, 40 = *Lk.* xi. 29, 30), which is reproduced in *Mt.* with what is probably a gloss on Jesus' actual words (p. 415), is placed by the First Evangelist prior to the confession at Cæsarea Philippi ; but by the Third it is put after it. If Luke's arrangement is correct, the use here of "the Son of man" does not require explanation.

In regard to *Mk.* v. 19, the term ὁ κύριος is ambiguous, and need mean no more than "the Master" (see *Mt.* x. 24 = *Lk.* vi. 40).

The journey to Cæsarea Philippi saw in Jesus a new departure in regard to His self-disclosure, for there He purposely evoked from St. Peter the confession that he and his fellow Apostles believed Him to be the Christ ; and He tacitly confirmed the correctness of their belief, though commanding them to keep it to themselves. The title "Christ" is the Greek equivalent of "Messiah," which is a Hebrew participle (*Māshiah*) signifying "Anointed," the Hebrew term being applied in the Old Testament not only to kings like Saul and David, and to the High Priest (*Lev.* iv. 3, 16, and probably *Dan.* ix. 25, 26), each of whom was anointed in a literal sense, but also to others, such as the Hebrew patriarchs, the collective Israelite people, and even the Elamite Cyrus, who could all be considered to be consecrated to God for service in general or for some particular mission.[2] The Apostles in calling Jesus the Christ probably meant that He was the Messianic King of Hebrew prophecy (p. 23), for there seems no adequate reason for doubting that He was really known by them to be of the family of David (p. 358) ; but Jesus Himself most likely accepted the title in the same sense as it is used of the Son of man in *Enoch* xlviii. 10. After His avowal that they were justified in styling Him the Christ, He no longer maintained the same attitude of reserve about Himself and His future destiny as He had manifested previously. For shortly afterwards, before the multitude,

[1] Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I. pp. 378–9.
[2] See *Ps.* cv. 14, xxviii. 8, 2 *Is.* xlv. 1.

He declared that whosoever should *for His sake* lose his life, should save it; and that whoso should be ashamed *of Him and His teaching*, of him the Son of man should be ashamed when He should come in the glory of His Father (*Mk.* viii. 35, 38, cf. *Mt.* x. 32, 33 (= *Lk.* xii., 8, 9)); and His words could scarcely leave in those who heard Him much doubt that by "the Son of man" He really meant Himself. A claim to men's devotion superior to the claims of their nearest and dearest finds expression in a statement reported in *Mt.* x. 37–39; and though the particular phrase ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ is absent from the parallel in *Lk.* xiv. 26, 27, the sense is not substantially different. Other scarcely veiled disclosures of His consciousness of being an altogether exceptional Personality appear in His declaration that the fate of cities that had ignored His call to repentance would in the judgment be worse than that of Tyre and Sidon (*Mt.* xi. 21, 22 = *Lk.* x. 13, 14), and in His assertion that in Him was a greatness surpassing that of Jonah and of Solomon (*Mt.* xii. 41, 42 = *Lk.* xi. 31, 32). But even more significant than any of the utterances just cited was that which is preserved in *Mt.* xi. 27 (= *Lk.* x. 22), "All things have been delivered unto me by my Father, and no one knoweth the Son save the Father, neither doth any know the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him."[1] The words "all things have been delivered unto me" are most reasonably interpreted by the sentences that follow, and understood to mean that He was given a perfect comprehension of the Father's thoughts and purposes, so far as these concerned the salvation of mankind, and that He was in consequence the channel of a complete revelation of God. By the words "no one knoweth the Son save the Father," He probably had in view the fact that men in general had been blind to the truth about Him; only the Father Himself knew Him to be His Son. The claim to exclusive knowledge of God asserted in the concluding clause must not be pressed to the length of supposing that Jesus denied that God had previously revealed Himself to the Hebrew prophets and others in varying measures (*Am.* iii. 7, cf. *Heb.* i. 1). But a process of Divine self-disclosure throughout previous history had now attained its culmination, and Jesus was conscious of having a supreme insight into the essential character of God, amongst whose attributes He discerned a quality of sympathy which would shrink from no self-sacrifice for a meet end; so that where there was failure to understand the duty of self-sacrifice there was failure to enter into the mind of God (cf. *Mk.* viii. 32, 33).[2]

Eventually, when near the close of His ministry Jesus entered Jerusalem, He adopted for the moment the conception of the Messiah entertained by the Apostles, though with a difference. He publicly assumed the character of David's royal descendant, alluded to in Scriptural prophecies; but He appeared only as the King portrayed in 2 *Zech.* ix. 9, who is depicted

[1] In *Mt.* some Patristic writers have or imply οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν Υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι. When the clauses are thus transposed, the object of ἀποκαλύψαι must be ἑαυτόν, "Himself" (not as in the generally received reading, αὐτόν, "the Father").

[2] Cf. Moffatt, *Theol. of the Gospels*, pp. 106, 107.

not as a warrior riding in his pride upon a war-horse, but as lowly and seated upon an ass, the animal of peace.[1] Yet that He felt Himself to have a claim to eminence higher than any that mere descent from David could confer was shown by His subsequently bidding the Scribes explain the words in *Ps.* cx. 1, which were popularly attributed to David himself (*Mk.* xii. 35, 36), and in which the Psalmist refers to the Messiah as "my Lord." And finally before the Sanhedrin, when asked whether He was the Christ, the Son of the Blessed, He replied that He was, but revealed what kind of function and dignity was in His mind associated with the title by adding that His judges would see Him sitting at the right hand of God and coming with the clouds of heaven (*Mk.* xiv. 61, 62).[2] Thus, though born in a lowly station, meek under maltreatment, and an inculcator of humility, He did not shrink from declaring Himself to be the Heavenly Messiah, the future Judge of mankind.

There is no explicit assertion in the earliest records that the Son of God, before His appearance on earth, existed from eternity with the Father; any conclusion respecting His pre-existence (so far as these records are concerned) must rest upon the passage (*Mt.* xi. 27 (= *Lk.* x. 22)) just considered. That Jesus' knowledge of the Divine counsels did not carry with it complete omniscience is expressly implied in *Mk.* xiii. 32, and may be inferred from other evidence (*Mk.* v. 30, vi. 38). Further light is thrown upon His thoughts about His relation to God by His words to the inquirer who desired to know how to gain eternal life. When the latter saluted Him with the address, "Good Teacher," Jesus replied, "Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, even God" (*Mk.* x. 17–22). The comment showed that He drew a distinction between His own character, pure as it was, and the transcendent holiness of God, not by reason, so far as we know, of His having any sense of actual sin, but because He felt Himself exposed to the assaults of temptation, whereas God was incapable of being tempted by evil (*Mt.* iv. 1 f. (= *Lk.* iv. 1 f.), *Mk.* viii. 33, cf. *Heb.* ii. 18, iv. 15, contrast *Jas.* i. 13). Nor was He devoid of some of the weaknesses inseparable from man's fleshly constitution. When confronted with the prospect of a violent end, He experienced the intense shrinking from suffering and death to which humanity is so liable (*Mk.* xiv. 35, 36). And finally on the Cross His sense of God's near presence seems momentarily to have failed Him (*Mk.* xv. 34). It was thus, so far as can be judged, through the channel of a real human nature, with the limitations inherent in it, that in Jesus a disclosure was made of Deity in a degree beyond that conveyed through the best and greatest of other men.

There is no reference to the Virgin Birth either in *Q* or in St. Mark's Gospel, which begins with an account of John's preaching, just prior to our Lord's baptism. As St. Mark was the interpreter of St. Peter, the absence of all allusion to it is significant, for had there been any remarkable facts connected with Jesus' birth, they would hardly have been withheld by Mary, after the Resurrection, from the knowledge of the Apostles.

It remains to say something about the SOTERIOLOGY of the earliest Gospel

[1] *Num.* xxii. 21, 1 *Kg.* xiii. 23.

[2] Cf. *Mt.* xxiv. 27 (= *Lk.* xvii. 24).

records. The impression left by the accounts of the early days of Jesus, ministry is that for means of promoting human salvation He did not, during that period, look beyond the influence of His teaching and example. But before the close of His life He uttered words which *prima facie* suggest that He had come to entertain another idea about the way in which He was to contribute to this end. By the date of His retreat to Cæsarea Philippi, He had not only gained sufficient confidence to announce His belief that He was the celestial Son of man, the heavenly Messiah, but He had also begun to realize in what manner He was destined to pass from a humble estate on earth to heavenly glory. The Scriptures, indeed, contained two examples of individuals who had been so favoured by God that they were transported from earth to heaven without dying (*Gen.* v. 24, 2 *Kg.* ii. 1), and Jesus may once have imagined that He would similarly be translated to the heavenly regions whence He was afterwards to descend. But He at last recognized that for Him the passage from the one to the other must be through the gate of death; and on three separate occasions He gave utterance to this belief (*Mk.* viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 33, 34). The reasons that led Him to this conclusion may perhaps be traced. The virulence with which from a comparatively early stage in His ministry He had been persecuted must have impressed Him with the conviction that a violent death was in store for Him. Reflection upon the fate of many of the prophets, as related in the Old Testament, and the execution of John the Baptist could not but fill Him with presages of evil (cf. *Mt.* xxiii. 37 (= *Lk.* xiii. 34), *Mk.* ix. 13). The thought, however, of the death of God's Christ through the machinations of God's People must have seemed too shocking to be deliberately harboured, if no explanation of it was forthcoming. But it seems probable that He found a clue in a certain passage of the Scriptures, *viz.* the description, in 2 *Is.* liii., of the sufferings and death of Jehovah's servant. The Servant is there represented as enduring, though innocent, the chastisement deserved by others, in expiation of whose sins His life is sacrificed, but as being revived after death. The figure of the Servant appears to have been intended by the prophetic writer to personify the Jewish people, whose national life, extinguished by their enemies, was afterwards renewed, and whose experiences caused them to become an agent of Divine revelation to others, the spiritual welfare of mankind being thus promoted at the cost of Israel's tribulation.[1] But Jesus, it would seem, applied the prophet's ideal creation to Himself, and saw in it a key to the fate before Him, evidence that He so regarded it coming from the language in which on a certain occasion He replied to a request of the sons of Zebedee.

The two brothers had put to Him a petition that they might sit on His right and left hand when He appeared in His glory. In response He explained that the ambition and self-aggrandisement marking those who were accounted great among the Gentiles were not to be displayed by His disciples. The only road to pre-eminence among them was exceptional

[1] See *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* in the "Westminster" Commentaries, pp. 267 f., 336 f.

service, for the Son of man had come not to receive service but to render it, and to give His life a ransom for many (*λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν*, *Mk.* x. 35–45).

There are considerations which, on the surface, favour the inference that by these words Jesus meant that the surrender of His life was substitutionary. (*a*) Although the term "ransom" does not actually occur in 2 *Is.* liii., the word "many" occurs twice (*vv.* 11, 12); and in view of the use of the prophecy in connexion with Jesus elsewhere (*Acts* viii. 32, 35, 1 *Pet.* ii. 24), it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Jesus Himself had it in mind, and applied to His own death the prophet's description of the Servant's *vicarious* death. (*b*) In the persecution by Antiochus IV (see p. 30 f.), it was believed that God would accept the death of His faithful servants as an atonement for the sins of the unfaithful, for when a certain Eleazar was about to be executed, he prayed that God would let His punishment be a satisfaction on behalf of the people, would make his blood their purification, and would accept his soul as an equivalent for their souls (*ἀντίψυχον αὐτῶν*).[1] (*c*) On the occasion of the Last Supper, when Jesus took a loaf and brake it as a memorial of the rending of His flesh, so soon to occur, He declared (according to St. Paul, 1 *Cor.* xi. 24), "This is my body, *which is for* (*ὑπέρ*) *you*"; and when He took the cup He said (according to *Mk.* xiv. 24), "This is my blood of the [new] covenant *which is spilled for* (*ὑπέρ*) *many*." In view of this, then, it appears at first sight probable that Jesus considered that the death which He foresaw to await Him was to be a substitute for that which was deserved by others, and that the sacrifice of His life would procure the pardon of many sinners.

Nevertheless, even if Jesus thought of His approaching death in this light and viewed it as making atonement for human sin, such a way of regarding it has been felt to involve grave difficulties which can be indicated only briefly. In the first place there is a lack of equivalence between the *physical* death which our Lord endured and the *spiritual* death which is the consequence of unrepented sin. Secondly, it seems incompatible with Divine justice that the retribution due to offenders should be averted through the suffering of the innocent. These two difficulties are inadequately met by the suggestions that the sanctity of the moral law, violated through sin, required to be vindicated through suffering, that the physical death of the Son of God had an incalculable value, and that mankind who deserved to suffer really participated in what the Christ underwent because through His solidarity with humanity He *represented* the race, or because His Personality was *inclusive* of all other personalities (see p. 653). And reason for hesitating to conclude that Jesus really looked upon the sacrifice of His life as substitutionary may be found in the fact that in His previous teaching He had never implied that the pardon of sinners depended upon expiation being offered and satisfaction rendered, by themselves or another, for their sins: He had consistently affirmed the forgivingness of God and His readiness to pardon

[1] 4 *Macc.* vi. 27.

all who were sincerely penitent and forgiving, without any reference to the need of an atoning sacrifice (*Mk.* xi. 25, *Mt.* vi. 14, 15, xviii. 23–35, *Lk.* xv. 11–32, xviii. 9–14, cf. also vii. 41, 42, 47). In the light of this consideration, it is expedient to re-examine the declaration contained in *Mk.* x. 45 (end). It will be noticed that the preceding context of the passage creates an expectation that Jesus' self-sacrifice would be of a kind which His disciples could themselves emulate. And, whilst the term *λύτρον* can be used of something actually surrendered in lieu of a forfeited life (*Ex.* xxi. 30, xxx. 11), it can also be used in a metaphorical sense, for the Hebrew equivalent for it occurs as a figure of speech to describe the costliness of some deliverance achieved (*Job* xxxiii. 24, *Ps.* xlix. 7) without implying that anything is given in substitution or exchange for what is rescued. Consequently, it is possible that Jesus meant no more by the words in question than that He was prepared to make the last sacrifice, that of life itself, in the effort to convert sinners from the error of their ways, relinquishment of which conditioned their salvation. And greater proof of love than this there can be none, whether the death thus undergone was strictly vicarious or not.

A conspicuous feature in Jesus' teaching was the value placed upon Faith. The primary object of faith was God. Men were exhorted to believe the Gospel as being the Gospel, or "Good News," *of God* (*Mk.* i. 14, 15). Confidence in His providential care should free all seeking His Kingdom from anxiety respecting the supply of their bodily needs (*Mt.* vi. 25–33 = *Lk.* xii. 22–31), and from fear on occasions of danger (*Mk.* iv. 40). Faith should accompany prayer, and would ensure the fulfilment of it (*Mk.* xi. 22–24). The faith of those who sought from Jesus relief from various maladies is generally represented as a factor contributing to bring about the desired cure (*Mk.* ii. 5, v. 34, 36, vi. 5, 6, ix. 23, 24, x. 52, *Mt.* viii. 10, 13 = *Lk.* vii. 9).[1] In such cases it was in *God's* willingness and potency to grant relief that the faith of the sufferer was essentially reposed (*Mk.* ii. 12, *Mt.* xii. 28 (= *Lk.* xi. 20), *Lk.* vii. 16, xvii. 18, 19, xviii. 43); but such faith also included belief in Jesus as empowered by Him to convey that relief. And it was on behalf of God that Jesus explicitly claimed to speak and act. Though He did not openly declare Himself to be the Messiah until the close of His ministry and so could not demand faith in Himself as such,[2] yet it is clear that throughout He expected from men recognition of Himself as an authoritative Intermediary commissioned by the Almighty to reveal His purposes; and He finally claimed to possess a unique understanding of the Divine character. Of such an expectation and claim He appears to have based the proof upon the spiritual appeal presented by His teaching, upon the moral quality of His wonderful deeds, and upon His life of self-sacrifice.

[1] Cf. *Mt.* ix. 29, xv. 28, xvii. 20, *Lk.* xvii. 19.

[2] The only passage in *Mk.* where Jesus is represented as speaking of *believers in Me* is ix. 42, where the words *εἰς ἐμέ* are absent from ℵ C D, Lat. vet.

(*b*) *The Teaching of the Primitive Church*

For the recovery of the theology of the primitive Church the materials are neither ample nor for the most part of first-rate value. They consist mainly of certain speeches and discourses delivered by St. Peter, Stephen, and Philip, and preserved in *Acts*. These are almost all short, and, at best, must represent only a portion of what was actually said on the various occasions, and their worth as evidence depends upon the source or sources from which St. Luke, the author of *Acts*, derived them, since he himself was not a hearer of them. It seems unlikely that he possessed notes taken by persons actually present, except possibly in the case of Stephen's address before the Sanhedrin; and since *Acts* seems not to have been composed until some fifty or sixty years after the incidents recorded (p. 240), there is no likelihood that the utterances reported in the early chapters represent the *ipsissima verba* of the speakers. Nevertheless, Luke certainly came in contact with several leading figures in the early Church, so that he was in a position to ascertain the general purport of the doctrine taught by them; and his accounts in *Acts* may reasonably be regarded as furnishing, in general, trustworthy testimony to the beliefs current in the Church during the first decade or two following the Crucifixion.

The book of *Acts*, however, is not the sole authority for the theology of the early Church. It has been contended in Part II (above) that the three epistles, 1 *Peter*, *James*, and *Jude*, are the genuine productions of those whose names they bear; and they will be here used as sources supplementary to *Acts*. In regard to the constitution of the early Church some information can also be derived from the writings of St. Paul, whose originality was shown more in the sphere of ideas than in that of ecclesiastical organization, and who in regard to the latter seems to have adopted the arrangements commonly prevailing.

A comparison between the Theology of the Primitive Church and our Lord's own teaching (so far as this is ascertainable from the earliest sources) will be most easily followed if the subject-matter be considered under the three heads of Eschatology, Christology and Soteriology.

1. *Eschatology*

It has been seen (p. 600) that the message proclaimed by Jesus was the nearness of the Kingdom of God, and the imminence of the Divine judgment, which was to decide who should participate in the Kingdom, and who should be excluded; and the task of diffusing the same announcement, committed to His disciples by Him in His lifetime (*Mk.* iii. 14, *Mt.* x. 1, 7), continued to be their duty after His death and resurrection. The evidence which many of them had experienced of His renewed life had restored their faith in Him which His execution had shattered; and they looked forward with fresh confidence to the establishment of the promised Kingdom, which was expected to be a realm in which their own nation would enjoy, if not exclusive, at any rate predominant, rights

(cf. *Acts* i. 6). Any delay in its inauguration was attributable to the mercy and longsuffering of God, Who desired to give to His people an opportunity of repentance before the retribution due to the unrighteous should overtake them. The circumstance that Jesus, Whom they believed to be the Messiah of their race, had been put to death by His own countrymen had enhanced the national guilt, punishment for which nothing but the sincerest penitence could arrest. Accordingly, the departure of Jesus only augmented the obligation resting upon His disciples to turn to account the period elapsing before His re-appearance by efforts to induce in the people a sense of their sin and a change of heart.

The persuasion that there was imminent a catastrophic termination of the existing order of things and its replacement by a new world is found in most of the writings that belong, or relate, to this period. It is implied in St. Peter's identification of the spiritual experiences at Pentecost with the prediction of Joel relating to the last days (*Acts* ii. 16 f.). It is plainly asserted in the same Apostle's words in his Epistle, " The end of all things is at hand " (1 *Pet.* iv. 7). It is equally unmistakably affirmed by St. James, " The coming of the Lord is at hand " (*Jas.* v. 8). This anticipation that the end of the age drew near was accompanied by the belief that Christ Himself would appear a second time (1 *Pet.* i. 7, 13, iv. 13, *Jude* 21) to establish supernaturally the Divine Kingdom. The earnestness of conviction prevailing in the infant Church upon this subject was evidenced in a practical way by the communism which obtained among them for some while. A principal motive leading those who possessed property to forgo any exclusive enjoyment of it, and to place it at the disposal of the Apostles, or of others deputed by them, for the relief of want among fellow-Christians was, no doubt, the memory of their Master's teaching (*Mt.* v. 42 = *Lk.* vi. 30); and realizing intensely as they did the fatherhood of God which Jesus had emphasized, they regarded one another as brethren. But this ethical motive must have been reinforced by the consideration that the existing world-system was transitory, and about to come to a close; so that it was useless to provide for the needs of a future resembling the present. It was not until the interval before Christ's Return grew long that the necessity for making provision for age and sickness reasserted itself; and the evil effects of indiscriminate charity upon men of weak character and slothful habits caused its discontinuance (cf. p. 499).

2. *Christology*

The first public announcements made by Jesus (p. 600) were purely eschatological, and related only to the approach of the end, and the conditions governing entry into the expected Kingdom of God; He said nothing about any part which He Himself would fill; and Christianity, as it was first preached by its Founder, contained no mention of Christ. Eventually, however, He gave both His immediate followers and others to understand that He was the Messiah. In those who credited His assertion the belief was temporarily eclipsed by His death, but was restored by the

visions of His renewed and glorified life, which were seen by many (cf. 1 *Cor.* xv. 5–7), and which attested that He had entered upon His Messiahship (cf. *Acts* ii. 36, *Κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός*). The Apostles made it their object at the outset to disseminate among others their own convictions about Him, so that there entered into their teaching a factor which had no place in their Master's public utterances until near the very end of His life, but which now marked a distinct stage in the presentation of Christianity. What they thought about the Person of their Master, and about His significance for Israel and for the world had, indeed, a basis in His own convictions concerning Himself (p. 616); but whereas He, during the greater part of His ministry, refrained from any overt declaration that He was the Hope of Israel, His followers now made this the central theme of their preaching. To His message respecting the Kingdom they added a declaration about Him, so that the Gospel (or "good news") which they delivered related not merely to the Kingdom of God (*Acts* viii. 12, xix. 8) but to Jesus as God's vicegerent (*Acts* v. 42, x. 36), the Person through whom the Divine promises were to be fulfilled. Like their Lord they summoned the people to repent, but their exhortations to repentance could not fail to reflect their convictions of the enhanced guilt of their countrymen and their rulers in consequence of the rejection and execution of One whom they believed to be the Messiah of their race (*Acts* ii. 38, iii. 13, 19).

The proofs which they offered in support of their contention were drawn from three sources—their own witness of His Risen life, the predictions of His triumph over death contained in the Scriptures, and the evidence of His spiritual activity afforded by the gifts of "tongues" and of "prophecy" with which so many of His followers found themselves endowed. The restoration of their Master from the world of the dead cancelled in their view the ignominy and degradation of the Crucifixion and triumphantly vindicated His claims to be the Messiah. But it was not possible for them to impart to prejudiced minds the strength of their own convictions that Jesus was really alive from the dead; whilst the gifts of the Spirit which they believed to be bestowed by Him could be made by the sceptical the subject of mockery (*Acts* ii. 13, cf. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 23). Consequently it was upon the evidence of Old Testament prophecy that they chiefly relied to dispose their hearers to accept their assurances. Thus (to take a single example) St. Peter (who is depicted by St. Luke as sharing the same conception of the Resurrection as that which appears in the Third Gospel) appealed at Pentecost to *Ps.* xvi. 8–11 as a prediction that the Messiah was to be restored to physical life as he maintained Jesus had been restored, without having experienced corruption. As David, the traditional author of the psalm, had died and undergone dissolution, he was represented as speaking prophetically, in the person of his descendant the Messiah, of his corporeal resurrection. The LXX, however, is an inaccurate rendering of the Hebrew, which shows that the Psalmist only intended to express his confidence that his fellowship with God would ensure for him preservation from premature death, and the enjoyment on earth of such a life as was alone deserving the name. The passage, there-

fore, can be regarded, at most, as containing an intimation of human *immortality*, such as all belief in communion between God and man appears to involve (cf. *Mk.* xii. 26, 27), and as constituting an argument for the survival of the spirit of Jesus, not in the gloom of *Sheol*, forgotten by God (*Ps.* lxxxviii. 5), but in the light and joy of the Divine presence. Appeal was similarly made by the Apostle to *Ps.* cx. 1 as a prophecy of the Messiah's exaltation to God's right hand, and as supporting the contention that Jesus had been made both Lord and Christ.

The speech of St. Peter at Pentecost illustrates both the methods of argument followed generally by the advocates of the Christian faith in the Apostolic age, and the titles which they claimed for Jesus. Of the two titles specifically mentioned in the speech as reported by St. Luke, the name *Χριστός* or "Messiah" has been previously discussed (p. 614); and it only requires to be noted here that Jesus is represented as being a descendant of the royal house of David (cf. *Rom.* i. 3). The title *Κύριος* was probably applied to Jesus on the strength of the use of the term in *Ps.* cx. 1, where the Psalmist is assumed to be speaking of the Messiah. In *Mk.* and *Q* the application of it by the Apostles to Jesus in His lifetime only appears in *Mk.* xi. 3; and its real significance is doubtful (cf. v. 19). But after His death the use of it in the sense of "Lord" became current. Just as St. Peter is represented in *Acts* ii. 36 as saying *Κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός*, so the same Apostle in 1 *Pet.* iii. 15 writes *Κύριον τὸν Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν* (cf. also i. 3, *ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*). The combinations *Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* and *ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* occur also in *James* i. 1, ii. 1. It is likely, however, that the increased employment in the Church, after the extension of Christianity to the Gentiles, of *ὁ Κύριος* as a title for Jesus, equivalent to the Aramaic *Mārā* (cf. 1 *Cor.* xvi. 22), was not unconnected with the prevalence of it among Greek-speaking peoples to designate any Divine Personality who was the object of devotion to a body of worshippers.[1] Besides *Christ* and *Lord*, other names are in the early speeches of *Acts* employed of Jesus. Of these one is *God's Servant* (*Acts* iii. 13, 26), with its equivalent *God's Holy Servant* (*Acts* iv. 27, 30). In the Old Testament the term "God's Servant" is applied to the collective people Israel (*Ps.* cxxxvi. 22 (*δοῦλος*), 2 *Is.* xli. 8, xliv. 1, xlv. 4 (*παῖς*), cf. *Lk.* i. 54), and to various individual Israelites like the patriarchs (*Gen.* xxvi. 24, *Dt.* ix. 27), Moses (*Num.* xii. 7), David (2 *Sam.* vii. 8, cf. *Acts* iv. 25), and several of the prophets[2]; and in *Acts* (where the Greek equivalent is *παῖς*) it appears to be used of Jesus as endowed by God with prophetic attributes in a pre-eminent degree. For He is described by Peter (*Acts* iv. 27, x. 38) as having been anointed by God with Holy Spirit; and the statement seems to point to 3 *Is.* lxi. 1 as the passage which suggested the application of the expression to Jesus, Who in *Lk.* iv. 18–21 is related to have declared that the words of that passage were fulfilled in Himself. The conception of Jesus as a Prophet (the view most commonly taken of Him by the populace during His ministry, p. 373) appears also in the

[1] See Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, p. 411.

[2] In *Wisd.* ii. 13 *παῖς Κυρίου* is used of the righteous man.

reference in *Acts* iii. 21, 22 to the prediction ascribed to Moses in *Dt.* xviii. 15, that Jehovah would raise up a prophet like himself, a prediction which (it is implied) was fulfilled by Jesus, though the original has in view not an individual prophet but a line of prophets. Another designation for Jesus is *the Holy and Righteous One*, a title which is probably derived from *Enoch* xxxviii. 2 (" the Righteous One ") and liii. 6 (" the Righteous and Elect One "), both passages referring to the heavenly Messiah, and has its remote origin in 2 *Is.* liii. 11. But a negative feature in the allusions made to Jesus in the early speeches of *Acts* is the absence of both the titles " Son of man " and " Son of God." The first of them, indeed, occurs once in the book, namely in the dying utterance of Stephen (vii. 56) ; whilst the second has place in the answer of Philip to the Ethiopian minister (viii. 37) which is contained in certain manuscripts.[1] Otherwise *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is not found elsewhere, whilst *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* only occurs in the account of St. Paul's preaching at Damascus (ix. 20). On the other hand, St. Peter in his Epistle implicitly calls Jesus the Son of God by writing *ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (1 *Pet.* i. 3).

So far as the theology of the earliest age of the Church can be thus reconstructed from the documents reflecting the thought of that period, its Christology was confined to asserting the exaltation of Jesus, after His death, to God's right hand, and to supremacy over Angelic powers (1 *Pet.* iii. 22). The Apostles' central contention was that the historical Jesus was the Christ (or Messiah) of prophecy. It was the Resurrection that marked out Jesus as such, and afforded promise of His return in glory ; speculation about Him had not yet advanced to the point of affirming His pre-existence in heaven prior to His appearance on earth. He was held to have been a man sinless [2] and guileless (1 *Pet.* ii. 22, cf. 2 *Is.* liii. 9), who had discharged a Divine mission, as was proved by His miracles (*Acts* ii. 22) ; and His ability to work such wonders was attributed to His having been consecrated with Holy Spirit, seemingly at His baptism by John (*Acts* iv. 27, x. 38). There is no allusion to His birth from a Virgin ; and the fact that the author of *Acts* has prefixed to his Gospel an account of the Virgin Birth makes the absence of any reference to it in *Acts* remarkable, and warrants the conclusion that he sought to reproduce faithfully the conditions of belief in the early Church, as far as he could ascertain them. In 1 *Pet.* iii. 19, iv. 6 there occurs an idea without parallel elsewhere in the New Testament respecting Christ's activity during the interval between His Crucifixion and His Resurrection. It is represented that He, retaining His life in the Spirit, after having suffered death in the flesh, went to the prison where the souls of those who had sinned in the days of Noah were detained, and there proclaimed to them His Gospel. The thought of a prison for offending spirits occurs in *Is.* xxiv. 22 (cf. also *Jude* 6), and the imprisonment of Satan in the abyss for a thousand years is described in *Rev.* xx. 2, 3.

[1] Viz. E, some cursives, Lat. (vet.), Syr. (hl.) and a few other authorities.
[2] Cf. 2 *Cor.* v. 21, *Heb.* iv. 15.

3. *Soteriology*

It has been shown that the Eschatology of the primitive Church included the expectation that Jesus would shortly come a second time to execute *judgment*: His previous appearance in the world had been for a different end and was connected with human *salvation*. In regard to this there is attached, in the utterances of the Apostles reported in *Acts* i.–vi., no special significance to the death of Jesus, which is alluded to as though it were nothing but a singularly atrocious judicial murder (*Acts* ii. 23, iii. 13). It was, indeed, represented as foreseen and predetermined by God, Who had foreshown through the agency of the prophets that the Christ was ordained to suffer (the reference, no doubt, being to 2 *Is.* liii.); but the death of the Christ was not expressly brought into connexion with human redemption from sin. But it was inevitable that further reflection upon the prophetic passage just cited (to which attention had been drawn by Jesus' own use of it, *Mk.* x. 45) should eventually lead those who, like the Apostles, were trained to assign extreme value to the sacrificial system of the Jewish religion, to attribute greater and greater importance to the death of the Christ; and how their minds were influenced by the prophet's words appears from the account of Philip's conversation with the minister of Queen Candace (*Acts* viii. 26–40). It is therefore not unreasonable to see in the language of 1 *Pet.* i. 18, 19, ii. 21–24, iii. 18, a fairly typical example of the theorizing which after the lapse of a few years began to be current in the Church respecting the value of Christ's death for the salvation of mankind. In the first of these passages the Apostle describes those to whom he writes as knowing that they were redeemed (*ἐλυτρώθητε*, cf. *Mk.* x. 45, *λύτρον*) from their reckless manner of living which had been inherited from their fathers not with perishable things, such as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of an unblemished and spotless lamb. In the second and third he declares that Christ suffered for them, the righteous for (*ὑπέρ*) the unrighteous, and bare (*ἀνήνεγκεν*, 2 *Is.* liii. 12) men's sins in His own body on the tree. Another Old Testament passage which seems to have afforded ideas about the import of Christ's death is *Ex.* xxiv. 5 f., for the account of Moses sprinkling the people with the blood of the victim sacrificed to solemnize the Sinaitic covenant must be the source of St. Peter's words (1 *Pet.* i. 2), "called unto obedience and unto sprinkling with the blood of Christ." The author of this Epistle may be suspected of having been influenced in certain of his expressions by the language of St. Paul (cf. ii. 24 (end) with *Rom.* vi. 2, 4, 11, *Col.* iii. 3, and iii. 16 with *Rom.* vi. 11); but he does not afford much evidence of having adopted the Pauline Soteriology as a whole.

The remission of sins was represented as dependent not only on repentance (*Acts* iii. 19) but also on faith in Jesus as the Christ. That faith was the condition and means of salvation is asserted or implied in 1 *Pet.* i. 5, v. 9; and confession of belief in Jesus was marked by submission to the rite of baptism (see *Acts* ii. 38). This, as administered by John the Baptist, had been a seal of penitence and a pledge to a new course of life; but the rite now connoted more than this. Those who underwent it were

baptized " in " or " into " the name of Jesus Christ, which was pronounced over them (cf. *Jas.* ii. 7, *τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*), so that it became a pledge not only of a changed mind and purpose, but also of belief in, and acceptance of, Jesus as the final revealer of God's will, and so fitted them to receive the Holy Spirit with which He had been endowed, and which He now bestowed from heaven upon His followers, such a gift demonstrating that they who received it stood right with God. Usually this proof followed baptism, supplication for it being accompanied by " laying on of hands " (p. 509); but occasionally signs of the Spirit's presence preceded baptism (*Acts* x. 44–48). Seemingly any Christian could administer the baptismal rite (cf. *Acts* ix. 18).

In general it is faith that is represented as cleansing the heart (*Acts* xv. 9), though St. James insists that faith without works is dead and has no saving virtue (*Jas.* ii. 14–26); whilst St. Peter directs the minds of his readers to the contemplation of Christ's life on earth, which furnished an example for them to follow (1 *Pet.* ii. 21, iv. 1, 13). The act of baptism, which ensued upon a convert's confession of faith, was regarded as a symbol of moral cleansing, not as an effectual means of producing it, if an inference may be drawn from the obscure passage 1 *Pet.* iii. 21. Here the writer, after declaring that in the Ark eight souls were brought safely through water, proceeds " which (*i.e.* water) also in the antitype brings you to safety, even baptism," and the meaning seems to be that the water of baptism spiritually sustains the baptized (*i.e.* supports their new resolutions by the public promise involved) as the Flood sustained the Ark, and carries them into safety. The Apostle guards himself from being understood to attribute a mechanical effect to the rite by adding that what in baptism really saves is the search after God which a good conscience continually pursues.[1]

There may be noticed here the various phrases used in connexion with Baptism in *Acts*. They are (*a*) *βαπτίζειν* (or *βαπτίζεσθαι*) *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (ii. 38, with a variant *ἐν*); (*b*) *β. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι I. X.* (x. 48); (*c*) *β. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ I. X.* (viii. 16, xix. 5). Of these the expression *βαπτίζειν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* seems to relate to the form of words used, " to baptize *with* the name "; whilst *β. ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι* is virtually equivalent to this and means " to baptize *after* the name " (cf. *κεκλῆσθαι ἐπί τινι*). But *β. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* appears to imply a consecration to the service of the Person whose name is used, for this must be the significance of passages like 1 *Cor.* i. 13, *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε;* and 1 *Cor.* x. 2, *πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ.*

It will be observed that throughout the period covered by *Acts* the Name in, or into, which converts to the Christian faith are represented as being baptized is that of *Jesus Christ*, or *the Lord Jesus*, not that of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (cf. *Acts* ii. 38, x. 48 (Peter), viii. 16 (Philip), xix. 5 (Paul)). It is extremely difficult to think that if the name of the Trinity were really used baptismally in the early Apostolic Church

[1] In favour of construing *εἰς θεόν* with *ἐπερώτημα* is the parallel use of the same preposition after *ἐπερωτᾶν* in 1 *Kg.* xi. 7. But see Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude*, p. 165.

there would have been so little trace of it in *Acts*; and the circumstance throws doubt upon the authenticity of the command in *Mt.* xxviii. enjoining it (see also p. 613).

Baptism marked the inclusion of believers [1] within the Church (ἡ ἐκκλησία). This term, which was probably, though not quite certainly, employed by Christ Himself (p. 611), was at any rate used from very early days by Christians to designate their united body (*Acts* v. 11, viii. 1, xi. 26). Each of the Christian communities in the several cities where converts were made could be called an *ecclesia* (see 1 *Thess.* i. 1, 1 *Cor.* i. 2, *Rom.* xvi. 1, *Rev.* i. 4, ii. 1, 8, 12); but their members were all included in one comprehensive *ecclesia*. The term implied that the Christians, through believing Jesus to be the Messiah, were the Spiritual Israel, the Jews, though bearing the name of Israel, having showed themselves through their unbelief to be no true part of it (cf. *Rom.* ix. 6, 7). And as an indication that this was the light in which the Christians in the early Apostolic age regarded themselves is the fact that they continued to worship in the Temple (*Acts* iii. 1, v. 42), though they gathered in turn at each other's houses for prayer and other religious purposes. Their private gatherings did not replace, but only supplemented, the Temple services; and so long as they were tolerated, they did not segregate themselves from their fellow-Jews.

The principal end for which they met privately was to preserve, by a solemn Breaking of Bread together, the memory of the Last Supper. This apparently formed part of an ordinary meal (*Acts* ii. 42, 46, cf. 1 *Cor.* xi. 20, 21), occurring in the evening, especially on the first day of the week (*Acts* xx. 7, 8). The act of sharing a meal in common, the bread being broken and the wine drunk after the example set by their Master when He was last with them, and the words He used on that occasion repeated, must have conveyed a mysterious sense of continued union with Him, and through Him with God. Whether it was also regarded as an emblematic foretaste of the Messianic banquet (cf. *Mt.* viii. 11, *Mk.* xiv. 25) there is nothing to show. There is no evidence to prove that the offering of the accompanying thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 16, cf. *Acts* xxvii. 35) for the boon alike of material food and spiritual sustenance was restricted to any Church officials, though presumably this function was ordinarily discharged by some one invested with authority (see p. 631), if such were available. Nothing, however, is said that "would justify us in thinking that if a body of Christians were present with no duly appointed minister they would abstain from the Breaking of Bread."[2] Nor is there anything to decide whether the bread and the wine were distributed to each person by the presiding official, where one was present, or by a substitute in his absence, or whether they were passed around.

Another ceremony practised was that of the Laying on of hands. This,

[1] This was one of the terms employed by Christians to designate themselves (see *Acts* ii. 44, iv. 32); others were "the brethren," "the disciples," "the saints" (*Acts* xv. 1, 32, xi. 26, xiv. 28, ix. 32, 41; cf. *Rom.* viii. 27, xii. 13, 1 *Cor.* vi. 1, etc.). The name "Christians" seems to have originated among the heathen populace (p. 521).

[2] Cf. Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church*, p. 81.

accompanied by prayer, was observed on various occasions, including the appointment of persons to an office (*Acts* vi. 6, and cf. p. 503), the choice and dispatch of emissaries from the Church on a missionary enterprise (*Acts* xiii. 3), and supplication for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit (*Acts* viii. 15–17, cf. xix. 6). The precise significance attached to the act of laying on of hands is left quite obscure, though it seems to have been associated with the bestowal of a blessing. It is noteworthy that, whilst on two occasions the religious rapture, associated with the descent of the Holy Ghost, followed this rite, on another the like spiritual ecstasy was experienced by certain Gentiles even before they had received Christian baptism (*Acts* x. 44–47).

After the death of Jesus the need for some sort of authority in the Church would quickly arise; and so long as His Apostles lived they would naturally occupy the position of leaders. This (it would appear) was in consequence not so much of any formal commission of authority given them by Christ in His lifetime to exercise government over the Church after His departure as of their special competence to transmit His teaching.[1] After His death they were the surest source whence new disciples could derive a knowledge of Christian principles, and probably of Christian interpretations of prophecy; they constituted a centre of fellowship in which others could join (see *Acts* ii. 42); they were regarded as the responsible heads of the community, to whom was entrusted such property as, in the voluntary communism that prevailed, was devoted to the general needs of the society (*Acts* iv. 35); and they convened meetings of the Church (*Acts* vi. 2). As the Christian faith extended and communities of Christians became established elsewhere than at Jerusalem, the Apostles at the latter place sent some of their number to these to bring them into relation with the central body, so as to qualify them for receiving whatever privileges this enjoyed (*Acts* viii. 14 f., cf. xix. 5, 6). To representatives of the Apostles also a missionary of independent disposition like St. Paul deemed it expedient, in the interest of unity, to give an account of his labours (*Gal.* ii. 2 f.). Amongst the Apostles themselves the lead was generally taken by St. Peter; but it is plain that he enjoyed no primacy, for he was subject to the control of the whole body, which on one occasion sent him and John to see the converts at Samaria, and to which, on another, he gave an explanation of his having baptized and held social intercourse with certain Gentiles (viii. 14, xi. 1 f.). One who was not originally included in the Twelve seems at a later date to have filled a position superior even to St. Peter's. This was James (see p. 255), whose kinship with Jesus probably contributed to his authority in the Church when he became a member of it (*Acts* xxi. 18, *Gal.* i. 19, ii. 9).

There were others who discharged important functions in the community besides the Apostles.[2] The next in dignity were those who were

[1] Cf. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 84. The most authoritative passages are *Mt.* x. 40 (= *Lk.* x. 16), xix. 28 (= *Lk.* xxii. 30); cf. also *Joh.* xiii. 20.

[2] The name was not confined exclusively to the Twelve; for it is applied to St. Paul, Barnabas, James (the Lord's "brother"), and seemingly to Andronicus and Junias (*Rom.* xvi. 7).

known as Prophets (1 *Cor.* xii. 28, *Eph.* iv. 11, cf. *Rev.* xviii. 20). These owed the influence they exerted not to any official standing but to their possession of a certain faculty for emotional speech and a gift of foresight ascribed to the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The duties of "evangelists," "pastors," and "teachers" are sufficiently explained by their names; and all of them probably exercised an itinerant spiritual ministry. But there was another class of stationary officials who became necessary as soon as it was desirable to give to the Church some administrative organization independent of that of Judaism. The first group of such officials, specially created at Jerusalem for the better distribution of relief to the needy, consisted of Seven persons, who were chosen by the Church collectively and then empowered by the Apostles to act as its agents and representatives. This body seems only to have been appointed to meet a temporary want; and later their duties were apparently absorbed by another body called "Elders" or "Presbyters" (*Acts* xi. 30, xv. 2, xx. 17). These were no doubt the counterpart of the Jewish "elders" (p. 95), though they must have been free from many of the secular responsibilities that rested upon the latter. They were primarily local Church rulers, but gradually came to discharge likewise such spiritual functions as preaching and teaching (cf. 1 *Tim.* v. 17). Since the Apostles in their missionary tours were unable to stay long at any one city, they were accustomed before their departure to appoint officials with this title to take charge of the Christian communities which they had established in various places (*Acts* xiv. 23, xx. 17, 1 *Pet.* v. 1). Such were also called "Overseers" or "Bishops" (ἐπίσκοποι), this term describing the oversight which they were expected to maintain over their fellow-Christians in their several localities, in consequence alike of their age and their authority (*Acts* xx. 28, 1 *Pet.* v. 1, 2). Eventually the words "Elder" (or "Presbyter") and "Bishop" became allocated to distinct orders of Church officers, the latter denoting the superior order; but this occurred outside the period covered by the New Testament writings. The separation of the two orders and the subordination of Presbyters to Bishops was an arrangement demanded by the exigencies of the developing Church and not enjoined by any command of Christ so far as extant evidence shows.[1] Nowhere in the New Testament is the term ἱερεῖς, the designation of the Jewish priests (*Mk.* i. 44, ii. 26, etc.), applied to the elders or any other ministers of the Christian Church, though Christians collectively are described as ἱερεῖς (*Rev.* i. 6, v. 10, xx. 6, cf. 1 *Pet.* ii. 5, 9), their relation to God and the world being considered to be the same as that of ancient Israel, the priestly nation of mankind (cf. *Ex.* xix. 6, 3 *Is.* lxi. 6, and pp. 23–4); whilst St. Paul uses the verb ἱερουργεῖν of ministering the Gospel to the Gentiles (*Rom.* xv. 16). Below the Presbyters was another order

[1] St. Jerome (quoted by Cohu, *Evolution of the Christian Ministry*, p. 27) writes: "Let bishops be also aware that they are superior to presbyters more owing to custom than to any actual ordinance of the Lord." Possibly the beginnings of the monarchical episcopate are reflected in the conduct of Diotrephes described in 3 *Joh.* 9, 10, not without protest on the part of the writer of that Epistle: cf. Purchas, *Johannine Problems*, p. 14.

of officials called " Deacons " (*Phil.* i. 1, cf. 1 *Tim.* iii. 8), the name being equivalent to " minister " ; they were perhaps primarily charged with the administration of charity, when the Presbyters became immersed in other duties. It is possible that women could act as such (*Rom.* xvi. 1), though the term here may mean no more than " helper."

All those who served the Church in the several capacities just enumerated, as well as in some others, did so because they were, or appeared to be, endowed with certain bountiful gifts (*χαρίσματα*) from above (*Rom.* xii. 6 f., 1 *Cor.* xii. 4 f.). Nevertheless they naturally fell into two distinct classes. Some were universally recognized to possess certain qualifications fitting them for special functions, and did not require, in order to perform them, any commission from the general body of the Church. Among such, no doubt, were the Prophets and Teachers. But there were others who, though none the less gifted in various ways, yet seemed to need public authorization if they were to exert proper influence ; and so they were expressly appointed to such offices as involved the exercise of rule and the management of affairs. Such were the " Seven," the Presbyters (or Bishops), and the Deacons. The " Seven," who seem to have been intended to meet a particular emergency, were chosen by the whole Christian community at Jerusalem, and were then appointed to their office by the Apostles (*Acts* vi. 5, 6). Presbyters in the Churches of South Galatia were appointed by St. Paul and Barnabas (*Acts* xiv. 23) ; but at Ephesus those whom the Apostle at Miletus mentioned as having been made overseers (or bishops) by the Holy Spirit may have owed their position to the action of the local Church guided by precedent. If the Pastoral Epistles are genuine (p. 296 f.), it may be inferred from them that Timothy was appointed a Presbyter by St. Paul acting in conjunction with a body of presbyters (1 *Tim.* iv. 14, 2 *Tim.* i. 6), the hands of all being laid upon him ; whilst Titus was commissioned by the Apostle to act as his delegate in Crete and to appoint Presbyters there (*Tit.* i. 5) after the precedent set by himself and Barnabas in Galatia.

It will be seen, from what has been said, that the different orders in the Church appear to have come into existence as the necessity for them arose. As the Christian community was at first only a sect within the pale of Judaism (cf. *Acts* xxiv. 5, 14), there was at the outset no call for any separate organization. It was only when the Jewish authorities rendered it impossible for the Christians to unite with them for worship or other purposes that the latter had to provide for their own religious and social needs ; and they naturally modelled their new arrangements upon those with which they were familiar. From the Synagogue they adopted the Presbyterate ; out of this there was evolved the monarchical Episcopate, by which it was apparently sought to reproduce the Apostolate ; whilst the Diaconate, which was originally constituted (though without this particular title) in order to distribute relief to the indigent and then discontinued, was afterwards revived under pressure of similar urgency.

(*c*) *The Teaching of the Revelation*

The book of *Revelation* was probably composed, at least in its present form, in the latter part of the reign of Domitian, perhaps between A.D. 90 and 96 (p. 333), so that it is later by some thirty or thirty-six years than the latest of the Pauline Epistles. But development of thought does not uniformly keep pace with succession in time; and the theology of *Revelation* is of a somewhat primitive character. Accordingly consideration will best be given to it here, before attention is turned to the theological constructions of St. Paul.

The book is of a very pronounced Apocalyptic type. Like so many other Apocalypses, it was the production of an age marked by deep depression in consequence of the conditions surrounding the Christian Church. The latter half of the first century A.D. witnessed outbreaks of fierce persecution of which Christians were the victims. Nero (54–68) diverted upon them the odium which his responsibility for the burning of Rome, had the fact become widely known, would have excited against himself; whilst under Domitian (81–96) Christianity as a religion was more directly proscribed by the State. It was with the aim of encouraging his co-religionists under the severe trial to which they were subjected that a certain John, seemingly a Christian prophet, wrote the work here under notice, seeking to sustain their courage by holding out the prospect of speedy deliverance for them and of retribution for their adversaries.

The author has been greatly influenced by earlier writings and his work is so permeated by the conceptions, vocabulary, and even the style of the Old Testament that it is much the most Hebraic work of any of the books of the New Testament. In a measure it lies in the succession of the prophetic writings of the Hebrew Scriptures. More especially does it recall the Apocalyptic parts of *Daniel*; for, like the latter, it is full of symbolic animals, numbers, and names. It is not unlikely, indeed, that it incorporates portions of earlier productions of Jewish origin, which have been adapted by the author to his own purposes (p. 334). As might be expected from the object and design of the book, the Eschatology is the most conspicuous and distinctive element in it, the Christology and Soteriology adding comparatively little to the results of previous thought.

1. *Eschatology*

The writer's aim, as has been said, was to comfort his distressed fellow-Christians with the anticipation of a speedy conclusion to their sufferings; and he claimed to reveal what was shortly to come to pass (i. 1, xxii. 6, 10). He sees in vision a universal and final judgment embracing the dead and the living (xx. 11–13). The Judge is unnamed, but is probably God (xx. 11, cf. *Rom.* xiv. 10, *Dan.* vii. 9, 10), though Jesus Himself is to come with the clouds, visible to all, and causing universal consternation (i. 7). The judgment is followed by the appearance of a new heaven and a new earth, the vanishing of the sea (the prophet's attitude towards which reflects the idea of the antagonism between Jehovah and the Deep, p. 640), and the

descent from heaven of the holy city, new Jerusalem (cf. p. 108), the destined home for ever of God's faithful servants. But the most prominent characteristic of the book's Eschatology is the space given to various events preceding the final judgment scene. These are marked by the activity of certain powers, hostile to Christ's people, which are symbolically represented by various figures, viz. (1) a dragon, (2) a beast with ten horns and seven heads, (3) a second beast with two horns (styled the false prophet, xvi. 13), (4) a harlot mounted on a scarlet-coloured beast. These stand respectively for (1) Satan, (2) the imperial line of the Cæsars, (3) the heathen priesthood devoted to the cult of the Emperors, and (4) the city of Rome itself; and they are all inflamed with animosity against Christ and His followers. The successive events that occur prior to the universal judgment are (1) the destruction of the harlot Rome (the city on seven hills (xvii. 9) being called symbolically *Babylon* (xvii. 5, xviii. 2, cf. 1 *Pet.* v. 13)) by the first beast, which, from representing the Cæsars, comes to stand for a single emperor (xvii. 11) who is inspired by hatred of his native country and his people (xvii. 16); (2) a war between the same beast, aided by the false prophet, against Christ, Who descends from heaven and vanquishes them, afterwards casting them into a lake of fire; (3) the chaining in the abyss for a thousand years of the dragon, Satan (who gave to the beast his authority), and the reign of Christ on earth with His martyred saints for the same duration of time; (4) the unloosing of Satan at the close of this period, and a renewed struggle at Harmagedon between him, at the head of a host of nations, and the forces of God, resulting in his being cast into the same lake of fire as his minions, the beast and the false prophet. After this there ensues the universal judgment.

The author in representing the Roman government under the figure of a many-headed and many-horned beast uses the symbolism of *Daniel*; and he also applies to his own purposes *Daniel's* symbolic numbers (xi. 2, xiii. 5, where forty-two months is the equivalent of the three and a half years of *Dan.* vii. 25, xii. 7). In styling the nations which Satan gathers for the decisive struggle by the names Gog and Magog he draws upon the apocalyptic prophecy constituting *Ezek.* xxxviii. and xxxix. Harmagedon, in spite of its meaning the mountain of Megiddo, is clearly intended to denote the valley of Megiddo, the scene of more than one great conflict in Hebrew history. The description of the glories of the New Jerusalem in xxi. 10 f. is influenced by 3 *Is.* lx.–lxii. But whilst the eschatology thus reflects the imagery of the Old Testament, it also contains features which reproduce contemporary beliefs of the Roman world. Nero, who perished by his own hand, was shortly afterwards believed by many not to have died but to be in hiding [1] in Parthia or elsewhere, and was expected to return to take vengeance upon the inhabitants of his capital. To this expectation the writer seems to refer when he speaks of an Emperor who is one of seven and is included among five who have fallen, but who is destined to return as an eighth (xvii. 11, see p. 333). The name *Nerōn*

[1] See Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8, quoted on p. 333. In *Sibyll. Or.* v. 27 f. allusion is made to the return of Nero, designated by the numeral 50 (N′).

Kēsar, written in Hebrew characters, is the most probable explanation of the numerical cypher 666, since the omission of the final *n* of *Nerōn*, yielding the number 616, accounts for the substitution of this figure in place of 666 in the uncial MS. C and two cursives.[1] The ten kings who are described as aiding Nero against Rome can thus be plausibly identified with the kings that came from the sun-rising (xvi. 12) and taken to denote Parthian chiefs, whom Nero, it was anticipated, would bring with him.

The representation of the New Jerusalem as descending from heaven to earth appears to have its roots in the belief prevailing in some of the later writings of the Old Testament that everything round which the religious emotions of the Jewish people more particularly clung had its counterpart in heaven, where there was supposed to exist the original, of which the object visible on earth was only an image or copy. The source of such a conception would seem to be a confusion between the idea of a thing as it exists in the mind of God Who knows and designs all, and the concrete embodiment of the idea; the latter is strangely thought of as being all the while in heaven, reserved against the due time for its manifestation on earth.

Among the singular features in the eschatology of the book is the announcement of a reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years, to share in which all Christian martyrs are expected to rise from the dead *before* the general resurrection and the destruction of the existing world. This representation embodies the notion (finding expression in certain Apocalyptic writings) that between the present age and a future age belonging to a different order there will be an interval, which, whilst continuous with the present age, will be marked with great felicity for God's servants. This is a compromise between the view common in the Old Testament that the endless bliss for the righteous people of God will ensue, without any abrupt break, upon the conditions now prevailing (see *Is.* ix. 1–7, *Mic.* v. 2 f., *Jer.* xxxiii., *Joel* ii. 18, iii. 21), and the view that the future age of happiness will be ushered in by a final judgment accompanied by the disappearance of the present world. The idea of a Millennium has parallels elsewhere, though the particular number of years varies or is left undefined. It occurs in the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, xl., xlii. "And his (the Messiah's) principate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled." Then "corruption will take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it." It is found also in a different and more definite form in 2 *Esdras* vii. 28. "For my son the Messiah [2] shall be revealed with those that be with him, and shall rejoice them that remain four hundred years. And after these years shall my son the Messiah die, and all that have the breath

[1] Among other proposed solutions of the cypher are Λατεινός and (on the assumption that 616 was the original figure), Καῖσαρ Θεός and Γάϊος Καῖσαρ (*i.e.* Gaius Caligula). For the use of a number to represent a name an interesting parallel is quoted from a recently-found papyrus, "I love her, the number of whose honourable name is 547" —Moulton, *From Egyptian Rubbish Heaps*, p. 33.

[2] This is the reading of the Syriac, Ethiopic and Arabic versions; the Latin has "my son Jesus," a Christian modification: see Box, *The Ezra Apocalypse*, p. 114.

of life." But though the conception in *Rev.* is in some measure similar, both the expression which it obtains and the motives inspiring it are distinctive. For (*a*) the period of Christ's reign is fixed at a thousand years (for which see p. 61); (*b*) Christ does not die at its close; and (*c*) there is a preliminary resurrection of martyrs to share it. It seems clear that this representation owes its origin to the persecutions to which Christians were at the time exposed; and was due to the conviction that the exceptional sufferings of the martyrs entitled them to an exceptional reward, a claim which at a time when a belief was entertained in a general resurrection of all men could best be met by predicting for the martyrs a revival to life prior to that enjoyed by the rest of the righteous. The conflict at Harmagedon initiated by Satan, after being loosed from the abyss at the termination of the Millennium, is modelled, as has been said, upon the account in *Ezekiel* of the assault by Gog and his allies upon Israel. In the Old Testament writer the attack is made upon God's people by the most distant nations of the earth, who, previously having heard nothing of Israel's God, at last, in this way experience His might, as He repels them and defends His servants. In the same manner the author of *Revelation*, after describing the overthrow of the Roman empire and the felicity of God's saints during the thousand years that follow it, supposes that the rest of the heathen world at the close of that period will be incited by Satan to provoke a final display of Divine power, which will be manifested in their destruction.

2. *Christology*

The conception of Christ's Person which the book presents is rather lacking in precision, and the language used, whilst suggesting ideas which obtain more explicit expression elsewhere in the New Testament, leaves the actual views of the writer somewhat ambiguous and obscure. Jesus, described as "like unto a son of man" (i. 13, and cf. *Enoch* xlvi.), is designated the Son of God (ii. 18, cf. ii. 27, iii. 5, xiv. 1), seemingly being such by origin and in essence, though other men may *become* the sons of God (xxi. 7, cf. *Joh.* i. 12, xii. 36). He shares God's throne (vii. 10, iii. 21, xxii. 1); and to God and to Him worship is offered in common by the inhabitants of heaven and by the redeemed of earth (v. 13, 14, vii. 10, cf. xx. 6). In some passages the title of the "Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last," which is claimed by the Almighty as His own (i. 8, cf. xxi. 6 [1]) seems to be ascribed to Jesus (i. 17, ii. 8, xxii. 13), Who is also styled the beginning of the creation of God (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, iii. 14), a phrase in which, if κτίσις means the physical universe, ἡ ἀρχή may mean that He is the embodiment of the principle governing it (cf. *Rom.* viii. 28), whilst if it signifies the new creation of redeemed humanity, ἡ ἀρχή may mean that He is the originating Source. The latter is rendered probable by the fact that whereas in iv. 11, xiv. 7 it is God Who is praised as the Creator, in v. 9, 10 Jesus is praised as the Redeemer. Jesus possesses the seven

[1] Cf. 2 *Is.* xliv. 6, xlviii. 12.

spirits of God, an expression probably denoting the plenitude of the Divine energies (iii. 1). One of the principal functions attributed to Him is that of revealing the future. He alone is able to unfold the sealed book of destiny (v. 5); and is the faithful witness Who testifies to the Divine purpose, and communicates it to His servants, the Christian prophets; for the testimony borne by Jesus to God (xii. 17) constitutes the spirit of prophecy (i. 5, 2, xix. 10). It is perhaps as the channel of Divine revelation that He is called "the Word of God" (xix. 13, cf. i. 9). Like God Himself He searches men's inmost thoughts (ii. 23, cf. *Ps.* vii. 9, xxvi. 2, *Jer.* xvii. 10, xx. 12), and He determines who shall be consigned to, or released from, the regions of the dead (i. 18). On the other hand, His participation of God's throne appears as a privilege bestowed upon Him as a recompense for His triumph over temptation and trial (iii. 21).

Jesus in His human life is regarded as being sprung from the tribe of Judah and from the house of David (v. 5, xxii. 16). He is entitled "the Lion of the tribe of Judah," the designation going back to the imagery employed in Jacob's Blessing (*Gen.* xlix. 9); and in keeping with the militant associations suggested by it is the martial rôle in which He figures, making war at the head of the armies of heaven. It is seemingly in consequence of the victory He thus gains over His foes, executing upon them the vengeance of God, that He acquires the name "King of kings, and Lord of lords" (xvii. 14, xix. 16).

3. *Soteriology*

The writer in his opening utterances of praise to Jesus describes Him as One "Who loveth us and loosed[1] us from our sins by His blood" (i. 5). In other passages when alluding to Jesus as the Author of human salvation, he employs for the most part phraseology of a more decidedly sacrificial character. The name most commonly used to designate Jesus is the "Lamb" (v. 6, 12, vi. 1, vii. 10, xiv. 1, xix. 9). The seer beholds in heaven a Lamb standing as though it had been slain, and hears a song of praise addressed to Him, declaring that He had purchased unto God with His blood, men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation (v. 9, xiv. 3, 4). A white-robed multitude before God's throne are described as having washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb (vii. 14, cf. xxii. 14), whose death had been pre-ordained by God from the foundation of the world (xiii. 8). Because of the shedding of His blood men were able to get the better of Satan, their accuser before God (xii. 11). The figure of the Lamb is most likely derived from 2 *Is.* liii., a passage which itself reproduces sacrificial ideas of expiation and atonement (p. 24). But no effort is made by the author of *Revelation* to penetrate behind the imagery or to explain the necessity of the death of Jesus, and the way in which His blood availed for the remission and purification of sins. He appears to have accepted the idea countenanced in 2 *Is.* that Christ, through His death, had rendered satisfaction for men's offences and had redeemed

[1] In i. 5 the reading Λύσαντι occurs in ℵ A C, and some other authorities: Λούσαντι is found in a number of cursives, Lat. vet. (*gig.*) vulg. and Eg. boh.

them from a power possessing hold over them; but he does not indicate from whom they were purchased, or offer any explanation calculated to throw light upon the spiritual fact which the metaphor employed leaves in obscurity. In xvii. 14 there is presented a different conception of the Lamb Who, it is predicted, will overcome in war ten kings (perhaps Parthian chiefs, cf. p. 635); and of this idea of the Lamb as a conqueror the original is perhaps to be found in *Enoch* (cf. xc. 9, 12), where the martial Judas Maccabæus is symbolized as a horned lamb.[1]

The spiritual benefits procured for men by Christ are offered to them freely (xxi. 6, xxii. 17); but final salvation can only be gained through amendment of life maintained to the end. It is thus conditioned by repentance, faith, love, and endurance. By faith must be meant belief in Jesus (see ii. 13, xiv. 12, *τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ*, where the genitive is probably objective); and it is assumed that such faith has its outcome in works (ii. 19, 23), called the works of Jesus (ii. 26), which follow the dead "who die in the Lord"[2] to the judgment (xiv. 13), and determine their sentences (xx. 13, xxii. 12). The writer regards salvation as open to all men independently of race or nationality. At first sight he seems in ch. vii. to mention separately the saved of Israel and the saved of the Gentile peoples (*v.* 4 f., *v.* 9 f.). Probably, however, by the 144,000 "sealed out of every tribe of Israel" he means not Jews in particular who had become Christians, but Christians generally, viewed as the true Israel (ii. 9 and cf. xiv. 1, where the same number occurs without any suggestion that the persons meant are of Jewish race), who, however, are here distinguished from the great multitude of all nations, tribes, peoples and tongues spoken of subsequently, because regarded as constituting the Church militant in contrast to the Church triumphant. The writer never uses the term *ἐκκλησία* of the collective Christian community, but only of individual Christian bodies in different cities of Roman Asia, each Church being figuratively represented as a lamp-stand (ii. 5).[3] The relation of Christ to the whole body of believers is represented as the relation of a bridegroom to a bride (xix. 7, xxi. 2), a figure of speech which also appears in St. Paul (*Eph.* v. 25).

There is no allusion to the Christian rite of Baptism, for it is unlikely (in spite of *Eph.* iv. 30) that this is meant by the "sealing" mentioned in vii. 3. The latter appears to be somewhat analogous to a protective mark, such as Ezekiel (ix. 4–6) speaks of (see p. 334). The idea of a seal was probably suggested to the writer by the branding which was imposed on slaves, or the tattooing to which votaries of a deity submitted, in order to distinguish them as belonging respectively to a human or a divine owner (cf. 2 *Is.* xliv. 5 mg., *Lev.* xix. 28, xxi. 5, *Dt.* xiv. 1, *Gal.* vi. 17).

About the companion rite of the Lord's Supper there is the same silence, the subject of the book naturally not calling for mention of it. There appears to be no reference to Church organization beyond allusions

[1] See Charles, *Rev.* I. p. cxiii.

[2] Cf. 1 *Thess.* iv. 16, 1 *Cor.* xv. 18.

[3] In i. 4 the "seven churches" are no doubt representatives of the whole Church (seven being a sacred number, p. 503), over which Christ's care extends (ii. 1).

to Apostles and prophets (xviii. 20, xxi. 14). The "angels" of the Churches (i. 20 and in ch. ii., iii.) have sometimes been taken to designate "bishops"; and in favour of this explanation are the circumstances that the angel is to be directly addressed (ii. 1) through the writing of the prophet; is held to be responsible for the retention in the Church of unworthy members (ii. 14, iii. 4); is bidden to be watchful and to strengthen the feeble; and that in ii. 20 some MSS. (A B, many cursives, Lat. vet.) have *τὴν γυναῖκά σου* ("thy wife") instead of *τὴν γυναῖκα* only. Elsewhere in the book, however, the word *ἄγγελος* always means "angel," and in the passages cited the angel of a church is perhaps its spiritual counterpart or genius distinguishable from, though embodied in, the community. It is noticeable that in this book alone, within the New Testament, mention occurs of the "Lord's Day" (*ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*, i. 10); in other books the only designation for it is the Jewish title of "the first day of the week" (*Mk.* xvi. 2, *Acts* xx. 7, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 2).

(*d*) *The Teaching of St. Paul*

St. Paul, after his conversion in consequence of the vision of Jesus seen near Damascus, was baptized into the Christian Church; and he would naturally become acquainted with the beliefs current among the Apostles and other disciples (cf. 1 *Cor.* xv. 3) respecting the Last Things, the Person of Christ, and the process of Salvation, of which Christ was the mediator. But the difference separating him from the Twelve by reason partly of the fact that his early life had been spent not in Galilee but at Tarsus and Jerusalem, partly of the violent reaction from his previous religious position which occurred at his conversion, and partly of his greater mental activity, was bound to cause him to develop and re-shape the ideas received from others; so that there is observable in his Epistles a considerable modification of the beliefs of the Early Church as these find expression in *Acts* and elsewhere. The comparison between his leading theological conceptions and those of his predecessors will most conveniently follow the lines previously laid down.

1. *Eschatology*

That St. Paul shared the prevalent expectation of the nearness of the end of the Age and Christ's Second coming is apparent alike from express statements to that effect (1 *Cor.* vii. 31, *Rom.* xiii. 11, 12, *Phil.* iv. 5), from his anticipation that he and many of his contemporaries would be still alive at the time (1 *Th.* iv. 15 f.), and from the fact that he makes the imminent prospect of it a constant ground of appeal to his converts to be blameless in their bearing and conduct, since a reckoning would be so soon required (1 *Cor.* iv. 5, 2 *Cor.* v. 10, *Rom.* xiv. 10, 12 [1]), and to be full of hope and joy, since relief from their tribulations was so close at hand. His belief in the nearness of Christ's Return influenced his advice in respect of certain social relations. In view of the circumstance that the Second Coming of

[1] In this passage God is the Judge (cf. *Rom.* ii. 6); but in general St. Paul expected Christ to judge as God's delegate (*Rom.* ii. 16, 2 *Cor.* v. 10).

the Messiah, and the establishment of His Kingdom, were expected to be preceded by distress of the extremest kind, which would be the birthpangs of the Messianic Age (p. 446), he wished his converts to be free from entanglements and connexions which might augment the severity of the trial; and in general he recommended all to remain in their present condition, whatever it might be, without being anxious to change it (1 *Cor.* vii. 8–24).[1] Thus, though the shortness of the interval did not, so far as can be judged, affect the Apostle's conception of the moral duties incumbent on Christians, since from them the highest possible conduct was required by their relation to Christ, it seems to have been a factor in the opinions he expressed about the expediency or inexpediency of certain courses of action which were morally indifferent. His prudential advice, but not his ethical standard, was ruled by regard for the interim.

The most interesting addition in St. Paul to the eschatology of the Gospels and *Acts* is the warning that the Day of the Lord could not be looked for until after the appearance of the "Man of Sin" or "of Lawlessness" (2 *Th.* ii. 3 f.), a conception of which some explanation is needed. The Pauline prediction of the advent and final destruction by Christ of such an embodiment of wickedness stands in line with a primitive myth, which described a conflict between the God of order, light, and goodness on the one hand, and the spirit of disorder, darkness, and evil on the other; and which gave rise to anticipations of a final triumph for the former. The myth was originally prevalent among the Babylonians and other nations as well as among the ancestors of the Hebrews, though the god and his antagonist were known by different names. It was an imaginative method of depicting the creation of the physical world out of chaos, and especially the emergence of the dry land out of the primeval sea (cf. *Ps.* civ. 7), which was personified as a monstrous dragon, and amongst the Hebrews was sometimes designated by the name *Rahab*, "boisterousness" (see 2 *Is.* li. 9, *Ps.* lxxxix, 9, 10, *Job* xxvi. 12). This dragon, with its helpers, was thought of by the Hebrews as having been wounded and subdued by Jehovah (Who, in the encounter, was attended by the "sons of God" or "the holy ones," *Job* xxxviii. 7, 8, *Ps.* lxxxix. 7, 9, 10), but as not yet destroyed; see *Am.* ix. 3 and perhaps 2 *Is.* li. 9 (where the Vulg. replaces "cut in pieces" by "smote"). The idea which the representation was intended to express was that every display of Jehovah's control over the violent sea (cf. *Ps.* lxxiv. 13) was a wound inflicted upon it, though its complete subjugation was expected only in a more or less distant future (cf. *Rev.* xxi. 1).

But whilst allusions to this ancient myth of creation survive in the Old Testament Scriptures, yet for the Hebrew people the interest of the contest between God and the rival power confronting Him was soon transferred from the physical to the national and the moral spheres. The growth of a monotheistic faith among them, alone of all races, inspired in them a profound sense of separateness between themselves and the surrounding

[1] In 1 *Cor.* vii. 21 the second half of the *v.* is probably a limiting parenthesis—"though if thou hast the power to become free, use that power" (*τῷ δύνασθαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι*, not *τῇ δουλείᾳ*, being supplied after *χρῆσαι*).

peoples who were still polytheists, so that Israel and the rest of the world stood henceforth in spiritual no less than in political antagonism to one another. And in periods of humiliation the conviction that they were the chosen people of the one true God led them to take comfort in the thought that the longer God deferred the triumph of His worshippers and the overthrow of their oppressors, the more complete at last the triumph and the overthrow would be. Predictions of a colossal conflict between them and their enemies who, filled with animosity, would seek their destruction, but would only compass their own annihilation, occur in the earliest Apocalyptic prophecies contained in the Old Testament, the details of which show much diversity (see *Ezek.* xxxviii., xxxix., 3 *Is.* lxvi. 18–24, *Joel* iii. 1 f., 2 *Zech.* xii, xiv.). But in the second century B.C. a fresh feature was introduced into Jewish expectations of the future. The outrages committed on the Jewish religion by Antiochus Epiphanes (pp. 30–1) impressed those who witnessed, or heard of, them with a deeper sense than ever of heathen profanity. And the fact that a single person was responsible for such impieties now suggested that the outbreak of hostility against God and His people which was to precede the final victory of the latter would take expression in one individual who would concentrate in himself all the wickedness of collective heathendom (just as the ideal qualities of Israel and the highest hopes of its destiny had become centred in an expected Messiah). Accordingly, over against the Messiah or Christ there was now arrayed in Jewish conceptions of the future the malign figure of an anti-Messiah or Antichrist, in whom sacrilegious iniquity would culminate.

It is this conception which, with some modification, lies behind St. Paul's description of the advent and the ultimate destruction of the man of sin. Prior to the Day of the Lord there would occur " the falling away " (*ἀποστασία*) and the revelation of a sinister personality, who, impious in character and ambitions, would be manifested as soon as a restraining power that for a while retarded him was removed. This monster of wickedness would be endowed by Satan with ability to work signs and wonders, in order to deceive such as were doomed to perish ; but he was destined to be slain by Christ when the latter came for the second time. As St. Paul is here alluding to matters which formed part of his oral teaching, he leaves unexplained whether the man of sin was to be (1) a supramundane Being, who would descend upon the earth from above, or (2) a human person born amongst men. The first alternative is favoured by the use, in connexion with him, of the verb *ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι*, since the same verb and the corresponding noun are employed of a revelation *from heaven* (*Lk.* xvii. 30, *Rom.* i. 18, 2 *Th.* i. 7). But on the whole, it is most probable that he was thought of as a human personality, for since the term *ἀποστασία* in the LXX seems uniformly to mean a revolt against God on the part of men (*Josh.* xxii. 22, *Jer.* ii. 19, 1 *Macc.* ii. 15), the " falling away " which is here contemplated should denote an outbreak of human wickedness, reaching its climax in an exceptionally impious individual. But this being taken for granted, it is not clear whether he was expected to emerge from among the Jews or the Gentiles ; and some features in the

description of him seem to be taken from both. On the one hand, it was from the Jews that the bitterest opposition to Christianity had hitherto proceeded, for they not only killed its Founder but persecuted His followers, and it was to them that the wonders worked by him would especially appeal (1 *Cor.* i. 22).[1] On the other hand, the account of him as "opposing and exalting himself against all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth (or attempts to sit) in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God," seems to have been suggested by the profane design of the Roman Emperor Caligula to place a statue of himself in the Temple at Jerusalem (p. 82). Caligula died in A.D. 41, and was succeeded by Claudius (41–54), who avoided outraging the feelings of his Jewish subjects (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 5, 3, xx. 1, 2). Consequently, so long as Claudius lived, a repetition of Caligula's conduct was not feared, and in that Emperor (or the authority exercised by him) is found the most plausible explanation of ὁ κατέχων (or τὸ κατέχον), used to indicate the impediment that delayed the appearance of the man of sin.[2] But since the deification of the Roman emperors was at the time a well-established principle of Roman rule (at least in the provinces), there was ground for fearing that after the death of Claudius (when the restraining power might be said to be removed) the impiety of Caligula would be renewed.

In regard to the Resurrection of the dead St. Paul seems to have departed from the view generally prevalent in the Jewish-Christian section of the Church. (*a*) Whereas it was commonly expected that the wicked as well as the righteous would rise (cf. *Mt.* xxv. 31–40), the Apostle, though in some passages he implies the appearance of all men before God's judgment seat (*Rom.* ii. 6 f., cf. 2 *Cor.* v. 10), yet in general thought that the Resurrection would be confined to the righteous, and that all in whom the principle of spiritual life was lacking would remain in the nether world. (*b*) Whilst the ordinary Jewish conception of the resurrection body was materialistic (p. 42), St. Paul held that flesh and blood could not inherit the kingdom of God, and that the bodies of those who should share the resurrection would be "spiritual" (p. 478). One passage (1 *Cor.* xv. 25–28) suggests that he entertained the anticipation of a temporary reign of Christ on earth, lasting until His subjugation of all things to Himself should be complete, when He would finally surrender all rule to His Father. In this St. Paul shares an idea which finds expression in *Revelation*; but whereas the Apostle does not define any period, and thinks that the saints collectively are to have part in Christ's temporary reign, there is in *Revelation* a limit both to the time of His reign and to the participants in it (p. 635).

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[1] There prevailed a belief that the Antichrist would be born of the tribe of Dan, but it is uncertain whether this expectation was current as early as St. Paul's time.

[2] If the Antichrist be taken to be a supramundane personality, ὁ κατέχων must be some celestial power (like Michael, the angelic prince of Israel, *Dan.* x. 13, 21); but it is then difficult to give an appropriate sense to the words "until he be taken out of the way." It is still harder to put a natural meaning on these words if ὁ κατέχων be rendered "he that holdeth sway," and understood to refer to Satan.

2. *Christology*

In the teaching of the " Twelve " and of the Primitive Church (as it is represented in *Acts* and the other sources previously reviewed) the central fact upon which emphasis was laid was that Jesus was the Messiah (p. 626), Nothing was affirmed about His existence prior to His birth ; it was only contended that He had been declared by God both Lord and Christ through His resurrection from the dead and His reception into heaven, whence He had shed upon His followers the gift of the Holy Spirit. But this simple Christology was replaced by a more complex theory when St. Paul's reflection began to be exercised about the Personality of Jesus, after he had been brought to acknowledge Him as the Messiah. The conclusions which find expression in his Epistles are principally concerned with the relations of the Messiah, Who was God's Son in a pre-eminent sense, and consequently styled " the Son " without qualification (1 *Cor.* xv. 28, cf. *Mt.* xi. 27 (= *Lk.* x. 22), *Mk.* xiii. 32) to (*a*) the Creator and the created Universe, (*b*) the Holy Spirit, (*c*) other spiritual powers, (*d*) the Church.

(*a*) The dominant factor in St. Paul's thoughts about Christ was that He was the Mediator of human redemption ; and it was this that controlled his conceptions concerning His cosmic relations. As the Son had not come into the world with a redemptive purpose apart from the will of the Father, the salvation of the world must have entered into the Divine purposes from the beginning ; and it was therefore necessary to bring the Agent of redemption into connexion with the work of creation. Two suggestive lines of thought, both within St. Paul's mental horizon, were available for this. One was the personification of the Divine Wisdom in the Apocryphal book of *Wisdom* (ch. vii.), where it is described as an image of God's goodness, as possessed of all power (*πάντα δύναται*) and as renewing all things (*vv.* 26, 27). The other was the Stoic idea of Reason as an immanent principle in the world. It is not improbable that St. Paul drew upon both of these sources in giving form to his ideas about the relation to the Universe of Him Who was its Redeemer ; at any rate, there are features in his language about Christ which recall both the passage just cited from *Wisdom* and the phraseology of contemporary Stoicism.[1] In developing his thoughts about the essential dignity of Christ, he expanded the implications involved in the conception of His being the Son of God. Although it was through the Resurrection that Jesus was distinguished as the Divine Son in a way convincing to human witnesses (*Rom.* i. 4), yet He occupied this relationship before being born on earth. He was the image (*εἰκών*) of the invisible God, the first-born of the universe, of which He was the creative agency, the final end, and the sustaining and uniting principle (*Col.* i. 15, 16, 17, cf. 1 *Cor.* viii. 6). In Him during His earthly life the plenitude of Deity dwelt under bodily conditions (*Col.* i. 19, ii. 9), the essential attributes of Godhead co-existing in Him with the fundamental attributes of humanity (so far as such are compatible). In one passage (*Rom.* ix. 5) which admits of being variously punctuated, it is

[1] Cf. Kennedy, *Theology of the Epistles*, pp. 155, 156.

possible that He is expressly called God, and described as " He who is over all, God blessed for ever " (cf. *Tit.* ii. 13, *Joh.* xx. 28, 2 *Pet.* i. 1).

If attention is confined to these passages, it is allowable to put upon the Apostle's Christology an Alexandrine interpretation, and to suppose that he meant that the Divine graciousness, evinced in the earthly life of Jesus and in the beneficent purposes which He pursued, was a principle which God had had abiding with Him from eternity, and which had governed the act of Creation from the first. But another passage seems to show that his notion of Christ's pre-existence was not as abstract as this, and that he thought of Christ as pre-existing as an individual Person. For he represents that the Son originally possessed with God a standing such as might have kindled unbounded ambitions ; yet that He did not aspire to grasp at equality with God (as some of the angels may be supposed to have done,[1] or as Adam is described in *Gen.* iii. as essaying to do [2]), but divested Himself of His heavenly dignity, assuming, instead, the form of a bond-servant and submitting to the death of the Cross (*Phil.* ii. 6). This conception of Jesus as having an individual and personal existence with God prior to His birth on earth seems to have Hebraic rather than Hellenic or Hellenistic affinities, and was perhaps derived from the portrayal of the " Son of man " contained in the *Similitudes of Enoch* (see p. 41) ; for though the Apostle does not use the title " Son of man," he seems to betray familiarity with the idea through his use of the phrase " the (second) man from heaven " (1 *Cor.* xv. 47).[3] And behind it was probably the belief current in Jewish circles that of what had been, or was to be, manifested on earth there existed a counterpart in heaven (p. 108), which might be regarded as descending thence when the person or thing appeared in terrestrial surroundings. How St. Paul imagined the Incarnation of the pre-existent Son to have been effected is not clear. He represents Christ as sprung from the family of David (*Rom.* i. 3) ; but he nowhere alludes to the Virgin Birth (p. 360). In consequence of the humility and self-sacrifice which He had displayed in taking human flesh and in undergoing all the ignominy and agony of crucifixion, God had supremely exalted Him, so that to Him every creature, terrestrial, celestial, or infernal, must yield homage (*Phil.* ii. 10) and render the title of Lord (this being the title used in the LXX as an equivalent for the ineffable name JEHOVAH, *Ex.* iii. 15, 2 *Is.* lii. 8, etc.).

But although the Apostle thus emphasized the high dignity which Christ enjoyed before His appearance on earth, and the glory to which He was raised after His submission to death, yet he retained the Jewish monotheistic faith and affirmed the Son's subordination to the Father, representing that to the latter, Who is termed His God (2 *Cor.* i. 3, cf. 1 *Pet.* i. 3, *Rev.* i. 6, *Joh.* xx. 17), He was destined to restore all the authority entrusted to Him, and to place Himself in subjection, so that God in the end might be all in all (1 *Cor.* xv. 28).

(*b*) St. Paul's conception of the Holy (or Divine) Spirit had, like that of

[1] Cf. Rashdall, *Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*, p. 127.
[2] Cf. Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 159.
[3] Cf. *Foundations* (by Seven Oxford Men), p. 173.

other New Testament writers, its links with the Old Testament. In the Jewish Scriptures various capacities and aptitudes, physical, artistic, intellectual, ethical, and prophetic, were ascribed to the gift, conferred on favoured individuals, of the Spirit (see *Jud.* xiv. 6, *Ex.* xxxi. 3, *Is.* xi. 2, 3 *Is.* lxi. 1, *Joel* ii. 28). In the early Church, religious ecstasy, ability to predict the future, possession of qualities leading to office in the Church, and a heightened consciousness of love to God and of moral power were all similarly attributed to the presence of the Spirit as their immediate occasion. The bestowal of the Spirit upon men might be referred to the grace and bounty either of God or of Christ (*Rom.* viii. 9^{a}, and 1 *Cor.* iii. 16, *Rom.* viii, 9^{b}, *Gal.* iv. 6). But St. Paul's strongest religious conviction was that his spiritual life was due to his union with Christ (see p. 657), so that he was led not only to regard the dwelling of the Divine Spirit in the hearts of men as equivalent to the dwelling therein of Christ (*Eph.* iii. 16, 17), but even to identify Christ with the Spirit (2 *Cor.* iii. 17, 18).[1] Christ was both the spiritual influence that penetrated and swayed the minds of individual believers, so that He could be said to be "in them" (*Rom.* viii. 1, 10. 2 *Cor.* v. 17, xiii. 5, *Col.* i. 27), and He was also the influence pervading the Church within which believers were included, and enveloping its members like an atmosphere, so that they could be likewise said to be "in Him" (*Rom.* xvi. 7, 1 *Cor.* iii. 1, 2 *Cor.* v. 17). Since the heavenly Christ was a Spiritual Being, and since in the case of spiritual realities it is difficult to discriminate between cause and effect, it was almost inevitable that in St. Paul's language the conceptions of Christ and of the Spirit should sometimes merge into one another in the manner illustrated. Yet since he thought of Christ as still an individual Person (cf. p. 644), he might, if called upon to distinguish between Christ and the Holy Spirit, have said that the former was the active Source of the effects manifest in Christians, whilst the latter was the sum of the moral and intellectual energies emanating from Him and present in them. Nevertheless there are passages where he ascribes to the Spirit Itself personal activities (*e.g. Rom.* viii. 26), and seems to co-ordinate the fellowship of the Spirit with the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God (2 *Cor.* xiii. 14), so that there appears in his writings the germ of the later definition of the Trinity.[2]

The most important difference between St. Paul and the Primitive Church in general as regards the Spirit related to the value of the various endowments marking individuals in the Church, to which allusion has been made. It has already been noticed that among the gifts of the Spirit mentioned in the Old Testament is prophecy, a word which could describe equally the agitated outbursts of partially intelligible or wholly unintelligible speech marking the bands of religious fanatics that roamed about the country in the time of Samuel (1 *Sam.* x. 5, 6, xix. 23) and the illuminating and impressive addresses of an Isaiah. In the early Church there occurred phenomena similar to both of these varieties of prophecy,

[1] In this passage the words καθάπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου πνεύματος seem to mean "as may be expected from the Lord Who is Spirit."

[2] Cf. also 1 *Cor.* xii. 4–6, *Eph.* iv. 4–6, and see 1 *Pet.* i. 2, 1 *Joh.* iv. 2.

and it was the first that attracted most attention. The ascription of uncontrollable utterances to Divine influence was not confined to the Christian community ; in other religions rapturous excitement was believed to betoken the descent of a god upon his votaries. In such conditions there was danger of excessive value being attached to the emotional side of religion ; and it was due to St. Paul that " prophesying " and " speaking with tongues " were not allowed to be overrated as gifts of the Spirit. Though he did not desire to suppress such outbreaks of pent-up feeling, he pointed to the virtues of love, joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, self-control, and other moral qualities (*Gal.* v. 22, 23, *Rom.* xiv. 17, cf. 1 *Cor.* xii. 28–31, xiii. 1) as the most precious marks of the presence, with the Church, of the Divine Spirit, which for him represented " not so much an ecstatic as an ethical power[1] ; " and by his discriminating judgment he contributed greatly to the maintenance of Church life on sane and sober lines.

(*c*) It has already been shown that St. Paul represented Christ Jesus as exalted by God over all other existences in the universe, giving Him the name (probably *Κύριος*) that is above every name (*Phil.* ii. 10, see p. 644) ; but he had occasion to emphasize in particular His superiority to the elemental spirits which were thought to control the movements of the heavenly bodies, whereby the occurrence of holy days (weekly, monthly or annual) was determined and which in this way exercised influence over human fortunes. The Apostle feared that the observance of the Jewish Law, with its festivals and fasts, would bring Christians under bondage to such spirits (*Gal.* iv. 3), who would be on the watch to exact from them the penalties awaiting infractions of the Law ; so he contended that the bond written in the ordinances of the Law to men's prejudice had been cancelled by Christ. He had nailed this bond to His Cross ; and as He hung there, He had stripped from Himself those principalities and powers which during, and in consequence of, His life in the flesh, had had a hold upon Him ; and had displayed them in triumph, ensuring thereby for all believers freedom from their authority and influence (*Col.* ii. 8–23).

(*d*) In St. Paul's writings the thought of the Kingdom of God is largely replaced by that of the Church. Although allusion occurs to the kingdom as an inheritance in the future (1 *Cor.* vi. 9, 10, xv. 50, *Gal.* v. 21, 1 *Th.* ii. 12), yet it is also spoken of as a sphere into which Christians had already been translated (*Col.* i. 13), so that it must have been, in a measure, identified with the Church. To the Church the relation occupied by Christ is illustrated by a number of metaphors. Sometimes the figure of speech is derived from a building, the Christian community being a sanctuary of which Christ is the chief corner-stone (*Eph.* ii. 20–22) ; at other times it is drawn from marriage, Christ loving and cherishing the Church as a man does his wife (*Eph.* v. 28–30, cf. 2 *Cor.* xi. 2). But most often the Church is described as the Body of Christ of which individual Christians are the limbs and members (1 *Cor.* xii. 27, *Rom.* xii. 4, 5, *Eph.* iv. 12). The thought inspiring this conception is the mutual benefit which comes to each

[1] Moffatt, *Paul and Paulinism*, p. 41.

individual from others through incorporation in a common Society, the importance and value of such union being probably impressed upon him by his experience of the unity of the Roman Empire, cemented as it was by Imperial rule.[1] The analogy of the unified State he extended to the Christian community. Though Christ in His distinctive Personality was in heaven, yet He was present through His Spirit in the Church, the constituent members of which became channels for imparting to the rest the advantage of the spiritual gifts with which they were endowed, and also reciprocally derived profit from those which had been conferred upon the others.

3. *Soteriology*

It has been shown that there existed in the Primitive Church the belief that the death of Jesus had been predetermined by God, and that through Him forgiveness of sins was conveyed and salvation obtained (*Acts* iv. 12, xiii. 38, 39); and though an explanation of the way in which His death was connected with the benefit to men of which He was the source had not yet been produced, the search after such was turning towards the prophecy in 2 *Is.* liii. (see 1 *Pet.* ii. 23, 24, *Acts* viii. 30–35). With the tentative speculations that were current St. Paul would become acquainted when he first came in contact with St. Peter, Barnabas, and other members of the Christian body (cf. 1 *Cor.* xv. 3). But inasmuch as he was not only a man of greater culture than the rest of the Apostles, but had at his conversion undergone an exceptional experience, these circumstances combined to give to his development of the ideas received from others a distinctive character which is discernible in all but the earliest of his Epistles (1, 2 *Thess.*).

By speech a Hebrew [2] and by training a Pharisee he was familiar both with the Old Testament Scriptures (in which he was accustomed to find a clue to God's purposes) and with the body of tradition that had gathered round them; and in early life he was devoted to the observance of the Law, looking to achieve through obedience to it the righteousness required by God.[3] And since the Founder of Christianity had in His teaching disregarded in various ways the traditional interpretation of the Law, he could only suppose that He, instead of being the Messiah, was an impostor, and through the circumstances of His death had incurred the Divine curse (*Dt.* xxi. 23, cf. 1 *Cor.* i. 23). But the vision of Jesus in glory (*Acts* ix.) left him in no doubt that Jesus really was the Messiah; and this change of intellectual conviction was accompanied by a spiritual revolution, inasmuch as he felt himself endowed with a degree of moral power he had never experienced previously, and with a peace of mind which his efforts to keep the Law had never conferred. These two facts—the endurance of the shameful death of the Cross by One who was the Messiah, and the inward

[1] Cf. McNeile, *St. Paul*, p. 8.

[2] *I.e.* a speaker of Aramaic.

[3] This, if attained, might be termed a man's own (*ἡ ἰδία δικαιοσύνη*, *Rom.* x. 3, cf. *Phil.* iii. 9).

transformation which had taken place in himself through faith in Jesus—raised a problem of which he essayed to furnish a solution by a more thorough use of the Old Testament (handled after contemporary methods of interpretation) than had hitherto been attempted.

There prevailed in this age a belief that satisfaction for collective sin could be rendered to God through the death of some individual member or members of the sinful community (see p. 620). The belief (it may be supposed) was based partly upon the ideas expressed in 2 *Is.* liii. and partly upon the analogy of the sacrifice of animal victims enjoined by the Law, such sacrifices being interpreted as substitutionary. It was on these lines that St. Paul sought an explanation of the death of Christ. Although he hardly reproduces the language of 2 *Is.* liii. at all, yet the ideas conveyed by it seem to lie behind his reference to "the redemption" (*ἀπολύτρωσις*),[1] which we have in Christ Jesus (*Rom.* iii. 24, cf. *Col.* i. 14), and his declaration to his Corinthian converts that they had been bought (*ἠγοράσθησαν*) at a price (1 *Cor.* vi. 21, vii. 23).[2] Such figures of speech, however little may be the uniformity with which they are worked out in detail, suggest that the Apostle considered that Christ's death was in some sense vicarious, and that on the Cross He, the guiltless (2 *Cor.* v. 21), underwent the fate deserved by the guilty (cf. *Gal.* i. 4, ii. 20, *Rom.* iv. 25, v. 6, 8). The same conclusion is deducible from the metaphors drawn from the Jewish sacrificial system. Although the principle underlying that system is obscure (probably more than one is traceable in it), certain features connected with it point to the supposition that the animal victims were thought of as suffering death in place of human offenders whose sins they expiated. To such victims St. Paul likens Christ, describing Him as a sin offering (*Rom.* viii. 3, cf. 2 *Cor.* v. 21)[3]; he speaks of His being set forth by God to make propitiation by His blood (*Rom.* iii. 25, where the ritual of the day of Atonement is perhaps in his mind); and he declares that He gave Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice (*Eph.* v. 2).[4] In accordance with the conviction, illustrated by these phrases, that Christ suffered for men as their substitute he represents in forensic language that men are justified by His blood (*Rom.* v. 9), their acquittal at the bar of God on the counts which were entered against them being secured by His death on their behalf. In the sacrifice thus regarded as necessary for human salvation God is represented as participating in so far as He had not spared His only Son but had sent Him to effect the redemption of mankind (*Gal.* i. 4, *Rom.* viii. 32); and hence men could be said to be justified or saved by His grace, since the initial purpose was His (*Rom.* iii.

[1] Cf. 1 *Tim.* ii. 6, "Christ Jesus Who gave Himself a ransom (*ἀντιλύτρον*) for all."

[2] The masters from whose control believers had been liberated at such cost are variously conceived to be the Law (*Gal.* iv. 5), or sin (1 *Cor.* vi. 20, cf. *Rom.* vi. 17, 18), or the evil spirits that were served through the worship of idols (*Gal.* iv. 8).

[3] The words *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* and *ἁμαρτία* in these passages reproduce the phrases used for the sin offering in *Lev.* iv. 3, 25, and other places by the LXX.

[4] Christ is also compared to the Passover Lamb whose blood (according to *Ex.* xii. 23) preserved the Israelites from the angel which destroyed the first-born of the Egyptians (1 *Cor.* v. 7).

24, *Eph.* ii. 5, 8). The benefit of what had been gained for sinners by Christ was appropriated by them through faith, which was thus the condition of justification (*Rom.* v. 1).[1]

But by a substitutionary theory of this simple character St. Paul's inward experiences were unaccounted for. He was sensible of being saved from *sin*, not merely assured that he would be spared the consequences of sin; and so the explanation had to be expanded in order to embrace this fact also.

Though the conception of religion entertained by the Pharisees in general was liable to foster formalism and unreality, it cannot be supposed that such traits were universal among them; and certainly it cannot be doubted that St. Paul had had as a Pharisee a sincere zeal for righteousness. Nevertheless the efforts which he made to attain it were accompanied by an ever-increasing sense that it was beyond his reach. Though from an external point of view he knew that he fulfilled the Law blamelessly (*Phil.* iii. 6), he found himself incapable of bringing his nature into complete conformity with the Divine will. The principle upon which the Law proceeded was that God's favour depended on merit, as measured by obedience to His commands (*Lev.* xviii. 5, cf. *Rom.* x. 5); but with those commands the Apostle's natural instincts and desires came into perpetual collision, and indeed, were only stimulated by the Law's prohibitions (*Rom.* vii. 7). He was thus conscious of an intense inward struggle, the inevitable issue of which filled him with despair (*Rom.* vii. 14–24, cf. *Dt.* xxvii. 26). And what he knew by experience to be true in his own case he believed to be equally true of others. Amongst mankind at large sin and depravity prevailed; for though this was most conspicuous in the heathen, who were made aware of God's requirements through their reason and conscience (*Rom.* ii. 14, 15), it marked the Jewish people also, who possessed His written commandments (*Rom.* ii. 20, 23). And as the impression thus derived from his own observation was corroborated by various statements contained in the Scriptures, representing wickedness as universal in extent (*Ps.* xiv. 1–3, quoted in *Rom.* iii. 10 f.), he was convinced that by Law no flesh in God's sight could possibly be justified.

Of the entry among mankind of the ingrained corruption which precluded perfect obedience to the Divine injunctions, the Apostle found (as he believed) a trustworthy historical account in the book of *Genesis*. Adam first sinned, and by his sin introduced, if not death,[2] at least shortened life [3]; involved the natural world in suffering and ineffectiveness (*Rom.* viii. 20); and also infected human nature with evil, which had its seat in the flesh, and gave to the fleshly instincts a decided bias in a

[1] By faith Christians are also said to become the sons of God (*Gal.* iii. 26), so that "adoption" (*υἱοθεσία*) is virtually a synonym for justification.

[2] Man being framed from the dust of the earth is represented in *Gen.* iii. 19 as destined by his physical constitution to return to it (cf. *Job* xxxiv. 15). On the other hand, in the Apocrypha, several passages suggest that death entered the world as the result of the disobedience of Adam and Eve; see *Wisd.* ii. 23–24, *Ecclus.* xxv. 24, 2 *Esd.* iii. 7.

[3] Cf. *Gen.* iii. 3, with iii. 22.

direction contrary to God's law. St. Paul's view of the results of the Fall is not quite clear; but he probably held that Adam bequeathed to his posterity not complete depravity of will, but a strong inclination to evil which could only be resisted by great efforts, but which at the same time was not so constraining as to relieve his descendants from responsibility for their individual offences.[1] Adam's transgression, though a causal principle (*Rom.* v. 16, 19) of human sinfulness, was not the *sole* cause of its universal prevalence. It predisposed the race towards evil, but every man was independently accountable for his own sins. Through Adam all mankind became exposed to God's wrath in the course of their natural development (cf. *Eph.* ii. 3, *τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς*), the bias to lawlessness inherited from their first father leading to actual transgression through the voluntary choice of each individual man.[2]

This belief that Adam transmitted to his posterity a bias towards evil is found neither in the book of *Genesis*[3] nor in the rest of the Old Testament. The first unambiguous statement conveying the idea that Adam's transgression caused a proclivity to evil in his offspring, which rendered good more difficult of attainment than before, seems to occur in 2 *Esdras*, a work of the first century A.D. Here (iii. 21) it is declared, "For the first Adam, bearing a wicked heart, transgressed and was overcome, and not he only but all they also who were born of him. Thus weakness was made permanent" (cf. vii. 118, "O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, the fall was not thine alone, but ours also who are thy descendants."). The writer's view, as here expressed, is that, though Adam when created was not wholly free from evil impulses, yet before the Fall these had no overwhelming ascendancy; but after, and in consequence of, the Fall they became intensified, so that his descendants through heredity were crippled, though not wholly incapacitated, for resisting sin. But by the side of this view there was current another which accentuated more strongly every man's accountability for his own conduct. This is found in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* liv. 15, 19, "For though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come. . . . Adam is, therefore, not the cause save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul." It was with the first of these two opinions that St. Paul's own view seems to have accorded most closely, for he appears to imply in *Rom.* vii. 18, 24, that through Adam's fall there had been perpetuated in the human race a predominance of evil tendencies over good, causing actual sin to be almost inevitable and certainly universal in all his progeny (*Rom.* v. 19).

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[1] Cf. Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 136–138.

[2] Cf. Stevens, *Theology of the New Testament*, pp. 359–360.

[3] It is noticeable that of Adam's descendants living before the Flood some are described as pleasing God and being righteous and blameless, *e.g.* Enoch and Noah (*Gen.* v. 24, vi. 9).

The Apostle, then, concluded that the Divine Law was of no avail in withstanding the desires of man's carnal nature. It confronted those desires with the demands of a righteous and holy God, exhibiting by contrast to these, the wickedness of sin; but it afforded no aid towards its conquest. On the contrary, though good in itself, it became an incentive to evil, the prohibitions which it contained only provoking the natural passions to defiance (*Rom.* v. 20).[1] From the hopeless situation in which, before his conversion, St. Paul felt himself placed, with his true self bent upon the fulfilment of the Divine requirements, but with all his efforts baffled through his inability to subdue the solicitations that were centred in his flesh, he was delivered through the revelation made to him by the glorified Jesus. And in consequence of the faith thus acquired in Jesus as the Messiah, he found that, in the moral conflict within him, the victory which had previously gone in favour of his lower, now inclined towards his higher, nature. The strength of the opposition which his fleshly impulses had offered to the Law of God was broken; and what he had formerly been impotent to accomplish, he was at last able to achieve (*Phil.* iv. 13, *Rom.* vii. 25).

This transition from a feeling of spiritual bondage and helplessness to a feeling of spiritual freedom and power raised several problems. Of these, one was to understand what purpose, if mankind were meant to attain to righteousness through faith, the Law, through which he had previously pursued righteousness so ineffectually, was designed to serve. The idea might have suggested itself that the Law was the method originally intended by God; but that as this had broken down, faith had been substituted in its stead. But this conclusion being derogatory to the Divine foresight, St. Paul avoided it, and fastened on an instance of faith which, *prior* to the enactment of the Law, had been reckoned to a man for righteousness, so that faith as the means of spiritual salvation appeared to be God's original plan. Such an instance was afforded by the history of Abraham, of whom it was related that, many centuries earlier than the time of Moses, he had believed God and it was counted to him as righteousness (*Gen.* xv. 6, *Rom.* iv. 3).[2] Moreover, this occurred before he was circumcised, and had not yet received the covenant-sign, on which the Law placed so much stress (*Rom.* iv. 9-13). From this (St. Paul held) it was to be gathered that by faith and not by the Law men *from the first* were meant to become righteous; and the original stipulation was not cancelled by the later legal system. The Law was promulgated subsequently with quite another end in view, namely to exhibit the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and so intensify the desire for some more effective way of attaining to the righteousness which God required. Like the slave who took a Roman boy to school (*παιδαγωγός*), its office was to lead men to Christ (*Gal.* iii. 24). The Law was thus in the Divine scheme of redemption a kind of parenthesis (*νόμος δὲ παρεισῆλθεν*, *Rom.* v. 20),[3] designed

[1] Cf. Ovid, *Am.* iii. 4, 17, *Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata.*

[2] Cf. *Hab.* ii. 4 (quoted in *Rom.* i. 17, *Gal.* iii. 11) and *Is.* xxviii. 16 LXX (quoted in *Rom.* x. 11).

[3] Sanday and Headlam, *Rom.* p. 143.

to promote a subsidiary purpose in a comprehensive plan which really aimed at accomplishing human salvation by a different method.

From the settlement of this problem St. Paul approached afresh the question why the Messiah, belief in Whom had wrought in him so signal a change of disposition, had undergone death, and that, too, a death which the Law represented as a mark of God's curse. To the Jews generally the Crucifixion was an obstacle which especially deterred them from acknowledging that Jesus was the Messiah (1 *Cor.* i. 23); and as St. Paul had come to regard their incredulity mistaken, it was essential for him to show how the death of Jesus had contributed to the accomplishment of God's purpose. What God had desired for man was manifestly his release from the tyranny of sinful impulses, the restoration to him of spiritual liberty, and the bestowal upon him of moral power. Now he knew by experience that all this had been for him effected through faith in the crucified Jesus as the Messiah; he felt that his former self, which had evinced such antagonism to God's holy requirements, had died; and he had entered on a new phase of existence. The parallelism between his own death unto sin (potentially, if not yet actually and completely, *Phil.* iii. 11, 12), and the death of the Messiah on the Cross, between the newness of life of which he himself had become conscious, and the resurrection of the Son of God, was too obvious to be ignored; and the inference was irresistible. The Christ, the destined Judge of the world, had come from heaven on a preliminary mission to mediate righteousness for men, and to deliver them from the destruction impending over the sinful. He had died that through Him men might die unto sin; and He had risen from the dead that men might live unto God.

The process by which, in St. Paul's mind, Christ's physical death was equated with a death unto sin had its origin in the idea that temptation assailed men through their fleshly nature (*Rom.* vii. 23, viii. 7, *Gal.* v. 17), the body being regarded as the tabernacle, or the garment, of the soul (2 *Cor.* v. 1–4, cf. 2 *Pet.* i. 14). The only way of escape from sin was to escape from the flesh. But as long as the bias to sin was paramount in the fleshly body by reason of the Fall, men could not, even through death, escape from the consequences of sin; the flesh infected the spirit, and so the latter could have no hope of participating in a blissful immortality, since this in St. Paul's view was confined to the righteous (p. 642). Thus it was sin that made death terrible and constituted its sting (1 *Cor.* xv. 56). Christ, however, when He died on the Cross, ceased to have further contact with sin, such as His existence in the flesh had entailed (*Rom.* vi. 10); for since sin had gained no hold upon the spirit of One so holy, it followed that, when His body of flesh was once laid down and He rose to renewed life, He, as a spiritual Being, was no longer liable to temptation. And men, through union with Him in His death and resurrection, could likewise share in the deliverance which He had achieved. So long, indeed, as they were still in the flesh, they were not free from promptings of evil, and their bodies, the seat of such solicitations, were doomed to physical death. Yet in spite of this they who became united to Christ were not, as before, under the mastery of sin, but even in their present phase of

existence had at their disposal for resisting it superhuman resources (*Eph.* vi. 10) ; and their spirits, when released from the bondage of the flesh (cf. *Rom.* viii. 23), were destined to share His immortality (*Rom.* vi. 23, viii. 11).[1] During the present life, too, the relation of such to Law was altered. Law had authority only over the living, not over the dead (*Rom.* vii. 1) ; so when Christ died He became free from Law, and believers, through sharing His death and risen life, were also freed from the same control (*Gal.* v. 18, *Rom.* vi. 14).

In what way St. Paul explained to himself how the death and resurrection of Christ carried with it a death unto sin and a resurrection unto righteousness for those who believed in Him is not so clear. It is possible that in constructing his soteriological theory he proceeded on the principle of representation. Jewish thought in general was characterized by a defective sense of individuality, so that solidarity was considered to subsist between members of one family, or of one race, in a degree which to modern minds seems unreal (cf. p. 24). Inheriting this manner of thinking, St. Paul may have supposed that the Messiah, through taking flesh, became *representative* of humanity at large, so that His experiences were attributable to the race. Or he may have thought that the Messiah, in assuming flesh, in some way *included* in Himself all humanity, somewhat as Adam included in himself all his descendants (cf. *Heb.* vii. 9, 10). The Apostle does not seem to have felt the need of elucidating what to many appears to require explanation ; and it is impossible to feel sure that even to himself his language represented a clear and definite conception.

As has been seen, faith was regarded as the condition of participating in the salvation which Christ, through His death and renewed life, communicated to men (cf. *Rom.* x. 9, *Phil.* iii., 9, 10). But believers in Jesus as the Christ constituted a community, the Church ; and into this community members were admitted through the rite of baptism. The Christian society was the sphere within which spiritual gifts (p. 647) were in evidence, and inasmuch as it was Christ, now a life-giving Spirit, who was the Source of the extraordinary faculties manifest within the Church (*Eph.* iv. 8), it was not unnatural that spiritual participation in Christ's death and rising again should be brought into parallelism with membership of the Church. Hence baptism, which was the rite that united believers to the Church, came to be looked upon as the visible means whereby they were united to Christ (*Gal.* iii. 27, *Rom.* vi. 3–5, 1 *Cor.* xii. 13, *Col.* ii. 12), of Whose body the Church could be viewed as the counterpart (p. 646). This idea was promoted by the nature of the rite itself ; for the immersion of the baptized in the water and their re-emergence out of it reproduced dramatically the descent of Christ to the world of the dead and His resurrection therefrom, and there was a tendency in contemporary thought to consider that to partake in the representation of a religious mystery was an effectual means of sharing in the reality that was represented (p. 86). Hence, converts to Christianity from heathendom were prone

[1] St. Paul expected the personality to be invested with a "spiritual" body, fitted for the life after death, see p. 478.

to conclude that the sacrament of baptism ensured salvation; and against such an inference St. Paul had to caution some, illustrating the futility of such presumptuous confidence by the fate of the Israelites in the wilderness, who, during their escape from Egypt, had undergone in the Red Sea an experience analogous to baptism, yet perished in consequence of their subsequent offences (1 *Cor.* x. 1–10). In view of this caution, it is the more surprising that he did not express disapproval of vicarious baptism for the dead (1 *Cor.* xv. 29), which must have originated through the currency of a view about baptism which looked upon it as being in itself a means of salvation independently of moral conditions.

Baptism, however, was not the only Christian rite. The Church had received from its Founder the celebration of the Eucharist, instituted by Christ as a memorial of His death and of the new covenant which His Spirit of self-sacrifice was instrumental in establishing. And this view of the rite as a perpetual reminder of the Lord's death until His Return was reaffirmed by St. Paul (1 *Cor.* xi. 26), who added the further idea that it was a symbol of the unity subsisting between all who partook of it, since they all shared one loaf, and so, though many, constituted one body (1 *Cor.* x. 17 mg.). The nature of the rite, however, laid it open to another construction. The appeal made to the senses by the physical acts of eating the bread and drinking the wine tended to displace in the minds of many the thought of the acquisition of spiritual sustenance by reflection and meditation upon Christ's self-sacrifice, and to substitute the notion of an actual feeding upon His Body and Blood, believed to be present materially in the elements of Bread and Wine. The practice of consuming consecrated food seemingly in the belief that it would *ipso facto* bring about union between worshippers and the divinity worshipped, was prevalent in contemporary religions (p. 87); and it was easy for Christian believers who were familiar with the usages of such religions to transfer the same conception to their own rite.[1] And this way of regarding the Eucharist finds some reflection even in St. Paul's own language, when, after saying "The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?" he goes on to declare, "Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily will have to answer for the body and the blood of the Lord" (1 *Cor.* xi. 27). In what precise sense these last words were meant to be understood is not clear. Since he does not speak of "eating the body" or of "drinking the blood" of the Lord, the guilt that he had in mind was probably that of dishonouring peculiarly sacred symbols. But it is not impossible that through the subtle influence upon him of the religious beliefs encountered in Greece and elsewhere, he modified the original conception of the Eucharist in the direction of contemporary Gentile conceptions. As he did not censure the custom of vicarious baptism for the dead (a usage which implies a magical notion of that sacrament), he may have been prepared to countenance, or at least to take advantage of,

[1] The apparent parallelism between the meals held in heathen temples and the Lord's Supper seems even to have led some to frequent both, in the hope of ensuring their salvation with more certainty (1 *Cor.* x. 21; cf. Morgan, *Religion and Theology of St. Paul*, p. 214).

ideas that were in the air, so long as they were calculated to help the extension of Christianity; and such ideas, if harboured, were not unlikely to react in some measure upon his own views.[1]

The conviction that righteousness could not be attained by the Mosaic Law, but only through the redemption effected by Christ (which faith rendered available), carried with it the corollary that salvation was conditioned by the same terms in the case of the whole human race, and that Christ had broken down the wall of partition between Jew and Gentile (*Eph.* i. 11–18, cf. *Gal.* iii. 28). But the circumstance that few of God's ancient people had accepted Christianity constituted for St. Paul a serious problem. They had originally been the recipients of great privileges (*Rom.* iii. 2, ix. 4, 5); yet notwithstanding such favours, they had, as a body, rejected God's grace; and only a remnant had believed, and their place in His Kingdom seemed to have been taken by the Gentiles. Such an issue could, no doubt, be accounted for in more than one way. From a human standpoint, it might be put down to the free choice of individuals in welcoming or refusing God's conditions; whilst from a Divine standpoint it could be attributed to the unchallengeable right of the Creator to dispose the hearts of His creatures according to His pleasure. This, however, could not really be a satisfactory explanation, for on one side the comprehensiveness of the Divine mercy, and on the other the equity of the Divine control over human destinies was left permanently impaired. But an historic retrospect relieved the distress which the wilfulness of Israel occasioned the Apostle. It was through the obstinacy of the Jews in repudiating the Gospel message that he had turned from them to the Gentiles; and this caused him to hope that the conversion of the Gentiles would stimulate his countrymen to seek again what they had previously rejected (*Rom.* x., xi.). If so, God's ways would be vindicated, and His mercy would ultimately be seen to embrace all the world.

St. Paul's exposition of the Divine scheme of salvation, inspired mainly by the spiritual change which he himself had experienced, was shaped by the inherited traditions and prevalent ideas of his race, whilst his statements sometimes show the influence of current controversies. Consequently, certain aspects of it call for remark.

(i) The historical worth of the narrative of the Fall in *Gen.* iii. is not sufficient to support the inferences drawn from it. To the idea that there existed in the first human pair, if not an original harmony between the flesh and spirit, at least no predominance of the fleshly over the spiritual impulses, but that the balance was disturbed by their sin, which corrupted their nature and was punished by death, and that such moral disturbance was communicated to all subsequent generations by physical descent there are various grave objections. (*a*) Death existed in the animal world long before the appearance of man on earth (as shown by the sciences of geology

[1] Several phrases especially associated with the Greek Mystery religions occur in St. Paul's writings—*τέλειος*, *τελειοῦσθαι*, *μυεῖσθαι*, *μεταμορφοῦσθαι*, *φωτίζεσθαι*, as well as *μυστήριον* itself. The last word, however, is not applied by him to the Lord's Supper, but is used to describe a truth long concealed, but destined eventually to be brought to light, see *Eph.* iii. 3–7, *Col.* iv. 3, and cf. *Wisd.* ii. 22, vi. 22.

and palæontology); and, according to the science of physiology, it is a consequence affecting all organisms by reason of their physical structure. (*b*) The evidence of anthropology points to the conclusion that mankind, so far from having fallen from a condition of internal peace and external happiness, have slowly developed from a state of brute-like savagery. (*c*) It is difficult to understand how a single act of transgression could exert such serious consequences upon the human constitution, permanently corrupting and depraving it. (*d*) If this is assumed to be possible, it is uncertain whether qualities acquired by an individual in the course of life (such as a sinful bias contracted by a person previously sinless must be) are transmissible to his progeny, many biologists maintaining that only congenital variations are inherited. In view of these objections it appears probable that the universal proneness to sin ought to be explained as due to the continuance in man of certain natural instincts, the unconditional gratification of which, originally non-moral (as it is in beasts), has come to be immoral, because it conflicts with a sense of obligation that has gradually emerged in the course of social life. If man has been evolved from an ancestor created on the plane of the lowest creatures save for the capacity of development, sin appears not as an innovation, but as a survival.[1] Its essence is the wilful indulgence of propensities which, at one time blameless, become in certain circumstances blameworthy when confronted with an emerging moral sense. If this is a truer account of human sinfulness [2] than one which is based on the narrative in *Gen.* iii., St. Paul's doctrine, so far as it depends on the latter, requires modification.

(ii) The theory, so far as it implies (as, on the surface at least, it appears to do) that Christ's redemption of mankind was accomplished in some other way than through the example of His self-sacrifice, has been criticized on the side either of justice or of intelligibility. If He, being sinless, endured instead of all other men (though St. Paul never uses the preposition *ἀντί* in this connexion) the death merited by the sins of the latter, and bore the consequences of God's curse for (*ὑπέρ*) them,[3] it is difficult to see how such a substitution could be acceptable to a moral Deity. If it vindicated God's righteousness by manifesting His wrath against sin (see *Rom.* iii. 25, 26), it could only do so at the cost of His justice, which did not discriminate between the innocent and the guilty. If it is supposed that in Christ's death, viewed as penal, sinners participated because their race was included in His Personality (as being Man and not an individual human being), the supposition seems to be lacking in actuality and comprehensibleness. For Man, in the sense intended, is an abstraction, whereas the historic Jesus died *a* man, a concrete individual Person, in whose particular sufferings other persons did not share in any proper sense. And if, instead, His death be viewed as the climax of His homage

[1] See Tennant, *Origin and Propagation of Sin*, p. 96.

[2] The problem of evil as a whole is, of course, not here considered.

[3] *Gal.* iii. 13. It is assumed that the curse which God had once pronounced on sin had to spend itself upon some one, and that when Christ submitted to the death of the Cross and thereby became accursed, its power was exhausted: cf. Rashdall, *Idea of Atonement*, p. 93.

and obedience to God, others can have part in that death only in a non-literal sense, *i.e.* by reproducing the like spirit of self-surrender.[1]

(iii) If Christ's death can be regarded as in any real sense vicarious, there is a lack of equivalence between the death which He underwent and that for which (incurred by men) it was substitutionary. For the first was *physical*, whereas the second was *spiritual*. The human race has not been saved from physical mortality; and the salvation of free human *spirits* (*i.e.* their deliverance from the control of self-seeking impulses) can, it would seem, be accomplished in the last resort only by the action upon them of moral influences.

(iv) Faith, which St. Paul in certain passages seems to identify with belief, is not invariably attended by the moral effects which alone can give occasion for the Divine justification of sinners without involving a fiction. Where faith is accompanied by sincere repentance and a change of heart, a sinner does, indeed, really cease to be deserving of God's condemnation; he can be acquitted as being no longer in sympathy with his sins, and can be accounted righteous, although his righteous *acts* are all in the future. In such cases justification is not a fiction, for the righteousness which it pre-supposes, though not present in maturity, exists potentially and in the germ. But *intellectual* belief in Christ can subsist without the moral sympathy with Him which alone can entitle the sinful to a verdict of acquittal by a righteous God.

(v) In regard to the rites of the Church—Baptism and the Eucharist—the Apostle, in certain places, appears to use language countenancing the belief that they produce effects in the spiritual sphere otherwise than through the ideas and resolves which are either inspired by them directly or are imparted through fellowship with the Christian Church, with the corporate life of which these rites are intimately connected.

Nevertheless, though the Pauline theory of Salvation is not free from grave difficulties, yet it is not hard to understand how it took the shape it did, or to discern the essential truth which in the Apostle's own case it represented. The reversal, through the Vision seen near Damascus, of his previous judgment about Jesus was attended by a violent rebound from his own past, and by most fervent gratitude towards Him Whose graciousness had overlooked and pardoned that past. To such a proof of love St. Paul's soul responded in an ecstasy of devotion. The intensity of his revulsion from his former attitude could (as it seemed to him) be adequately expressed by no ordinary metaphors. He could only declare that with Christ dying on the Cross his former self had died; and that with Christ rising from the dead he, too, had risen to a new life. Between himself and Christ there had been established such perfect unity of will that he could no longer distinguish himself from his Redeemer: they were no more two but one. He was "in Christ" (2 *Cor.* xii. 2) and Christ "in him" (*Gal.* ii. 20). He and all who were Christ's had *crucified* the flesh with all its desires. Belief about Christ was thus in the Apostle blended with an intense and absorbing love for Christ: and he found his

[1] Cf. *Phil.* iii. 10, 1 *Pet.* iv. 13.

moral ideal to be most inspiring when embodied in a Person, obedience to whom was free from all sense of constraint such as was inseparable from a legal system.[1] This combination of intellectual conviction and passionate attachment the Apostle called Faith. And if we were left to judge the aptness of his language exclusively from what we know concerning his own character and Christian life, we should be conscious of little inappropriateness in his figures of speech. It is only when applied to the generality of professing Christians that these appear out of touch with fact. Spiritual oneness with Christ is for most men not a reality, but a distant ideal. And the exigencies of controversy with the Jewish Christians often caused the Apostle to contrast "faith" with "works" incautiously, and prevented him from adequately safeguarding the watchword of his theological system from grave abuse, to which he was not altogether unaware that it was exposed (see *Rom.* iii. 8, vi. 1, 15).

This sketch of St. Paul's theology shows that in certain respects the Apostle differed markedly from his Master. In regard to his eschatological outlook, indeed, he entertained substantially the same expectations as Jesus save for the idea about the "man of sin"; but in his Christology and Soteriology there are various degrees of divergence.

(*a*) Jesus believed, and before His death asserted, Himself to be the Christ, and God's Son; to have in a unique degree knowledge of the Divine character (*Mt.* x. 32, 33 = *Lk.* xii. 8, 9, *Mt.* xi. 27 = *Lk.* x. 22); to be destined to reappear in glory after His death; and to be the authoritative exponent of the true way of life, so that men could reject His teaching only at the risk of being repudiated by Him at the judgment (*Mk.* viii. 34–38). In view of these claims of Jesus it is apparent that the supreme place which He occupied in St. Paul's teaching was not without warrant in His own convictions about Himself and His relation to God. Nevertheless, St. Paul framed a doctrine concerning Jesus which went beyond anything explicitly contained in the earliest authorities for our Lord's utterances, affirming His pre-existence before the world, His agency in the work of creation, and the expression in Him of the fullness of Godhead.

(*b*) The word "faith" in Jesus' use of it seems to have signified primarily trust in God, and only secondarily trust in Himself as an agent of God to instruct men and to heal them; and though in His disciples He *created* faith in Himself as the Messiah of God, He did not exact as the condition of salvation a definite and explicit belief about Himself. He made performance the touchstone of professions, and the test of attachment to Himself to be obedience to His Father's will (*Mt.* vii. 17–27 = *Lk.* vi. 43–49). But St. Paul gave to faith the import of a particular persuasion concerning Jesus (*Rom.* x. 8, 9); and though there entered into his own Christian belief an intensely strong moral element, yet his assertion that faith and not works conditioned salvation afforded a colourable pretext for antinomianism.

(*c*) Jesus, during the most part of His ministry, did not look beyond speech and example for the agency designed to save men's souls, and

[1] Cf. 2 *Cor.* iii. 6, "The letter (*i.e.* of a written code) killeth but the Spirit (*i.e.* the inspiration communicated by Jesus Christ) giveth life."

represented God as freely pardoning human offences if repented of (see especially *Lk.* xv. 11 f.); and though towards the close of His earthly career He thought of His life as destined to be surrendered as a "ransom" for men, He did not explain how it would avail for the purpose. But St. Paul altered the balance of Christ's teaching; and whilst, in his Epistles at least, he dwells comparatively little upon the record of our Lord's life, with its stimulating appeal to the heart,[1] he gives much prominence to the idea that the sacrifice of God's Son was essential that God might be both just in Himself and the justifier of sinners (*Rom.* iii. 26).

(*d*) Our Lord declared that He was sent to the house of Israel only (*Mk.* vii. 27, cf. *Mt.* xv. 24, x. 5, 6); He discharged no ministry among non-Israelite peoples; He did not deny the Jewish Law to be a means of attaining righteousness (cf. *Mk.* x. 19), although He censured the spirit in which it was often interpreted; and He affirmed that no jot or tittle of it should pass away (*Mt.* v. 18 = *Lk.* xvi. 17). But St. Paul claimed to be entrusted by Christ with a mission to the Gentiles; asserted that Christ had put an end to the Law as an instrument for achieving righteousness or salvation; and that as regards religious standing before God there was no distinction between Israelite and non-Israelite.

It was in respect of this last head that the difference between St. Paul and his Master was most conspicuous. Yet the contrast even here was not so great as appears on the surface; for there were indications in certain of Christ's utterances that He recognized in some of the Gentiles spiritual qualities lacking in the Jews, and that He expected many of them to find a place in the Kingdom of God (*Mt.* viii. 10–12 = *Lk.* vii. 9, 10, xiii. 29). And the distinction which He drew between the relative importance of ceremonial rules and ethical precepts where they came into collision established a principle which was really fatal to the prerogative which the Jews believed to be theirs in consequence of their possession of the Mosaic Law.

(*e*) *The Teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews*

The aspects of Christian Theology with which the writer of *Hebrews* principally concerned himself were mainly determined by the particular end which he had in view when composing the book. This was to persuade those for whom he wrote to remain faithful to Christ in the face of strong inducements to abandon Christianity and to revert to Judaism. Hence he made it his endeavour to convince them that the religion, which, through the circumstances wherein they were living, they were being tempted by their unconverted fellow-countrymen to forsake, was superior to its rival on every ground. The non-Christian Jews contended that the Law had been, according to tradition, delivered by God Himself through the agency of angels to Moses, who had imparted it to the people of Israel. The priests, who administered the rites of the Law, were descendants of

[1] See, however, the allusions to Christ's character and conduct in 2 *Cor.* x. 1, *Phil.* i. 8, and cf. Kennedy, *Theol. of the Epistles*, pp. 104–5.

Aaron, who was appointed by God to exercise it; the tabernacle which formed the scene of the priests' ministrations was constructed by Divine direction; and the function of the priesthood was to offer gifts and sacrifices for human sins and failings. These features of Judaism, of acknowledged value, were missing in the Christian Church; and if those to whom the Epistle was addressed were unable to trace their equivalents in Christianity they might be led, through the stress of trouble, to contemplate the relinquishment of a faith which, unlike Judaism, was not formally allowed by the state authorities, and was liable to involve its votaries in persecution. In order to demonstrate that their dissatisfaction with Christianity was ill-grounded, the author of the Epistle enters upon a systematic comparison of the two religions. He seeks to show that Christ, as an agent of Divine revelation, was greater than the angels, and than Moses; that He was a Priest of a higher order than the Jewish priests; that He ministered in a better sanctuary; and that He had offered a more effectual sacrifice. The Epistle, which is described by its writer as an address of exhortation (xiii. 22), is thus designed to meet a particular emergency, and is by no means a comprehensive exposition of the whole of the author's Christian belief. Nevertheless, the points upon which he lays stress offer a sufficient contrast to those that are emphasized by other New Testament writers (*e.g.* St. Paul) as to render a comparison between his predominant ideas and theirs valuable. The arguments employed by him are drawn from the Jewish Scriptures (through the medium of the LXX),[1] the authority of which is treated as undisputed, and to which more frequent appeal is made in this Epistle than in any other.

The author of *Hebrews*, like so many other New Testament writers, shows little regard for the historic sense of the Old Testament passages which he quotes, and he puts upon their statements a sense clearly not intended by their writers. In this respect he goes even beyond St. Paul (with his strange deduction (*Gal.* iii. 16) from the use (in *Gen.* xiii. 15) of the singular *σπέρμα* instead of the plural *σπέρματα*). Thus, for instance, he draws a surprising inference from the mere omission by the historian of *Gen.* xiv. of any mention of the parentage of Melchizedek (vii. 3); and again, using the word *διαθήκη*, which has the two meanings of "covenant" and "testament" (or "will"),[2] he passes easily from the one signification to the other (ix. 15–20), although in the Old Testament passages which he has in mind (*Ex.* xxiv., *Jer.* xxxi. 31–34) the word is employed only with the first meaning.[3] But even more important for a valuation of some of his arguments is his presupposition that the principles underlying the system of the Mosaic Law are of eternal validity, although in that system he believed them to have received only imperfect and transitory expression. Thus, he takes for granted the necessity of the

[1] In vi. 14 (= *Gen.* xxii. 17), ix. 20 (= *Ex.* xxiv. 8) and x. 30 (= *Dt.* xxxii. 35) there are departures from the LXX.

[2] The word has the sense of "testament" in recently discovered papyri.

[3] It has been suggested that the connecting thought in the writer's mind is that both were associated with death, a victim having to die in the solemnization of a covenant, and a testator having to die before his will could be executed.

institution of Priesthood and Sacrifice; he declares that apart from the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins; and he assumes that the representation in *Ex.* xxv. 40, that the tabernacle and its furniture were made by Moses after a pattern shown to him by God is literally true, and that accordingly there exists a heavenly tabernacle arranged and furnished in the same way as its earthly counterpart, and actually requiring, like the latter, to be cleansed by sacrificial blood (*Ex.* xxix. 36, *Lev.* xvi. 16). Several of the writer's references to conditions or proceedings enjoined in the Law diverge somewhat from the Old Testament, such departures either arising from defects of memory or reflecting Jewish traditions (see ix. 4, 19, 20).

In comparing the theology of the Epistle with previous theological conceptions the subject will be discussed most conveniently under the same heads as before.

1. *Eschatology*

The eschatological ideas of the Epistle present no novelty. The Christian revelation is regarded as having occurred at the "consummation of the ages" (ix. 26, cf. i. 2). Christ Himself is expected to appear a second time (ix. 28); and there is anticipated a convulsion of the whole universe in the near future, preceding the establishment of a kingdom destined to last for ever (xii. 26–28). The writer bases on the prospect of the approach of the Day of the Lord an appeal to his readers mutually to encourage one another (x. 25); so that he clearly shared the view current in the primitive Church that the end of the existing age was close at hand.

2. *Christology*

The principal features in the writer's doctrine of Christ's Person and office emerge from his comparison of Christianity with the Jewish religion. The Law, according to Jewish tradition, had been communicated to Israel by God through the agency of angels (ii. 2, cf. *Acts* vii. 53, *Gal.* iii. 19, and see *Dt.* xxxiii. 2 (LXX [1])); and Israel's history had been marked by the appearance, at different periods, of great personalities like Moses, Aaron, Joshua, and the prophets. Moses had been the mediator of the covenant between God and His people; Aaron was the ancestor of the Jewish priests, who were the ministers of reconciliation; Joshua had led the nation into the promised land of Canaan; and the prophets had been the channel of Divine revelations. The argument that to these advantages possessed by Judaism Christianity offered no equivalent, the Epistle was intended to refute. Jesus, it is maintained, was superior to all the personalities, angelic as well as human, in whom such confidence was placed. He was the most authoritative agent of the Divine revelation,

[1] Here, however, Jehovah is said to have come with ten thousands of His holy ones not *to* but *from* Sinai.

for God, Whose Self-disclosure through the prophets had been only partial and fragmentary, had at last spoken in the person of One who was a Son (i. 2, iii. 6, v. 8, vi. 6, vii. 3, 28, x. 29). Jesus, the Son of God, was the Creator, Sustainer, and Heir of all things. He was the effulgence (*ἀπαύγασμα*) of the Divine glory, and the impress (*χαρακτήρ*) of the Divine essence (God being the primal Source from whom, through the Son, the universe proceeds and for whom it exists, ii. 10, cf. iii. 4). Jesus consequently exceeded in dignity the angels, who had never been bidden to share God's throne, who were, on the contrary, directed to worship the Son (i. 6), and who were merely ministering spirits, liable to fluctuation of form and function, according to the Divine will; whereas the Son abides changelessly (i. 2–14). And if He was greater than the angels, He was necessarily greater than Moses, who was not a son but only a servant in God's household (*Num.* xii. 7); than Aaron, a descendant of Abraham who had acknowledged the superiority of Melchizedek, a priest and king about whose origin and end Scripture was altogether silent, and who was consequently typical of the Son of God; and than Joshua, who did not give God's people a permanent rest, for otherwise David, living long after, would never have spoken in *Ps.* xcv. of a rest still open to be enjoyed.

In this conception of Jesus as the eternally existent Son of God, the writer of *Hebrews* resembles St. Paul (see *Col.* i. 15, 16, and p. 643); but the writer in his distinctive treatment of the idea seems to have been definitely influenced by the Alexandrine book of *Wisdom*. For in that work (vii. 26) Wisdom is described as an effulgence (*ἀπαύγασμα*) from everlasting light, and an image (*εἰκών*) of God's goodness; and the resemblance to this passage presented by *Heb.* i. 3, *ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ* (*i.e. τοῦ θεοῦ*), is sufficiently close to justify the conclusion that the author of the Epistle has drawn upon it. He thus represents Jesus, in virtue of being the Divine Son, as occupying the place which in Hebrew thought was filled by the Divine Wisdom. The author of the Epistle in support of his claim that Jesus stood in a far more intimate relation to God than any of the angels, and was endowed with prerogatives higher than theirs (i. 1–ii. 8), appeals to various passages in the Scriptures, *Ps.* ii. 7, 2 *Sam.* vii. 14, *Dt.* xxxii. 43 (LXX), *Ps.* civ. 4, xlv. 6, 7, cii. 25–27, cx. 1, viii. 4–6. In some of these the primary meaning intended by the original writer is disregarded, for in *Ps.* ii. 7, and 2 *Sam.* vii. 14, the words in the first instance had reference to a human king. In *Dt.* xxxii. 43, where the LXX has, without any authority from the Hebrew, the clause *εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ*, the pronoun relates to Jehovah Himself. In *Ps.* civ. 4, the context seems to require the meaning "Who maketh his angels (not *into* but) *of* winds, and his ministers (not *into* but) *of* flaming fire,[1] *i.e.* employs natural forces like storms and lightnings as agents for executing His purposes. In *Ps.* xlv. 6 the title "God" is used by the poet of the sovereign for whom the psalm (a nuptial ode) was intended (cf. *Ex.* xxi. 6, 1 *Sam.* ii. 25, where the same term probably denotes priestly judges);

[1] For the construction cf. *Ex.* xxv. 28, Heb.

but it is not improbable that the reading is corrupt.[1] *Ps.* cii. 25, 27, is an address to Jehovah, not to the Messiah. *Ps.* cx. is of uncertain date, but most likely was composed in honour of Simon Maccabæus (p. 443), though it was applied by our Lord Himself to the Celestial Messiah (*Mk.* xii. 36, 37).[2] The writer of *Hebrews* thus abandons in many cases the real significance of the passages quoted, and in the spirit of Alexandrine exegesis adapts them to a subject of thought outside their authors' range of contemplation.

Nevertheless, although the superiority of Jesus over angelic powers and the most illustrious characters in Hebrew history is emphasized by an appeal to Scripture interpreted in this manner, yet the writer asserts with uncompromising directness that He was a man, partaker, with other men, of flesh and blood (ii. 14), made similar to mankind in all respects (ii. 17), sharing human infirmities, and like the rest of humanity, liable to temptation. This was by the design of God, Whose purpose was to aid the race of men, and Who, to sustain them in the effort to reach the glory intended for them, subjected Him who was to be their Pioneer in the enterprise to the same conditions as those wherein they were placed (ii. 10). It was through exposure to temptations and through successful resistance to them that Jesus became perfect, learning obedience through the sufferings which He encountered (v. 8, 9). In consequence of His unconquerable endurance, He had been crowned by God with glory and honour, as manifested by His exaltation to heaven (ii. 9, cf. xii. 2). His experience of trials on earth qualified Him to intercede with God in heaven on behalf of men, since through His acquaintance with the circumstances of human life He was able to sympathize with those who confronted tribulation less successfully. It has, indeed, been justly observed that the conception of Jesus in this Epistle is more humanitarian than in any other, though, as has been seen, a more exalted idea of His significance for the religious life of mankind can scarcely elsewhere be found.

In what way the eternal Son of God "having neither beginning of days nor end of life" became one with the man Jesus is left quite obscure. No reference is made either to the descent of the Spirit at the Baptism or to the Virgin Birth.

3. *Soteriology*

Salvation is variously represented as access to the presence of God and enjoyment of His Rest (vii. 19, 25, x. 19, iv. 9). And since the obstacle to such felicity was human sin, it had been the object of the institutions established in the Mosaic Law to bring men into right relations with God through sacrifices or other rites, designed to atone for sins and to remove defilement. A covenant had been set on foot between Israel

[1] It has been conjectured that the original text had *Yihyeh*, "shall be"; that this was corrupted into *Yahweh*, "O Jehovah"; and that for *Yahweh* an editor substituted *Elohim*, "O God."

[2] Following the precedent of the psalm the writer of the Epistle applies to Christ the title Κύριος (ii. 3, vii. 14, xiii. 20).

and God on the basis of the observance by the people of the Divine commandments; and the enactment of the covenant had been accompanied by the shedding of the blood of animal victims (ix. 19–21). A line of priests had been instituted in order to offer the gifts and sacrifices needed for the expiation of sins (v. 1); and the priesthood might be regarded as the fundamental feature of the Mosaic constitution (vii. 11). The slaughter of an animal and the use of its blood (or of its ashes after burning, *Num.* xix.) were required, both for the remission of offences and the cleansing of impurity (ix. 13, 22). The rite which was most significant of the connexion which the Mosaic system implied to subsist between the removal of sin or defilement and the effusion of blood, was that which marked the Day of Atonement. Once a year the innermost sanctuary of the Tabernacle, *viz.* the Holy of Holies, was entered by the High Priest alone, who, after offering in succession a bullock and a goat for the sins of himself and the people, took their blood and sprinkled it upon the front of the mercy-seat (or propitiatory); see *Lev.* xvi. Seemingly, too, the blood was put on the altar of incense which stood in the Holy Place, to make atonement for it (*Ex.* xxx. 10). The facts that only with the accompaniment of such rites could the High Priest, as being both sinful himself and the representative of a sinful people, approach the presence of God, and that by this the defilement contracted by the material furniture of the Tabernacle had to be cancelled, showed that only through the offering of blood could the barrier which sin occasioned between man and God be surmounted.

It is on the basis of the regulations of the Mosaic Law, especially those relating to the sacrifices required for the atonement of sin, that the writer of *Hebrews* explains the necessity of the death of Christ. The lines upon which the Jewish religious system was constituted are presupposed to be permanently valid; but the actual system is regarded as inherently defective and temporary. In the first place, that the covenant contracted between Israel and God in the wilderness was faulty and unable to achieve the end for which it was designed was proved by the fact that the prophet Jeremiah (xxxi. 31 f.) represented God as declaring that a time would come when He would make a new covenant with His people. Next, the priestly order established under the Law consisted of a succession of men, each of whom was sinful and short-lived. Thirdly, the tabernacle in which the priests discharged their duties was a mere copy of an original which was in heaven.[1] Finally, the victims which they offered were only cattle, whose blood could never really take away human sin. In contrast to the covenant mediated through Moses, the author of the Epistle sets forth the covenant mediated through Christ; to the Jewish priests he opposes Christ as a Priest of a superior order; he points out that the scene of their ministrations is a mere earthly copy of a heavenly sanctuary, wherein Christ discharges His priestly function; and he insists that animal sacrifices are insufficient to cleanse the conscience, and cannot be compared with Jesus' sacrifice of Himself.

[1] Cf. *Wisd.* ix. 8, "Thou gavest command to build a sanctuary in thy holy mountain . . . a copy of the holy tabernacle which thou preparedst beforehand (*i.e.* in heaven) from the beginning."

(*a*) The first covenant, being a written code of external regulations, was rigid, and could not meet all the exigencies of human life without growing burdensome and harsh; whilst the offences for which under it sacrifices could be offered by way of atonement were only such as were inadvertent (cf. ix. 7, *ὑπὲρ τῶν . . . ἀγνοημάτων*), there being for sins committed wittingly and presumptuously no atonement (*Num.* xv. 30). But under the new covenant foretold by Jeremiah and mediated by Christ (viii. 6, xii. 24, xiii. 20) God promised to write His laws on men's hearts (so that problems of conduct would be determined spontaneously by the decision of individual consciences in harmony with the Divine requirements), whilst all past offences would be forgiven. In the establishment of this new covenant Christ's death had a place, for as the earlier covenant was solemnized by the blood of sacrificed animals, so the later covenant was inaugurated with the blood of a nobler Victim. But whereas the blood sprinkled at Sinai, partly on the people and partly on God's altar (*Ex.* xxiv. 6–8), merely established a contract (the making of which in antiquity was often accompanied by the partaking in common by the two contracting parties of blood, or in lieu of it, food),[1] the blood of Christ is regarded by the writer as having been shed not only to inaugurate the new covenant, but likewise to atone for the sins which had been committed under the old covenant and which (cf. i. 3, ii. 17, ix. 28) separated men from God. Thus "the same event (the death on the Cross) is regarded both as an inaugural and as an atoning sacrifice."[2] What part Christ discharged in putting God's laws in men's hearts is not explained. Probably He is thought to do so partly through the force of His perfect example, being the Pioneer and Perfecter of faith in the Unseen (xii. 2, and see p. 663), and partly perhaps through the gift of the Holy Spirit (cf. vi. 4).

(*b*) The Levitical priests who under the Law offered sacrifices for sin and probably, in post-exilic times, gave spiritual counsel to burdened consciences,[3] suffered from a twofold limitation. (i) They were mortal, so that a continuous succession of them was needed to fill up vacancies caused by death. (ii) They were themselves stained by sins, and consequently had to offer sacrifices for their own offences as well as for those of the people. Like them, Christ, too, had offered up a sacrifice (one, indeed, far superior to the cattle which constituted the offerings under the Law), and He was also able to deal gently with the erring, since He had learnt obedience through suffering, having thereby become perfect (v. 8). But He had two advantages over the Jewish priests; for inasmuch as He possessed an endless life, His ministrations were uninterrupted; and since, being sinless, He had no offences of His own to atone for, His sacrifice was wholly available for the expiation of the sins of others. Christ's perpetual ministry is regarded as consisting in intercession for sinners in

[1] See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 315 f.; cf. *Josh.* ix. 14 f. and p. 453 above.

[2] Kennedy, *The Theology of the Epistles*, p. 212.

[3] Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 208.

the presence of God (vii. 25); but the sacrifice which He offered was single and was accomplished once for all (vii. 27, x. 12).

(*c*) The Jewish priests ministered in a material tabernacle of which the Holy of Holies was separated from the rest of the building by a veil beyond which none was allowed to penetrate save the High Priest once a year, and only after his own and the people's sins had been atoned for, and the structure and its furniture cleansed by the blood of sacrifices. This tabernacle on earth, made by men's hands, was but a copy of a more perfect tabernacle in heaven, of which God was the Maker; and into its innermost sanctuary (strangely called in ix. 12 "the Holy Place," instead of "the Holy of Holies") Christ had passed once for all through the offering of His own blood. The heavenly tabernacle is assumed to be the exact counterpart of the earthly structure (of which it had been the original), having a similar plan, with two chambers divided by a veil, and requiring no less than the other to be cleansed, as though the infection of human sin even reached to heaven. In x. 20, as rendered in the R.V., "the veil" before the heavenly sanctuary is interpreted to mean "Christ's flesh"; but this introduces confusion, and the words *τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ* are probably not to be construed in apposition to *τοῦ καταπετάσματος*, but to be regarded as explanatory of *ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν*, "a way consisting of His human nature," God's presence being accessible to men by the road along which Christ, through His earthly life, has furnished guidance.[1]

(*d*) Both the Jewish priests and Christ (the Christians' High Priest) offered sacrifices before God; but there was a difference between their offerings. The blood which was required by the Law to be offered for sins was the blood of cattle. But this could not cleanse the human conscience from sin (x. 4, 11); to effect this there was wanted the blood of a Victim, sharing the same human nature with those for whose sake the offering was needed; and such a Victim was Christ, Who sacrificed Himself, being at the same time both Priest and Victim. It is nowhere explained in the Old Testament how the blood of slaughtered cattle in primitive times was thought to avail for atonement, since the statement in *Lev.* xvii. 11 that it did so "by reason of the life" still leaves the matter obscure. Possibly the quality of life in the blood was originally thought to neutralize the corruption of death which was involved in all defilement, physical or spiritual. But reflection could not permanently be content with this; and the author of *Hebrews* seems to have been sensible that difficulty likewise attended the cleansing of men's consciences from sin through Christ's blood-shedding (ix. 14), regarded as a mere physical occurrence. He does not explicitly solve the difficulty; but a passage quoted by him in x. 5 f. from *Ps.* xl. 6–8, points in the direction whence he looked for a solution. He supposes the psalmist to speak in the name of the Messiah, who, denying that any satisfaction is derived by God from animal or other offerings, declares that God has prepared for him a body[2] (*i.e.* a human frame fitted to serve as the instrument of moral and spiritual life, and not, like the bodies of cattle, of physical life only);

[1] Cf. Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 320, who, however, interprets differently.

[2] The Heb. has "ears hast thou digged (*i.e.* opened) for me"; and of this the LXX

and then affirms that He comes to do the Divine will. This points to Christ's submission of His own will to God's will as constituting the effectiveness of His atoning work. It was the presence in Christ's death of a *moral* quality appealing to all in whom the germs of moral life exist, that enabled His death on the Cross to avail for the removal of sin, through the repentance and change of heart which it brings about in the sinner. This is perhaps the real sense of the obscure phrase occurring in ix. 14, "Who through eternal Spirit offered Himself . . . unto God." It was because the death He underwent was not merely physical, but the outcome of self-surrender in the sphere of His spirit (described as "eternal" because the spirit of man comes from God [1]) that it differed in potency so widely from the involuntary deaths of animal victims, and could set at one men and their Creator.

That the writer of the Epistle, in spite of the persistency with which he draws parallels between Christ's death and the animal sacrifices enjoined by the Law (cf. especially x. 22 with ix. 13, *ῥεραντισμένοι*, *ῥαντίζουσα*), yet saw in the effect produced upon men's minds by His perfect submission and obedience to the will of God, a vital factor in the salvation of which He is the cause (*αἴτιος*, v. 9) is shown by the view taken of *faith* which leads to the saving of the soul (x. 39). Faith is such confidence in the reality of things hoped for, but not yet seen or experienced (xi. 1), as causes the believer to commit himself to a venture from which present conditions are calculated to dissuade him. Of such faith God is the object (cf. vi. 1), not Christ, Who is our Pioneer (*ἀρχηγός*, xii. 2, ii. 10) [2] and Forerunner (*πρόδρομος*, vi. 20) in the enterprise upon which trust in God leads us to embark (for faith is clearly regarded as issuing in action, see xi. 33) and Who Himself accomplished it perfectly (*τελειωτής*). To illustrate the nature and effects of faith the writer adduces numerous examples from the Old Testament—Noah, Abraham, Moses, and others—men whose conduct was ruled by the belief that God would accomplish for them in the future something of which there appeared to be no prospect in the present. It was in the strength of the like faith in the future that Jesus Himself was undeterred by the suffering and shame to which He was exposed (xii. 2); and it is to Him that we are bidden to look, in order to obtain inspiration and encouragement in our own trials. The author, indeed, is far from systematically interpreting Christ's death in purely ethical terms, for his language about it is dominated by analogies derived from the use of blood under the Law and its indispensableness for the remission of sin; and in one passage (ii. 9, *ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θάνατον*) he comes near to a substitutionary view of Christ's death, though even there the preposition employed is not *ἀντί*. Yet the death of Christ, whether viewed as the inaugural sacrifice of a new

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text (followed in the Epistle) is probably in part a mere textual corruption, (C)ΩTIA being misread as CΩMA.

[1] Cf. *Gen.* ii. 7, *Eccles.* xii. 7.

[2] In strictness the word seems to have been used of the founder of a family or of a city (Isocrates, 32 C, *ὁ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγός*, Plato, *Tim.* 21, E, *τῆς πόλεως θεὸς ἀρχηγός τις ἐστιν*).

covenant between God and man, or as an offering in expiation of human sin, does not exhaust for the writer the significance of Christ's work for human salvation. On the contrary, so far as he tries to explain why Christ's sacrifice is of greater efficacy than the Jewish sacrifices both for mediating fellowship with God and for removing sin, his explanation appears to be that it brings about the sanctification of the sinful through moral influences. The redemption of men is thought of as resulting from the obedience rendered by Christ to His Father's will, and from the inspiring contemplation of such an example; whilst they are not regarded as left to themselves to derive what support they can from His pattern life, but are aided by His continuous and sympathetic intercession for them with God in heaven (vii. 25, iv. 14–16).

In the Epistle no express allusion occurs to the Church, though it is implied that the body of Christians to whom the letter is written is an organized community (xiii. 7, 17), accustomed to meet together for worship (x. 25), and having Church officers in authority over them (xiii. 24). The only ecclesiastical rites mentioned are those of Baptism and the Laying on of Hands (vi. 2). Reference to the former is made in the phrase "the teaching of baptisms," where the use of the plural perhaps has in view the prevalence of similar lustral ceremonies in both the Jewish and the Christian communities, and the "teaching" perhaps means instruction in regard to the difference between them. The practice of "Laying on of hands" was observed in the Church on various occasions from early days (pp. 503, 524), being associated generally with the idea of blessing (cf. p. 510); but the special significance which it eventually came to convey was a prayer for the imparting of the Holy Spirit to those upon whom hands were laid (cf. *Acts* viii. 17, xix. 6). The Lord's Supper is not named, though it is probable that the writer's idea of Christianity as a new covenant, established between God and man, was influenced by our Lord's words when He supped for the last time with His disciples (*Mk.* xiv. 24, cf. 1 *Cor.* xi. 25).

From what has been said, it will be seen that between the theology of *Hebrews* and that of the Pauline Epistles there are certain obvious resemblances. The author, like St. Paul, affirms Christ's pre-existence with God before His appearance upon earth, and attributes to Him cosmic functions. He describes His death in sacrificial terms (using them, indeed, more extensively than the Apostle), and represents it as analogous to more than one of the rites prescribed in the Jewish Law. He views the relation instituted between God and mankind by Christ in the light of a new covenant superior to the Mosaic covenant (cf. 2 *Cor.* iii. 6, 14). He speaks of believers as having been made partakers of the Holy Spirit. But by the side of these similarities there are some striking unlikenesses.

(*a*) As compared with St. Paul, the writer of *Hebrews*, whilst asserting Christ's superhuman dignity prior to His Incarnation, lays less stress upon this than upon His human life on earth and His sharing the lot of mankind.

(*b*) Whereas St. Paul considers Christ's death to have been necessitated through the satisfaction required by God's violated laws, there is nothing

in this Epistle definitely countenancing the idea that Christ endured for man the curse imposed in the Law on sin; and the evil heritage transmitted to mankind by Adam is not here mentioned.

(*c*) Whilst St. Paul generally employs "faith" to describe belief in Jesus as the Messiah, acceptance of Him as the Divinely appointed bestower of Salvation, and a sense of oneness with Him, the writer of *Hebrews* returns to an earlier view, which regarded it as trust in God, and confidence in Him as Protector and Rewarder (see p. 621).

(*d*) Unlike St. Paul, who held that Christ abolished the Law (which was itself posterior in origin to the principle of salvation through faith), the writer of *Hebrews* thinks of Christ as fulfilling the same ends as those which the system of the Law subserved, only achieving them more perfectly. The Pauline antitheses of Law and Grace, of Works and Faith, of Flesh and Spirit, are absent from the Epistle, and are replaced by contrasts drawn between earthly copies and heavenly realities, shadow and image, the first covenant and the second, the priesthood after Aaron and the priesthood after Melchizedek, things temporal and transitory and things eternal and abiding.

(*e*) In St. Paul's theological theory the centre is occupied by the death and resurrection of Christ, with Whom "faith" unites the believer, and enables him to share alike Christ's death in the flesh (where the incentives to sin have their abode) and His resurrection in the Spirit. It is upon this that the experience of redemption turns, and comparatively little prominence is given by the Apostle to the moral effect on human hearts proceeding from the example of Christ's conquest over temptation. But in the theology of *Hebrews* the Pauline conception of the believers' union with Christ seems to be absent (for in iii. 14 the words *μέτοχοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγόναμεν* probably mean "we are become partakers (of salvation) with the Christ" (cf. ii. 10), and not "partakers of Christ"); and the writer's most helpful thought is the stimulus afforded by Christ's earthly life of patience and sinlessness, "faith" giving the believer a hold upon spiritual realities.

(*f*) Whilst in St. Paul it is the Spirit as well as Christ to Whom the work of intercession is ascribed (*Rom.* viii. 26, 34), in *Hebrews* it is Christ alone Who is the Intercessor, His life on earth having been Divinely ordered so as to fit Him for such a function.

(*g*) St. Paul's conception of the Church as the Body of Christ, of which individual Christians are members, does not occur in this Epistle.

In a certain measure the writer of *Hebrews* anticipates the attitude of the Fourth Evangelist in viewing Christianity under the aspect of a revelation. For instance, he regards Christ as standing in line with the prophets as an agent of God's communications to men, but as conveying them in a completer form (i. 1, 2); and he lays stress upon the fact that his readers, as Christians, have received knowledge of the truth (x. 26) and have been enlightened (*φωτισθέντας*, vi. 4, x. 32), these latter phrases resembling the ideas expressed in 1 *Joh.* ii. 21, *Joh.* i. 9.[1] Another feature

[1] The terms "enlightened" and "enlightenment" also occur in St. Paul (*Eph.* i. 18, 2 *Cor.* iv. 4, 6).

in which he anticipates the author of the Johannine writings is the conception of Christ's intercession in heaven on behalf of mankind, for though the phraseology of *Heb.* vii. 25, ix. 24 is not the same as that of 1 *Joh.* ii. 1 (*Παράκλητον ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δίκαιον*), the idea conveyed is similar.

(*b*) *The Teaching of the Johannine Writings*[1]

It has been shown (p. 230) that the Fourth Gospel was probably written about the close of the first century A.D., so that in point of time both the Pauline Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels lie behind it. It is impossible to think that at this date St. Paul's letters were unknown to the Fourth Evangelist, especially as the latter seems to have spent the closing period of his life at Ephesus, a city with which the Apostle had been intimately connected, so that there is room for the supposition that for some of the theological ideas which are prominent in the Fourth Gospel the author may have been indebted to St. Paul (p. 673). And that he likewise was acquainted with, and made use of the Synoptic Gospels is apparent not only from the fact that his work, though in essence a doctrinal treatise rather than a history, is yet modelled upon the writings of the Synoptists, but also from the fact that he alludes incidentally to occurrences related at length in the other Gospels, and that direct obligations to them are discernible even in the wording of his narrative (p. 217). But whilst there are elements in the Fourth Gospel which are clearly derived from earlier sources, it is equally plain that whatever has been borrowed has passed through the crucible of the author's own mind, and bears the mark of his own reflections. Though virtually nothing is known about his life and personality, it is possible to trace with some plausibility in his theological constructions not only the influence exerted on him by contemporaneous Greek philosophical ideas (similar to the fusion of Hebrew and Greek notions in the system of the Alexandrian Philo) but also the effect produced by the circumstances of the contemporary Church. During his lifetime there appear to have occurred many movements affecting the Church from outside, and various developments of thought within it, which seemed to him to call for opposition or correction. Thus firstly there was the virulent animosity of the Jews, who contended that One Who like Jesus had lived on earth a life of poverty terminated by an agonizing death could not possibly have been a Heavenly Being, as the Christians represented Him. Then it is not unlikely that there was some rivalry proceeding from those partisans of John the Baptist, who refused to be absorbed into the Christian Church and opposed the claim that Jesus was John's superior.[2] Next, there was the difficulty, felt by certain Christians, of reconciling the transcendent dignity of the Son of God with the sufferings

[1] It is the Fourth Gospel which is here mainly under review, but relevant passages from the Epistles are also considered.

[2] E. F. Scott (*The Fourth Gospel*, p. 80) quotes from the *Clementine Recognitions* (possibly a third-century work), "Some even of the disciples of John, who seemed to be great ones, have separated themselves, and proclaimed their own master as the Christ" (i. 54).

of the Cross, so causing them to take refuge in the thought that those sufferings must have been undergone only in appearance.[1] Fourthly, there must have prevailed amongst many faithful believers great despondency in face of the delay in their Lord's expected Return. In the fifth place, there was a danger lest "faith" should be emphasized to the disparagement of conduct, and spiritual liberty should degenerate into license. Finally, there was likely to be in some quarters an inclination, fostered by acquaintance with certain sacramental rites in the Mystery religions, towards explaining the Christian sacraments on analogous lines. It may be inferred from the contents of the Fourth Gospel that conditions like these were influential factors leading to its composition, and that the author wrote it with the design of controverting the external enemies of the Church, and of counteracting certain fears and tendencies amongst its own members. He sought to adduce more fully than had hitherto been done, evidence that Jesus' earthly life had attested His heavenly origin, to exhibit the Baptist as merely bearing witness to a greater Successor; to oppose any proneness in the Church towards Docetism; to assert, without breaking with current eschatological expectations, the truth that the Lord, in accordance with His promise, had already returned, and was really present with His followers; to insist that faith in, and love for, Him meant obedience to His commandments; and to guard against a mechanical conception of the virtue of the Sacraments.

The nature of some of the reasoning and ideas against which he directed his efforts goes far to explain why his work took the form of a Gospel instead of a treatise. The adversaries of the Christians, especially the Jews, were able, in opposing the claims made for Jesus as Divine, to appeal to the Synoptic representation of His earthly career, which in many ways was so human in respect of physical weakness and other limitations; whilst conversely the Docetists also supported from the Synoptists their denial of the Lord's real humanity and His liability to pain and distress. Accordingly, to cut the ground from under these errors the writer of *Joh.* composed a new narrative of the Lord's acts and experiences, calculated to evince more clearly His superhuman glory during His earthly life, and the reality of His sufferings in His passion and death. His miracles (which in the Synoptists are mainly evoked by compassion for the afflicted and the helpless) are represented as "signs" (ii. 11, iii. 2, iv. 54, vi. 14, xx. 30, 31) intended to reveal Jesus' præternatural power; incidents which in the other Gospels are suggestive in Him of ignorance are modified (vi. 6, xiii. 26, xviii. 4, 11)[2]; and the proof of His endurance of physical anguish is revised and rendered more telling (see xix. 17 (contrasted with *Mk.* xv. 21) and xix. 28), though it is made plain that He submitted to humiliation and suffering of His own free will (x. 17, 18, xviii. 11). Against other misconceptions, actual or possible, precautions were taken by means of discourses attributed to Christ, Who therein refutes them by

[1] A Docetic view of our Lord's agony on the Cross finds expression in the *Gospel of Peter.*

[2] On the other hand contrast iv. 6, xi. 34, xii. 27.

anticipation.[1] And besides desiring to furnish a defence against attacks and dangers, the writer wished to accentuate the fact that the gift of the Spirit which was possessed by the Church and which was attributed to Jesus as its Source, had been dependent upon His death. Jesus is represented as declaring that, through the passing of the Son of God from earth, the Divine powers inherent in Him became more fully available for conferring benefits upon His followers (xvi. 7).

The Evangelist, in furnishing another version of the ministry of Jesus, drawn up in the light of the ideas which he had come to entertain about it, and of inferences deducible from them, kept himself within the general outlines of the Ministry, as transmitted by the Synoptists, whilst sifting, omitting, supplementing, and modifying in a remarkable degree, the details of their record. Since, however, there was every prospect of the earlier Gospels surviving by the side of his own, it is possible that some of the alterations which he introduced into the sequence of events as narrated by his predecessors were not offered as more trustworthy historical statements than theirs, but were intended merely as concrete illustrations of truer conceptions (as he believed) about Christ's Personality. And just as he did not break entirely with the Synoptic tradition of events, so he did not directly negative certain current beliefs and expectations, based on the Synoptic record, which he did not share, but contented himself with doing verbal homage to them, whilst unobtrusively emending them.

In accordance with the arrangement previously followed, the theology of the Gospel will be here considered in further detail under three heads.

1. *Eschatology*

Probably the most important contribution which was made by the author of the Fourth Gospel to the theology of the Early Church was his transmutation of contemporary eschatological hopes. The expectation of their Lord's speedy return in visible form was for the early Christian community the chief incentive of their missionary efforts and the main source of their fortitude under persecution. But as time passed, and the long delay began to elicit the mockery of unbelievers, a growing depression among the faithful was inevitable ; and to counteract such the Fourth Evangelist transformed current eschatological conceptions altogether.

The method which he pursued was not to affirm the groundlessness of the anticipation of a Last Judgment, inaugurated by Christ's descent from heaven and followed by the entrance of the righteous upon an endless life, but to acquiesce in the general view [2] and at the same time to qualify it, suggesting ideas which might gradually come to replace it.[3] The new thoughts to which he directed the mind of the Church were three :—

(1) In the first place he drew attention to a process of judgment already taking place in human lives, of which the Last Day would only witness the

[1] Cf. *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 255 (Inge).

[2] See v. 28, 29, vi. 39, 40, 44, xii. 48.

[3] *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 257 (Inge). "The Parousia remains, but only as an otiose feature in his system."

final issue. God (whose nature is declared to be Love, 1 *Joh.* iv. 8) did not desire the condemnation, but the salvation, of mankind (iii. 17); nevertheless salvation could only be secured by those who satisfied its conditions, and from the sending of His Son into the world a test and trial of the world was inseparable. Christ had been a source of illumination to the world in the midst of darkness, imparting to mankind a revelation of God's nature and will; and through the attitude which men assumed towards Him and His teaching, they passed judgment upon themselves. Notwithstanding that He had come from God with a saving purpose, judgment was the inevitable result of His message (xv. 22, xvi. 9). The acceptance or rejection of Him was a disclosure of men's own characters, goodness welcoming the light which He brought and wickedness shrinking from it.

(2) Secondly, he endeavoured to habituate the mind of the Church to the thought that Christ's Second coming had already taken place, through the bestowal of the Holy Spirit upon believers. The coming of the Spirit is sometimes represented as being occasioned by Jesus (xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7, 14), but sometimes is identified with a return of Jesus Himself (xiv. 18, 23), so that in place of a future descent of the Lord on the clouds of heaven, there was substituted the idea of His restored presence with His followers as mediated through, and evidenced by, spiritual experiences.

(3) Thirdly, he represented that the resurrection unto life, which was prevailingly regarded as an event awaiting believers in a more or less distant future and preceded by death, was really an occurrence in the spiritual sphere, taking place *before* death. He did not, indeed, contradict the prevalent notion of a future resurrection any more than that of the Last Day (v. 29, vi. 39, 40, 44, 54); but he taught that the moral change caused by belief in Jesus as the Messiah was itself a transition from a state of spiritual death to a state of spiritual life (v. 24, 1 *Joh.* iii. 14, v. 12). Henceforward believers were already in possession of eternal life; so that to those who had experienced the spiritual resurrection which was the consequence of faith, physical death could only be an incident that left true life undisturbed (xi. 25–26).

Of some of these Johannine conceptions the elements are found in the language both of our Lord (as represented in the Synoptic Gospels) and of St. Paul. "Light" is a symbol for spiritual illumination in Jesus' teaching as it is preserved in *Q* (see *Mt.* vi. 22, 23 = *Lk.* xi. 34, 35), and St. Paul also speaks of his converts as being "light" (*i.e.* illuminated) in the Lord (*Eph.* v. 8). Jesus had likewise spoken of His coming into the world as introducing divisions among men, according as they were animated, in respect of Him, by sympathy or antipathy (*Mt.* x. 34 = *Lk.* xii. 51). He had also occasionally used "life" as an equivalent for the Kingdom (*Mk.* ix. 43, cf. *v.* 47); and, like the Kingdom, this had been represented as having its beginnings on earth, as He implied when He bade one who wished to become His disciple to let the dead (*i.e.* the spiritually dead) bury their dead (*Mt.* viii. 22 = *Lk.* ix. 60).[1] Similarly St. Paul, though

[1] See p. 426 and cf. E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 237–243.

he contemplated the resurrection from the dead as an event in the future, yet described the baptized as already risen (*Col.* ii. 12, iii. 1). The Fourth Evangelist in this connexion, then, does not really innovate, but develops ideas existing germinally in prior teaching and adapts them to the altered outlook of a later period. He retains Jesus' conception both of the Kingdom (iii. 3, xviii. 36) and of Life; but he has a marked preference for the latter, which he represents as something enjoyed in the present phase of existence and persisting without break into the next.

2. *Christology*

It has been seen that the most conspicuous advance made by St. Paul upon earlier Christological thought was the explicit assertion of Christ's pre-existence (p. 658). This (it seems probable) influenced both the writer of *Hebrews* and the author of the Fourth Gospel; but the latter presented the doctrine in a distinctive shape. He had come in contact with current Greek philosophy, and took over from it the term *Logos*, which was used to express the principle of Divine Order and Purpose observable in the world; but instead of confining this philosophical term to the customary meaning of a pervading force or ruling law, he associated it with the historical Personality of Jesus. The relation of Jesus to the *Logos* principally calls for attention here, but some notice must be taken likewise of His relation to the Holy Spirit.

(*a*) The use in the Fourth Gospel of the term *Logos*, which has the two significations of "word" (or "utterance") and "reason," has indeed been traced to two sources—one Semitic and the other Hellenic. In the Hebrew Scriptures the world was represented as brought into existence by God's utterance of His *fiat* (*Gen.* i. 3, 6, 11, etc., cf. *Ps.* xxxiii. 6, 9); and the tendency in later Hebrew thought to regard God as a transcendent Power, Who exerted His will and revealed His designs not directly but only through intermediaries (p. 21), led to the Divine "Word" (*Memrā* or *Dĕbūrā*) being substituted in the Aramaic paraphrases called the Targums for the Deity Himself in passages which described God's activity under anthropomorphic expressions.[1] By Greek philosophic writers, on the other hand, the term *Logos* was employed to denote the rational principle discernible in the Universe, whereby its manifold diversity was unified and rendered comprehensible; and this is the conception that appears to underlie the use of it in *Joh.*, where it seems intended to bring under one comprehensive view the revelation of God both in physical nature and in the human conscience, so that the use of it is Hellenic rather than Semitic. But from that form of contemporary Greek philosophy with which alone the author is most likely to have had some acquaintance, *viz.* Stoicism (p. 83), he diverges in one respect profoundly. For whereas Stoicism, a materialistic system, denoted by *Logos* ("Reason") an impersonal

[1] See Westcott, *St. John*, p. xvi. f., where passages are quoted representing how the "Word of the Lord" was with Ishmael in the wilderness; how at Bethel Jacob made a covenant that "the Word of the Lord" should be his God; and how the "Word of the Lord" talked with Moses.

principle pervading the world, the Johannine writer speaks of the *Logos* in terms of Personality. Not only is the *Logos* said to have existed like God before the Universe took form (i. 1, xvii. 5, cf. *Gen.* i. 1) and to have been with God (*πρὸς τὸν θεόν*) but also to have been God (or Divine, p. 110). And whilst Philo, a Jew born about 20 B.C. conversant with Greek learning, who also uses the term *Logos*, applies to it such personal expressions as the Son of God, the Man of God, a Second God, and thus offers (at least on the surface) a close parallel to *Joh.*, the latter differs from him in representing that the *Logos* took flesh and became incarnate in Jesus.

But though the Evangelist places in the forefront of his Gospel his conviction that Jesus was the *Logos* invested with human nature, he ceases to use the expression after the opening paragraph of his first chapter.[1] Instead of recalling at intervals the previous identification of Jesus with the Divine Reason, the Creator's Agent in creation and the Illuminator of human minds (i. 3, 4, 9), he designates Him most frequently as the Son (or the only begotten Son [2]) of God. This conception is very imperfectly adjusted to the earlier, for the Son is represented to have exchanged one state of existence for another (xvii. 5), renouncing, on assuming flesh, the enjoyment of a glory which had previously been His, but no explanation is furnished how this transition was related to the permanent functions discharged by the *Logos* in the Universe. He leaves quite unharmonized the relation of the *Logos* to the Spirit that descended on Jesus at His baptism. Another term which is applied in the body of the Gospel to our Lord is "the Son of man," this being the title by which Jesus, according to the Synoptists, most commonly designated Himself (p. 615). In the employment of these appellations the writer reverts to certain conceptions which, unlike the idea of the *Logos*, had their origin within Hebrew circles, and indeed the dominant thought pervading the greater part of the Gospel is the Messiahship of Jesus, a doctrine resting upon a distinctively Hebrew foundation.

The relation of Jesus to God which is expressed by the designation of Him as the Son of God is regarded as implying perfect unity of will, so that Jesus is recorded to have declared that He and the Father are one (x. 30). Such unity, however, is consistent with dependence and subordination, for what the Son says or does is derived from the Father, Who is consequently greater than He. Of Himself He can do nothing, but the Father through His love for the Son shows to Him all that He Himself does (v. 19, 20, 30). The Son speaks not of Himself but communicates the commands of the Father, and the works which He does are the work of the Father abiding in Him (xii. 49, xiv. 10, 24). Such unity subsisting

[1] The term occurs once again but without adequate authority in 1 *Joh.* v. 8, where a very few codices of the Old Lat. and Vulg. have *tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus*, and are followed by two very late Greek MSS.

[2] The term *μονογενής*, besides being used of an only child (*Lk.* viii. 42, *Tobit* iii 15, Hes. *Op.* 374), was also employed to connote uniqueness of nature (*Wisd.* vii. 22): see Westcott, *Epp. of St. Joh.* p. 169. The Son gives to men power to become children (*τέκνα*) of God (i. 12, cf. xi. 52, 1 *Joh.* iii. 1, 2), but the term *υἱοὶ θεοῦ* is not used of them by the Evangelist: contrast *Heb.* ii. 10.

between Himself and the Father, Jesus regarded as the ideal relation between His disciples and Himself, and He bade His followers seek to realize it (xiv. 20–24, xvii. 21).

In what manner the Incarnation was effected is not explained. The writer must have been acquainted with the narratives of the Virgin Birth in the First and Third Gospels, but he altogether disregards them,[1] possibly from a wish to avoid any reference to the Birth or childhood of Jesus, since from these stages of human life conditions of immaturity and imperfection are inseparable (cf. *Lk.* ii. 52), and he desired to avoid the idea of such in connexion with the Christ.

Nevertheless, though the Johannine portraiture of the Incarnate Son is much less human in its lineaments than that of the Synoptists, the author's condemnation of Docetic views is very decisive. In his First Epistle he denounces as inspired by a spirit of Antichrist those that denied Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh. Such seem to have contended that the heavenly Christ was not united to the human Jesus throughout the whole of the latter's earthly existence, but after having descended upon Him at His Baptism, departed from Him before His execution. In opposition to this the writer declared that the Son of God did not come through (*i.e.* undergo)[2] the waters of Baptism only, but the blood-shedding of the Crucifixion also, and sustained the agony usually experienced by such as were thus put to death (1 *Joh.* v. 6).

(*b*) The gift of the Spirit in the post-Resurrection part of the writer's historical narrative is represented as conveyed by "insufflation" (xx. 22), this being apparently the Johannine counterpart of the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost.[3] The Evangelist, unlike St. Paul and St. Luke, makes no allusion to the special endowments ("tongues," "prophecy," etc.) which in the Early Church were considered to attest peculiarly the Spirit's presence. His own conception of the Spirit's activity was that it was a revealing and informing Power, enabling the Church to enter fully into the mind of Christ and so extend the work which He came to achieve (xvi. 13–15). And since that work was to communicate to men the knowledge of God, and it is in that knowledge that eternal life consists (xvii. 3), the Spirit, like the Divine Son Himself, is represented as imparting life (vi. 63, cf. v. 21). It has already been noticed that the Fourth Evangelist regards the bestowal of the Spirit as equivalent to the return of Jesus Himself (xiv. 3, 18, 19, 28). Consequently, since Jesus is also the *Logos*, it will be seen that the process of divine revelation in the pre-Christian ages (i. 9), in the Incarnation, and in the Church is unified, and traced to a single mediating agent.

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[1] It has been argued indeed that a definite allusion to the Virgin birth occurs in i. 13 where the Verona codex (*b*) of Lat. vet., supported by Tertullian, Irenæus, and possibly other patristic authorities, has ὃς (the Logos) *οὐκ ἐξ αἵματος οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγενήθη*; but the weight of MS. authority against the reading is too preponderant for it to be plausible. See Box, *The Virgin Birth*, pp. 228–31.

[2] For this sense of ἐλθὼν διὰ cf. Plut. *Alc.* i. 142 A *διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐλθόντες.*

[3] *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 286 (Inge).

3. *Soteriology*

The Soteriology of the Fourth Evangelist bears, on the surface, some resemblance to that of St. Paul and of the author of *Hebrews*, inasmuch as in various places our Lord's death is presented in a sacrificial aspect. In the Gospel John the Baptist is represented as pointing to Jesus as the Lamb (*ὁ ἀμνός*) of God [1] that taketh away (*ὁ αἴρων*) the sin of the world (i. 29, 36), the imagery being borrowed apparently from the lambs killed as a daily offering (*Ex.* xxix. 38 f., *Num.* xxviii. 3 f.). In the First Epistle Jesus is declared to have been manifested to take away sins (1 *Joh.* iii. 5), and to be the propitiation (*ἱλασμός*) for sins (1 *Joh.* ii. 2; cf. iv. 10 and *Rom.* iii. 25, *ἱλαστήριον*); and His blood is described as cleansing from all sin (1 *Joh.* i. 7). The voluntary nature of His sacrifice is illustrated by a figure taken not from the flock but from the shepherd, Jesus being reported as declaring that as the Good Shepherd He lays down His life for (*ὑπέρ*) His Sheep (x. 11, cf. xv. 13, 1 *Joh.* iii. 16).[2] That the writer likewise shared the Pauline universalism, and thought of Gentiles equally with Jews as the recipients of the benefits that Jesus conferred, is apparent not only from some of the statements just cited, but from the declaration ascribed to the Samaritans, "we know that this is, indeed, the Saviour *of the world*" (*τοῦ κόσμου*, iv. 42, cf. i. 29, 1 *Joh.* ii. 2), from Jesus' assertion that He had other sheep which were not of the same fold as His Jewish followers (x. 16), and from the representation that Caiaphas, in affirming it to be expedient that one man should die for the people, uttered an unconscious prophecy that Jesus was to die not only for His nation but for all the children of God.

Nevertheless in spite of the likeness in the passages just noted between the views of the Fourth Evangelist and those of his predecessors respecting the death of our Lord, it is accompanied by some striking differences. There is no adoption of the Pauline theory described on p. 653. The phrase in i. 29 *ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν* (cf. 1 *Joh.* iii. 5) is ambiguous, and may mean either to remove sin or to bear the consequences of sin, the common usage of *αἴρω* favouring the first alternative (see xi. 48, xv. 2, xvii. 15). And the prevailing Soteriological idea of the Johannine Gospel is that Christ saved men by the revelation of God's character which He imparted to them. God showed men what, in order to attain salvation, they had to be by revealing to them, through Jesus, what He Himself was. No man had ever seen God, Who was Spirit (iv. 24, cf. *Is.* xxxi. 3), unconfined to any special locality and invisible to mortal sight (cf. i. 18, v. 37, vi. 46); but the only begotten Son interpreted Him (*ἐξηγήσατο*, i. 18). Through the Son came grace and truth (i. 17), the disclosure of the Divine love (iii. 16, cf. xv. 9), which is the essence of the Divine nature (cf. 1 *Joh.* iv. 7, 16, v. 1); and the knowledge of God thus communicated constitutes man's enduring life. Hence Jesus is represented as describing Himself as the Way, the Truth, and the Life, through Whom alone men could come to

[1] Cf. 1 *Pet.* i. 19, *Rev.* v. 12, xix. 7 (where *τὸ ἀρνίον* is used).

[2] The writer here goes on to infer that we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren, the self-sacrifice by Jesus being assumed to have been of such a character that men could imitate it; cf. our Lord's own language in *Mk.* x. 43–45.

the Father (xiv. 6). Whoso had seen Him had seen the Father. This conception of the mission of Jesus as consisting in a disclosure of the Father's essential nature made through the Son, has its counterpart in one of the most trustworthy reports of our Lord's actual sayings, *viz.* *Mt.* xi. 25–27 (= *Lk.* x. 21, 22), a passage discussed on p. 617.

It has been seen (p. 673) that the Fourth Evangelist regards salvation as Life. The agencies whereby, in general, life is represented as communicated are two, the words of Jesus, imparted by Him personally to His disciples as long as He lived with them, and the Divine Spirit, which was to recall and elucidate them after his death. The words of Jesus (called "the words of eternal life," vi. 68) had been committed to Him by His Father (xvii. 8, 14); and through them He revealed the Divine Name (*i.e.* the Divine character) to those whose spiritual insight and receptiveness caused them to listen to, and believe, Him (xvii. 26, cf. x. 3). His words had a cleansing power (xv. 3); and if a man kept them, the Father and He would abide in him (xiv. 23). To them there seems to be ascribed an inherent potency to produce an effect beyond the measure of any merely human utterances. With the Johannine conception of salvation through Christ's words may be compared not only St. Paul's (in *Col.* iii. 16, *Phil.* ii. 16) but also St. James' (i. 21), "Receive with meekness the implanted word which is able to save your souls" (cf. likewise *Acts* v. 20). Belief in the words of Jesus necessarily involved acceptance of His claim to be the Messiah, the Son of God, and consequently the authoritative channel of the Father's self-revelation. St. Paul's characteristic word "faith" (*πίστις*) does not actually occur in the Gospel, but the exercise of faith, expressed by the verb *πιστεύειν*,[1] is repeatedly accentuated as essential (i. 12, iii. 36, vi. 29, xii. 42, cf. xvi. 9, 1 *Joh.* iv. 15). The Evangelist is more explicit than the Apostle in insisting upon the moral obligations of faith or belief. In one passage he makes obedience to the Son synonymous with belief in the Son (iii. 36); and, in general, he represents Jesus as declaring that only by keeping His commandments could believers be truly His disciples and abide in His love (viii. 31, xv. 10, 14, cf. xiv. 21, 1 *Joh.* ii. 3, 4, iii. 6, 24, and our Lord's words in *Mt.* vii. 21 f. = *Lk.* vi. 46 f.). He thus does not hesitate to depict Christianity under the aspect of a law (sin being expressly defined in the First Epistle as "lawlessness" (1 *Joh.* iii. 4)), a view of it which is rare in St. Paul, although the two writers were really dominated by the same motive of devotion to the Person of Christ.

In the Fourth Gospel no allusion is made in explicit words to the Church, though believers are spoken of as composing a body distinct from the world whilst still abiding in it (xvii. 6, 14), and the Church is mentioned in the Third Epistle (*v.* 6). The rite of Baptism is described as being practised by the disciples during Jesus' ministry (iii. 22, iv. 1, 2), seemingly after the example of John the Baptist; but the only reference to its significance occurs in the interview between Jesus and Nicodemus (ch. iii.),

[1] The construction of this verb in *Joh.* is usually *πιστεύειν εἰς* (i. 12, ii. 11, 23, iii. 16, 18, 36, iv. 39, etc.). It is rare in the Synoptists (*Mt.* xviii. 6, and perhaps *Mk.* ix. 42).

where our Lord is reported to have declared that except a man be born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. In the rest of the discourse mention of the water is lacking, and the mysterious movements of the Spirit are compared to the untraceable course of the wind, though Its presence can be discerned by its effects just as the wind betrays itself by its sound. The allusion to the water is so isolated that the word has been suspected of being an ecclesiastical interpolation. But the explanation of the slightness of the reference may be that the writer, without wishing to ignore the rite or deny its importance, aimed at discouraging the belief that the Spirit through it was physically conveyed, or that the Presence of the Spirit could be infallibly inferred wherever the rite had been undergone.

Nothing is said about the institution of the Eucharist. An account is given of the Last Supper; but it contains a narrative of quite a different symbolic act on the part of Jesus, Who washed successively the feet of the Twelve and then bade them do to one another as He had done to them. The reason for the substitution of this for the Eucharist is perhaps due to the fact that when the Evangelist wrote, the latter rite was ceasing to convey the significance which he believed its Founder intended it to have; and so he replaced it by an account of another symbolic act more plainly suggestive of humility and brotherly service. But earlier in the Gospel there occurs a passage which is thought by many to have the Eucharist in view. In a discourse (vi. 32–65) placed after the miracle of the Feeding of the 5,000, Jesus is represented as declaring that He was the true bread which came from heaven (and not the manna expected by the Jews to descend again from on high [1]); that the bread which He would give was His flesh for the life of the world; and that to eat His flesh and to drink His blood was to become united to Him and to gain eternal life. It is possible that the writer here sets forth his view of the significance of the Eucharistic rite, as observed by the Church, and regards it as the indispensable means for uniting believers with their Lord.[2] It is, however, really questionable whether the discourse in vi. 32–65 had, in the mind of the Evangelist, any direct reference to the Eucharist at all. (*a*) There is an absence throughout of the combination of the terms "body" and "blood," which are elsewhere used in connexion with the Eucharist, the words employed being "flesh" and "blood," which, together, are a frequent synonym for a human personality (*Mt.* xvi. 17, *Gal.* i. 16, *Eph.* vi. 12). It is, therefore, probable that here their import is similar, and that they refer to our Lord's human nature. (*b*) Food, and the eating and drinking of it, are metaphors often found in Hebrew thought for purely intellectual or spiritual realities and processes (*Ecclus.* xv. 3, xxiv. 21, and cf. *Joh.* iv. 10, 14, 34, vii. 37–39).[3] Accordingly, in the passage here considered,

[1] Cf. *Apoc. Baruch* xxix. 8, "The treasury of manna shall again descend from on high."

[2] Some, in support of this view, appeal to the parallelism between vi. 51–53 and iii. 3 5; and, holding that in ch. iii. baptism is affirmed to be essential for receiving the Spirit, contend that in ch. vi. the Eucharist is similarly presented as the necessary medium for drawing spiritual sustenance from Christ.

[3] J. Lightfoot quotes from the Talmud the phrase "to eat the days of Messiah."

the expression " to eat the flesh of the Son of man and to drink His blood " (*v.* 53) admits of being interpreted of belief in Jesus' humanity as the medium of a divine revelation. (*c*) This is confirmed by the occurrence of " believe " in connexion with " bread of life " in *vv.* 35, 47, 48 (" I am the bread of life, he that cometh to me shall not hunger and he that *believeth* on me shall never thirst." " He that *believeth* hath eternal life. I am the bread of life."). These phrases seem to imply that the belief that Jesus is the revealer, under the conditions of human nature, of God's character becomes an unfailing source of spiritual sustenance. (*d*) A caution against a possible misunderstanding of the metaphor is apparently added in *v.* 63 : Jesus' flesh, if understood in a material sense, profits not at all ; His words about feeding upon His flesh and blood must be interpreted spiritually, *i.e.* figuratively,[1] and only then do they originate and sustain true life. If this is the real tenor of the discourse, it relates to the Eucharist only so far as that Sacrament is one of the methods whereby the spiritual support afforded by Jesus' earthly life, crowned as it was by His self-sacrificing death (*v.* 51), of which it is a memorial, reaches men and conduces to their salvation.

Before this slight account of the Johannine theology is concluded attention may be briefly recalled to two features of it already noticed, which, in spite of the Evangelist's blending of the ideal with the real in his historical narrative in a manner alien to our conception of how history should be written, yet exhibit in him a spirit congenial to the present age. The first is the introduction of the idea of *Continuity* in connexion with (*a*) the Divine Judgment, (*b*) the Resurrection unto life, which are regarded as processes rather than events. The second is the prominence given to the idea of *Unity* pervading Revelation, which, proceeding from the Divine Reason, is imparted through (*a*) the common conscience of mankind, (*b*) the historic life of Jesus, (*c*) the Spiritual presence of Jesus with the Church. Indeed, since the universe is also declared to have been created through the Divine Reason, a unity of origin is attributed alike to the order discernible in the material world and the order induced in the moral sphere by spiritual enlightenment. These features combine to give to the Fourth Gospel a more modern aspect than is manifested by any other work in the New Testament.

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[1] For this sense of πνεῦμα cf. *Rev.* xi. 8, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος.

APPENDIX A

PASSAGES IN *MT.* AND *LK.* ASSIGNABLE TO *Q.*

Mt.	*Lk.*
iii. 7–12	iii. 7–9, 16, 17
iv. 3–11	iv. 3–13
v. 3, 4, 6, 11, 12	vi. 20–23
v. 13	xiv. 34
v. 18	xvi. 17
v. 25, 26	xii. 58, 59
v. 32	xvi. 18
v. 39, 40, 42, 44–47	vi. 27–33, 35
vi. 9–13	xi. 2–4
vi. 19–21	xii. 33, 34
vi. 22, 23	xi. 34, 35
vi. 24	xvi. 13
vi. 25–33	xii. 22–31
vii. 1–5	vi. 37, 38, 41, 42
vii. 7–11	xi. 9–13
vii. 12	vi. 31
vii. 13	xiii. 24
vii. 16–18	vi. 43, 44
vii. 21	vi. 46
vii. 22, 23	xiii. 26, 27
vii. 24–27	vi. 47–49
viii. 5–10, 13	vii. 1–10
viii. 11, 12	xiii. 28, 29
viii. 19–22	ix. 57–60
ix. 37, 38	x. 2
x. 10*b*, 12, 13, 15, 16	x. 7*b*, 5, 6, 12, 3
x. 24	vi. 40
x. 26–33	xii. 2–9
x. 34–36	xii. 51–53
x. 37, 38	xiv. 26, 27
xi. 2–11	vii. 18–28
xi. 12, 13	xvi. 16
xi. 16–19	vii. 31–35
xi. 21–23	x. 13–15
xi. 24	x. 12
xi. 25–27	x. 21, 22
xii. 11	xiv. 5
xii. 22	xi. 14
xii. 27, 28, 30	xi. 19, 20, 23
xii. 35	vi. 45
xii. 38, 39	xi. 16, 29

Mt.	*Lk.*
xii. 41, 42	xi. 31, 32
xii. 43–45	xi. 24–26
xiii. 16, 17	x. 23, 24
xiii. 33	xiii. 20, 21
xv. 14*b*	vi. 39
xvi. 2, 3	xii. 54–56
xviii. 7	xvii. 1
xviii. 12–14	xv. 4–7
xviii. 15, 21, 22	xvii. 3, 4
xix. 28*b*	xxii. 30*b*
xxi. 44	xx. 18
[xxii. 1–6, 8–10	xx. 9–17] [1]
xxiii. 4	xi. 46
xxiii. 12	xiv. 11, xviii. 14*b*
xxiii. 13	xi. 52
xxiii. 23, 25–27, 29–31, 34–36	xi. 42, 39, 41, 47–51
xxiii. 37–39	xiii. 34, 35
xxiv. 26–28	xvii. 23, 24, 37
xxiv. 37–41	xvii. 26, 27, 30, 34, 35
xxiv. 43–51	xii. 39, 40, 42–46
[xxv. 14–29	xix. 12, 13, 15–26.] [1]

[1] These parallel passages are equivalent rather than identical, and their derivation from *Q* is rather doubtful.

APPENDIX B

TABLES OF MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND MONEY [1]

Measures of Length

Cubit (*πῆχυς*)	17½ inches
Fathom (*ὀργυιά*)	5 feet 10 inches
Furlong (*στάδιον*)	194 yards
Mile (*μίλιον*)	1,613 yards
Sabbath day's journey	1,000 yards

Measures of Capacity

Seah (*σάτον*)	3 gallons
Firkin (*μετρητής*)	9 gallons
Bath (*βάτος*)	9 gallons
Cor (*κόρος*)	90 gallons or 11 bushels

Weights

Pound (*λίτρα*)	5,050 grains or almost 12 ounces
Talent (= *125 λίτραι*)	about 90 lb.

Money

Mite (*λέπτον*)	$\frac{1}{16}d.$
Half-farthing (*ἀσσάριον*)	½*d.*
Farthing (*κοδράντης*)	¾*d.*
Shilling, "Penny" (*δηνάριον, δραχμή*)	9½*d.*
Half-shekel (*δίδραχμον*)	1*s.* 7*d.*
Shekel (*στατήρ*)	3*s.* 2*d.*
Mina "Pound" (*μνᾶ*)	£4 0*s.* 0*d.*
Talent (*τάλαντον*)	£240 0*s.* 0*d.*

[1] The Tables are taken from Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 427 f., iv. p. 901 f. (Kennedy). The English equivalents are approximate only.

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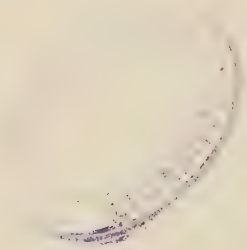

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